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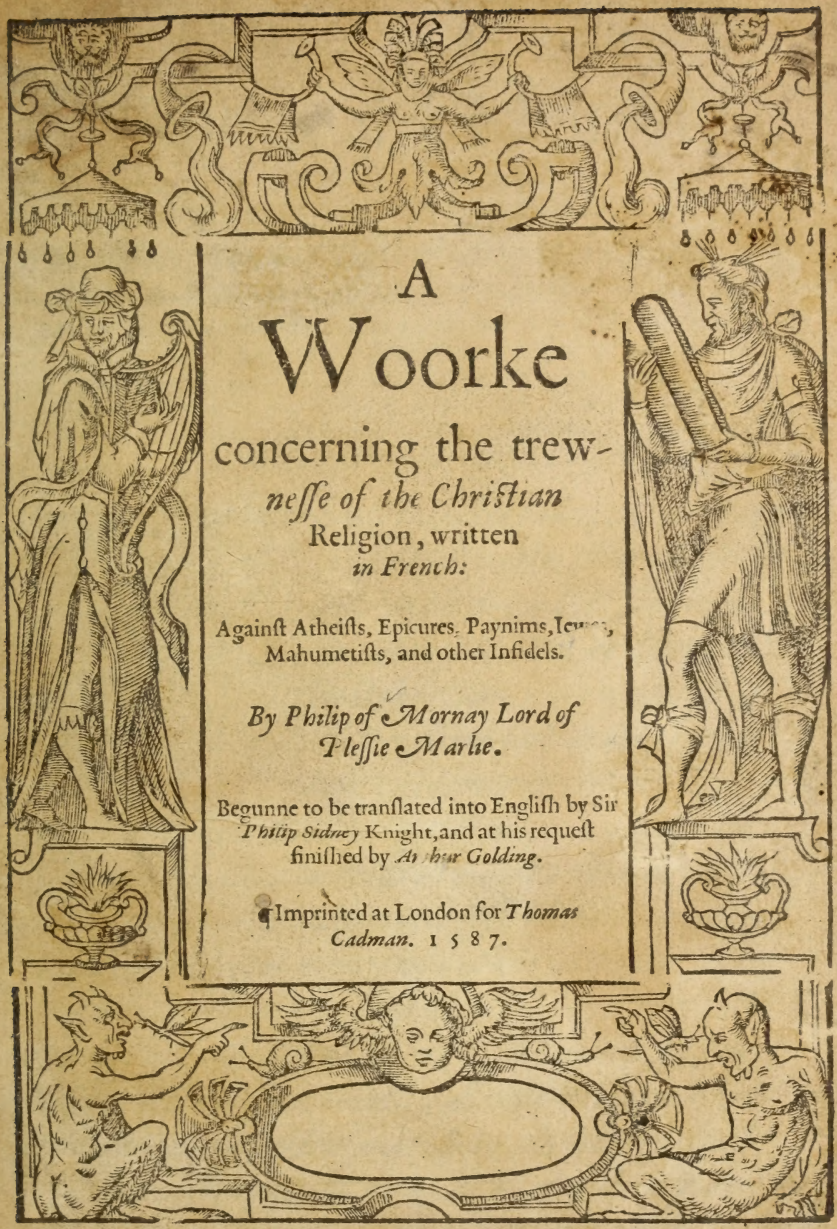

A Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion, written in French:

Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels.

By Philip of Mornay Lord of Plessie Marlie.

Begunne to be translated into English by Sir *Philip Sidney* Knight, and at his request finished by *Arthur Golding.*

Imprinted at London for *Thomas Cadman.* 1587.

To the right Honorable his ſinguler good Lord Robert Earle of Leyceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the order of the Garter, and of S. Michaell, one of the Lords of the moſt Honorable priuie Counſaile, and Maiſter of the Horſe to the Queenes Maieſtie: Lord Generall of her Maieſties Forces in the Lowe Countries, and Gouernour Generall of the vnited Prouinces, and of their Aſſociates: *Arthur Golding* wiſheth long continuance of health, much increaſe of Honour, and in the life to come in endleſſe felicitie.

Any cauſes doe fully perſwade me (right Honorable,) that this preſent worke which I preſume to offer vnto you, will in diuers reſpects be vnto you very acceptable. For vnto ſuch as are of greateſt wiſedome, vertue and Nobilitie, the wiſeſt beſt and weightieſt matters are alwaies moſt agreeable. And whereas all men are naturally deſirous of the ſouereine welfare, higheſt felicitie, or cheefe good, howbeit that very fewe doe knowe what it is, or wherein it conſiſteth, or which is the right way that leadeth thereunto: And yet notwithſtanding, without the knowledge of that trueth, all their wiſedome is but mere ignorance blyndneſſe and folly, all their goodneſſe is but mere corruption & wickedneſſe, & al their brauerie tryumphe iollitie and pompe is but vtter miſerie and

wretchednesse: This present worke treateth of the trewnesse, that is to say of the perpetuall and inuariable constancie and stedfastnesse of the Christian Religion, the only band that linketh God vnto man, and men one to another, and all vnto God; the only Lampe that enlighteneth mans wit with true wisedome, the onely waterspring that repleniſheth his will with true goodnesse, and the only mightie power that giueth strength and courage to mans spirit, whereby he is enabled both perfectly to discerne and beholde his souereine welfare or felicitie, which is God the very founder furtherer and finisher of trueth or rather the very trueth it selfe; and constantly to hold on with ioy to the obteynement of the same; than the which no greater thing can by any meanes bee imagined. And in the discourse of this most graue & weightie matter, many deepe poynts of humaine Philosophie, and many high misteries of heauenly Diuinitie, be learnedly breefly and plainly discussed and layd open, to the vnderstanding euen of the meaneſt capacities, that will vouſafe to reade aduisedly, & to conferre the parts together with diligence. For the Author of this worke being a man of great reading, iudgement, learning & skill, and therewith addicted or rather vowed (as appeareth by this and dyuers other of his excellent writings) to the furthering of Gods glorie by his most faithfull and painfull imploying of himselfe in the seruice of his Church; hath conueyed into this worke, what soeuer he found eyther in the common reason of all Nations, or in the peculiar

liar principles of the cheefe Philosophers, or in the mistical doctrine of the Jewish Rabbines, or in the writings of the Historiographers and Poets; that might conueniently make to the manifestation of that trueth which he taketh in hand to proue. VVherby he hath so effectually brought his purpose to passe; that if any Atheist Infidel or Iew hauing read this his worke with aduisemẽt, shall yet denye the Christian Religion to be the true and only pathway to eternall felicitie, & all other Religions to bee mere vanitie and wickednesse; must needes shewe himself to be either vtterly voyd euen of humaine sence, or els obstinatly and wilfully bent to impugne the manifest trueth against the continuall testimonie of his owne conscience. Not without iust cause therfore hath so great loue and lyking of this worke of his bene generally conceiued; that many not onely of Gentlemen in the Court and Country, but also of Students in both the Vniuersities, haue purposed and attempted the translating therof into our English tongue, as an increase of comfort and gladnesse to such as are alreadie rooted and grounded in the trueth, as a stablishment to such as any way eyther by their owne infirmitie or through the wilinesse of wicked persons are made to wauer and hang in suspence, and as a meane to reuoke such as of themselues or by sinister perswasions are gone away into error, and also (if it possible bee) to reforme the malicious and stubbornhearted. Among which number of weldisposed & rightly zealous Gentlemen, I may not without iust desert of blame omit

to say somewhat (though farre lesse than is meet) of that right worthie and valiant Knight, your good Lordships noble kinsman Sir Philip Sidney, whose rare vertue, valour, and courtesie, matched with equall loue and care of the true Christian Religion, being disappoynted of their purposed end by ouerhastie death in the very enterance of his honorable race, haue left iust cause to his louing Countrie to bewayle the vntymely forgoing of so great an Ornament, and the sodeyne bereuing of so hopefull a stay and defence. Whereof notwithstanding this comfort remayneth, That he dyed not languishing in ydlenesse ryot and excesse, nor as ouercome with nyce pleasures and fond vanities; but of manly wounds receiued in seruice of his Prince, in defence of persons oppressed, in maintenance of the only true Catholick & Christian Religion, among the noble valiant and wise, in the open fielde, in Martiall maner, the honorablest death that could be desired, and best beseeming a Christian Knight, whereby he hath worthely wonne to himselfe immortall fame among the godly, and left example worthie of imitation to others of his calling. This honorable gentleman being delighted with the excellẽcie of this present work, began to put the same into our Language for the benefite of this his natiue Countrie, and had proceeded certeyne Chapters therein; vntill that intending a higher kind of seruice towards God and his Prince, not drawen therto by subtile deuyce of a wylie Vlysses from companie of Courtly Ladies, himself being disguised in Ladies attire

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after the maner of Achilles ; nor discouered against his will by the wisedome of a Palamedes after the maner of Vlysses; but aduaunced through the hardynesse of his owne knightly courage like to Prosilaus , he willingly passed for a tyme from the companie of the Muses to the Campe of Mars, there to make tryall as well of the Pyke as he had done of his Pen, after the example of the valiant Julius Cæsar, whose excellencie in all kinde of knowledge and learning, could not hold him backe from seeking to inlarge his renowme by hazarding his noble person among the weapons of armed Souldyers . Beeing thus determined to followe the affayres of Chiualrie ; it was his pleasure to commit the performãce of this peece of seruice which he had intended to the Muses or rather to Christes Church and his natiue Countrie , vnto my charge; declaring vnto me how it was his meaning, that the same being accomplished should bee dedicated vnto your Honor; a matter so acceptable vnto me, both in respect of the charge it self, and of the partie that imposed it vpon me, and of the person to whom it was intended: that although in respect of the toylesome and tedious troubles wherewith I was then pressed and am yet still in maner oppressed , I could haue found in my heart to haue forborne the vndertaking of so great a taske at that tyme; yet notwithstanding I gladly tooke it vpon me, & (by the goodnesse of God) haue faithfully performed it to the vttermost of my skill . In his name therefore & as an executor of his will in that behalf, I humbly

tly offer this excellent Worke vnto your good Lordſhip, as his and not myne. VVherein if any words or phraſes ſhall ſeeme ſtraunge, (as in ſome places perchaunce they may) I doubt not but your good Lordſhip will impute it to the rareneſſe and profoundneſſe of the matters there handled, not accuſtomed heretofore to bee treated of in our language. For the auoyding of which inconuenience as much as might be, great care hath bene taken, by forming and deryuing of fit names and termes, out of the fountaynes of our owne tongne, though not altogether moſt vſuall, yet alwaies conceyuable and eaſie to be vnderſtood, rather than by vſurping the Latin termes, or by borrowing the words of any forreine language, leaſt the matters which in ſome caſes are miſticall enough of themſelues by reaſon of their owne profoundneſſe, might haue bene made more obſcure to the vnlearned, by ſetting them downe in termes vtterly vnknowne vnto them. VVherefore forbearing to withhold your Honor with any further proceſſe of words frō reading the matter it ſelfe, which may much more delight you: I referre both my ſelfe and it to your fauourable acceptation. VVritten the 13. day of May 1587.

Your good Lordſhips moſt humble alwaies at your commaundement, Arthur Golding.

To the right high & mightie Prince, *Henrie king of Nauarre*, Soueraigne of Bearne, and a Peere and chief Prince of the bloud royall of France.

IN *this wretched time Sir, wherein vngodlinesse (which was woont but to whisper men in the eare, and to mumble betweene the teeth) hath bin so bold as to step into the pulpit, and to belke out blasphemies against God and his Gospell: I take vpon mee (through a new kind of hardinesse, as in respect of the small abilitie that God hath put into mee) to conuince him, euen by his owne principles and peculiar records, that if I cannot make him to come backe againe to a better mind, I may at leastwise yet make him hold his peace for shame, and keepe close his venim in his hart: A right great enterprise, and (in the iudgement of most men) ouerhard but yet such as wherein I see great helpes to imbolden me; namely the World, Man, the open examples of all ages, and (at one woord) God himselfe (who neuer faileth those which seeke his glorie) and all that euer he hath vttered concerning himselfe, as well in the creating as in the gouering of all things. The World for that it is as a shadow of Gods brightnesse: and Man, for that he is his image and likenesse: And both of them, for that if it appeare euen by the Philosophers themselues, that the World was made for man, how greatly then are we bound vnto the Creator thereof? How great is the dignitie of this creature? and what else is his shoteanker and his welfare, but to sticke wholly vnto God? Soothly he for whom the world was made, must needes bee made for more than the World. He for whome so durable and substantiall a thing was made, must needs be made for another than this fraile and wretched life, that is to wit for the euerlasting life, with him that is the euerlasting. And that is the foundation of all Religion. For Religion (to speake properlie) is nothing else but the schoole wherein we learne mans dutie towards God, and the way to be linked most straightly vnto him. Againe, in the world we see a stedie and fast-settled order, and euery creature to do seruice in his sort. Onely man withdraweth his dutie, shrinking from God, and wandring away in himselfe. He that is most indebted, is lothest to pay and least able*

to pay. He for whome the highest thinges are made, is become a bond-slaue to the baseſt and vileſt thinges: And the Recordes of all ages are as inditements againſt all mankind, prouing him to be vnthankfull to God, a murtherer of his neighbors, a violater of nature, and an enemie to himſelfe. Shall not he then, which inſtead of dooing his duetie, is not aſhamed to offend God, ſtand in dread of the death which wayteth vpon him for his offence? Yes: for what is God, but Iuſtice? What is Iuſtice, but a iudgement of ducty? And before that iudgement who dareth appeare? What remedy than is there, both for Gods glorie and for mans welfare: but that the debt be diſcharged by releaſe, and the Iuſtice ſatisfied with free fauour? The duty therfore of trew Religion, is to conuict vs by the Law, and to iuſtifie vs by grace, to make vs feele our diſeaſe, and therewithall to offer vs remedy. But who ſhall purchaſe vs this grace ſo neceſſarie for mans welfare? Either the world (as we thinke) or elſe man. Nay, what is there in man (I ſay euen in the beſt man) which burneth not before Gods Iuſtice, and which ſetteth it not on fire? And what ſhall become of the world then, if man for whom it is created be vnable to ſtand? Soothly it is the welbeloued Sonne of God that muſt ſtande for all: the righteous for the vnrighteous, the mightie for the vnmightye, the rich for the poore, the dearling and the welbeloued for them that are in the diſpleaſure and curſe of God his Father, and the ſame (ſay I) is our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt. The foole (ſayth the Pſalmiſt) hath ſaid in his heart, There is no God. And a Heathen man hath paſſed yet further, ſaying: Hee that denieth the one God and his prouidence in all thinges, is not onely witleſſe, but alſo ſenſeleſſe. *And his ſo ſaying is, becauſe the world which offereth it ſelfe continually vnto vs, repleniſheth our wittes with the knowledge of God: euen in this reſpect, that with one view of the eye, we ſee this vniuerſall maſſe furniſhed with ſo many and ſo diuerſe thinges, linked one to another, and tending all to one marke. Truly I dare ſay, and by Gods grace I dare vndertake to prooue, that whoſoeuer will lay before him wholly in one table (ſo as he may ſee them together with one view) the promiſes and propheſies concerning Chriſt, the comming of our Lord Ieſus and the proceeding of his Goſpell, he ſhall not be able to deny, euen by the very rules of Philoſophie, but that he was ſent of God, yea and that he was God himſelfe. Howbeit, in this lyeth our fault, that (whether it be through ignoraunce or through negligence) we conſider not the incomparable worke of our Creator*

Pſalme. 14. Auicen the Arabian.

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and Recreator, but by piecemeale, without laying the one of them to the other: like as if a man would iudge of the whole space of time by the night, or by some one season of the yeare, or by some one of the Elementes: or as if he would iudge of a building by some one quarter: or of an Oration by some syllables thereof: whereas notwithstanding, Gods wisedome in creating thinges cannot be considered, but in the vnion of the partes with the whole, and of themselues among themselues: nor his goodnesse in recreating or renewing them, and in regenerating of mankind for whom he made the world, but by the heedfull conferring of all times from the first byrth of Man vnto the seconde byrth, and repairing of him againe, which it hath pleased God to ordaine and make for him.

As for the world, it is sufficiently conuersant before our eyes, and would God it were lesse grauen in our hartes: and therefore let vs leaue the world, and busie our selues in the vniuersall table of mans saluation and reparation. When man had by his sinne drawne Gods wrath and the decay of the world vppon his owne head: Gods euerlasting wisedome, euen the same whereby God had created him, stepped in and procured his fauour, so as it was promised vnto the first man, that Christ should come and breake the serpents head, and make attonement betweene God and man. That was the foundation-stone of the wonderfull building of the Church, and the seede whereof men were to be regenerated new againe, whome God did as it were create, beget, and adopt new againe in his sonne, which is his euerlasting wisedome. This promise was deliuered ouer from hand to hand, and conueyed from Father to Sonne, solemnly declared to Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob: committed as a patrone by Moses to the people of Israell, celebrated by Dauid in his Songs, and renewed from time to time by many excellent Prophets, which pointed out the time, place, and manner of his comming, and sette downe plainly and expresly his stocke, his parents and his birth, many hundred yeares, yea and some thousand yeares aforehand: which are such thinges as no man could knowe, nor any creature teach or conceiue. What were they elsse therefore but Heraulds that foreshewed the comming of the king of the world into the world: and certes by another spirite than the spirite of the world: After a long succesſe of these Heraulds, came the Sauiour in the selfe same manner which they had foretolde and painted out. Whatsoeuer they had saide of him, agreed vnto him, and which more

is could agree to none but him. Who then can doubt that the promise is not performed, and that he is not the bringer of the promised grace to the world? And seing that the Prophets could not tell any tidings of him but from God, from whence can he be sent but from God? I know well that this one thing is a stumblingblocke vnto vs, namely that after the sounding of so many clarions and trumpets, we see a man in outward show base, and to the sight of our fleshly eies contemptible, come into the world; whereas notwithstanding if we opened the eies of our mind, we should contrariwise espie in that wretchednesse, the verie Godhead, and in that humane weakenesse, the selfesame infinite almightines which made both the world and man. He was borne say you: but of a virgin. He was weake: but yet with his onely voice he healed all infirmities. He died: but yet he raized the dead, and rose himselfe from the dead too. If thou beleeue that, thou beleeuest that he was both sent and sustained by God. Or if thou wilt doubt thereof, tell mee then how he did the things after his death, which are witnessed by thine owne histories? As soone as he was borne say I, he by and by chaunged the outward shape of the world, making it to spring new againe all after another sort. When he was once crucified, he turned the reproch of his crosse into glorie, and the curse thereof into a blessing. He was crowned with thornes, and now Kings and Emperors doo cast downe their crownes and Diademes at his feete. What a death was that, which did such things as all the liuing could not doo? By ignorance he subdued learning, by folly, wisedome, by weakenesse, power; by miserie, victorie, by reproch, triumphs; by that which seemed not to be, the things which seemed verily and chiefly for to be. Twelue Fisher-men in effect, did in short space subdue the whole world vnto him, by suffering and by teaching to suffer, yea and by dying, and by teaching to die. And the great Christian kingdomes which we now gaze at, and which we exalt so much, are but small remnants of their exploites, and little pieces of their conquests. If his birth offend thee, looke vpon the Heraulds that went afore him, and vppon the Trumpetters that told tidings of him, both in the beginning and in the chiefe state of the world, from whom, but from him that made the world? And wherefore in all ages, but for the welfare of the world? If his crosse offend thee, see how the Emperours and their Empyres, the Idols whom they worshipped, and the deuils whom they serued, lie altogether ouerthrowne, broken in pieces, fast bound and striken dumbe at the

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feete of this crucified man. And how, but by a power passing the power of man, passing the power of Kinges, passing the power of Angels, yea, passing the power of all creatures together? If the little show of the Apostles moue thee: consider how the silie nettes of those Fishermen, drewe the pride of the world, namely the wise men, the Philosophers, and the Orators, by ignorance (as thou tearmest it) to beleeue, and by folly to die for beleeuing. And for beleeuing of what? euen of things contrary to the lawe of the world, and to the witte of man: namely, that this Iesus Christ crucified is God, and that it is a blessfull thing to indure all misfortune for his sake. Behold also how one of them drawes me into his nette the lesser Asia, another Italye, the third Ægypt. And some other of them extend vnto the Scythians, the Ethiopians, and the Indians, and vnto other places, whither the power of the most renowned Empyres did neuer attaine, and which haue hardly come to our knowledge now within these hundred yeares, and yet haue we euen there found very great conquests of theirs, & like renowmed tokens of their victories, as are heere among our selues. Nay, which more is, see how these conquerors enriched with so many triumphs, do die for a dead man, & are crucified for a crucified man, & their Disciples also by heaps as wel as thy. And what moueth them thereto, but that they be sure that their power commeth from him, and that they be nothing, further foorth than they are in him and for him? that is to say, that he liueth and maketh them to liue, yea euen for euer, which die in him and for him. Surely vppon the considering of this table, we become as men rauished, distraught, and besides our selues, and haue nothing to say, but that hee which created man and the world of nothing, and none other was able to make and regenerate man and the world againe of nothing, euen in despite of man and the world. This inuisible God which hath made himselfe visible by creating the visible world, & hath shewed himselfe almightie, in clothing himselfe with the infirmitie of a contemptible man, is the redeemer, very God, and very Man, the Sonne of God, and is come in the flesh, euen Iesus Christ our Lord.

Heere Sir, you haue in few wordes the shoot-anker of this booke, wherein I declare the trewneße of the Christian Religion, and that (as I hope) with such Reasons, that the despisers of God, if they will not beleeue, shall at leastwise find themselues graueled to gainsay it. Moreouer to offer this to your Maiestie, I haue chiefly two causes, the one is, that God hath made you to be borne, not onely a Christian, but

also a Christian Prince, to whom it belongeth chiefly both for himselfe and for others, to knowe what the Christian Religion is. For ye shalbe the more inflamed to aduaunce it, when you be throughly perswaded that it is not a deuise of man as other Religions are, but the Law and truth of God, which maketh both kings and kingdoms, and hath made you a man, yea, and set you ouer men. To be short, that it is both your prosperitie in this life which dependeth vppon Gods gratious goodnes, and your welfare in the other life, which is of far greater importance, than all that euer we can endure or attaine vnto here.

The other reason is, that forasmuch as God hath called me to be about your Maiestie (as I hope) to do you seruice in that notable worke which he is about to doe in our daies to his glory, and wherein he hath put into your hart to imploy your person without sparing of your life: reason would that the fruits both of my labors and of my leisure should be yours, as well as the field is yours, without that it should be in my power to dispose otherwise thereof. And I pray the almighty to increase his grace in you from day to day, and to giue vnto you his spirit to go forward with his worke, and vnto me to do you seruice to the vttermost of my small power as long as I lyue. Amen.

Your most humble, obedient,
and faithfull Seruant,
Du. Plessis.

The

The Preface to the Reader.

IT is the ordinarie matter of Prefaces, to declare firſt of all the apparant profit, or rather neceſsitie that mooueth them to vndertake anie worke. But I to my great griefe, doo thinke my ſelfe diſcharged of that paine, in this cace. For he that ſhall but read the title of this booke, *Of the Trewneſſe of the Chriſtian Religion*, if he liſt to call to remembrance how manie blaſphemies he heareth howerly againſt God and his word; how manie deſpiſers of Religion he meeteth with at euery ſtep; and how great either coldneſſe in the things which they ought to follow moſt wholie, or doubting in the things which they ought to beleeue moſt ſtedfaſtlie, he findeth euen in thoſe which profeſſe the Chriſtian godlineſſe: ſhall by and by anſwer and yeeld the reaſon of himſelfe, why I haue taken this worke in hand, more needfull now adaies (yea euen (which I am aſhamed to ſaie) among thoſe which beare the name of Chriſtians) than euer it was among the verie Heathen and Infidels. Some buſie themſelues ſo much about their pleaſures, that they can neuer find anie leiſure, not to mount vp vnto God, but onelie ſo much as to enter into themſelues: in ſomuch that they be more ſtrangers to their owne nature, to their owne Soules, and to the things which concerne them moſt neerelie and peculiarlie, than they bin either to the deſerts of Inde, or to the Seas that are worſt to be haunted & leaſt knowen. That is the verie welſpring of the Atheiſts, who (to ſpeake rightlie of them) offend not through reaſoning, but for want of reaſoning; nor by abuſing of reaſon, but by drowning of reaſon, or rather by bemiring it in the filthie and beaſtlie pleaſures of the world. Otherſome match their pleaſures with malice, and to make ſhort waie to the atteinement of goods or honour, doo ouerreach and betraie othermen, ſelling their freends, their kinsfolke, yea and their owne ſoules, & not ſticking to do anie euill, that may ſerue their turne, neuer alledging or pretending honeſtie or conſcience, but to their owne profit. Of ſuch kind of ſtuffe are the Epicures made, who bicauſe they feele their

minds guiltie of so many crimes, do thinke themselues to haue escaped the Iustice and prouidence of GOD by denying it. And of these we may say, that their reason is caried away and ouermaistered by the course of the world, whervnto it is wholly tied, so as they can haue none other course or discourse than his.

Some go yet a litle further, both in respect of God, and of themselues. They thinke there is a God, and that of him man hath receiued an immortall soule: that God gouerneth all things, and that man ought to serue him. But forasmuch as they see both Gentiles and Iewes, Turkes and Christians in the world, and in diuerse nations diuerse Religions, whereof euery one thinketh he serueth God, and that he shall find saluation in his owne Religion: These (like men at a stoppe where many waies meet,) in steed of choosing the right way by the iudgement of reason, do stand still amazed, and in that amazement conclude that all comes to one, as who would say, that South and North lead both to one place. But soothly if they applied their wit as aduisedly to iudge betweene truth and falshood, godlinesse and worldlinesse, as euery man in his trade doth to iudge betweene profit and losse: they should foorthwith by principles bred within themselues, and by conclusions, following vpon the same, discerne the true Religion from the false: and the way which GOD hath ordeined to welfare, from the deceitfull bywaies and from the crosse and crooked inuentions of men. What shall I say of the most part of vs? Of vs I meane which beleeue the Gospell and professe the Christian Religion, and yet liue as though we beleeued it not? Which preach the kingdome of heauen, and haue our groynes euer wrooting in the ground? Which will needes seeme and bee taken to be Gods children and coheires with Christ, children of so rich a father and heires of so goodly an inheritance, and yet doo scarsly thinke earnestly vpon it once in a whole yeare, but are readie to forsake it euery howre, for lesse than a messe of grewell and a bit of bread? Surely wee may well say then, that if euer it were needefull, it is needefull at this time to waken such as are asleepe, to bring backe such as are gone astraie, to lift vp such as are sunke downe, and to chafe them a heat which are waxed cold. And

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that is to bee done by painting out the true Religion liuely before their eyes, with the ioy, happines, and glorie which insue therevpon, to the intent that the voluptuous may seeke their ioy, the coūetous their gaine, and the ambitious their glorie there, bending themselues with their whole hearts vnto that alone, which all onely can fill their harts, and satisfie their desires.

That is the thing which I indeuor to doo in this worke, and GOD of his gratious goodnesse vouchsafe to guide my hand, to his owne glorie and to the welfare of those that are his. But afore I enter into the matter, I haue to answere vnto two sortes of people. The one are such as say that Religion cannot bee declared vnto Infidels or vnbeleeuers by reason. The other sorte are those whiche vphold, that although reason doo somewhat inlighten it, yet it is neyther lawfull nor expedient to doo it. But let vs see what reason they can haue, to exclude reason from this discourse. The first sort say, It is to no purpose to dispute against such as denie grounded principles. And by this meanes, because one grounded principle is denied them, they breake of quite and cleane, as though all meane of conference were taken awaie. Surelie this principle of theirs is very true, but yet (in my iudgement) it is very ill vnderstood. I graunt it is to no purpose to dispute against such as denie grounded principles, by the same principles which they denie: That is very true. But there may be some other principles common to both sides, by the which a man may profitably dispute with them, and by those common principles oftentimes proove and verifie his owne principles. And that is the thing which I intend to doo in this worke. As for example; The Christian groundeth himselfe vpon the Gospell; the Iew denieth it: and therefore it were to no purpose to alledge it vnto him. But both the Iew and the Christian haue one common principle and ground, which is the old Testament: By this may the Christian profitably dispute against the Iew, yea euē to the verifying of the gospel, as if ye should make one to call some mā to his knowledge, by the draughts or descriptions of his portraiture. Likewise the Iew is grounded vpon the old Testamēt, which the Gentile would mocke at if he should alledge it

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vnto him. But both the Gentile and the Iew haue one common nature, which furnisheth them both with one common Philosophie, and with one common sort of principles; as that there is one God which gouerneth all things; that he is good, and no author of euill; That he is wise, and doth not anie thing in vaine. Also that man is borne to be immortall; that to be happie he ought to serue God and continew in his fauour. And therewithall, that he is subiect to passions, inclined to euill, weake vnto good and so forth. Of these common principles, the Iew maie draw necessarie conclusions, which the Gentile shall not perceiue at the first, like as when a man vnderstandeth a proposition, but conceiueth not yet the drift and consequence thereof. He that marketh that the Adamant or Loadstone pointeth to the North, perceiueth not foorthwith that by the same a man maie goe about the world, although he was of capacitie to conceiue it. After the same maner, by this principle: *He that from equall things taketh equall things, leaueth the remainder equall*; and by a few other propositions which children learne in playing; the Mathematician leadeth vs gentlie (and ere we be aware of anie mounting) vnto this so greatlie renowmed proposition and experiment of Pythagoras, *that in a Triangle, the side that beareth vp the right Angle, yeeldeth a square equall to the other twaine*, which at the first sight seemeth vnpossible, and yet by degrees is found to be so of necessitie. Thus shall the Iew by common principles and conclusions, verifie his owne ground which is the old Testament. For he shall proue vnto the Gentiles by their owne Philosophers, that vnto God alone, things to come are present, and that vnto Spirits they be knowen but onelie by coniecture, and so farre forth as they can read them in the starres. And he shall proue by their Astrologers, that the names of men and the circumstances of their doings cannot be betokened nor red in the starres. And he shall proue by their Historiographers, that the bookes of the old Testament, which containe so manie and so perticular prophesies, were written manie hundred yeares afore the things came to passe. Now what will reasonablie insue hereof, but the proofe of the principle which is in controuersie, by the principles which are agreed vpō betweene them both: namelie that the old Testament is of God, seing it

Euclid. lib. 2. prop. 4.

cannot

cannot be from anie other. And what elſe is all this, than that which is commonlie done in Geometrie and Logicke, which by two lines or by two propoſitions that are cõmonlie knowen & certeine, do gather a third proportion that was vnknowen, or a third propoſition (that is to ſaie a concluſion) that was eſt either doubted of or hidden, and by meanes of the other two is euidentlie found out, and neceſſarilie prooued. Such are theſe proofes againſt the Atheiſts: nothing hath mouing of it ſelfe. It is nature that ſaieth ſo. The world turneth about, and the heauenlie bodies haue a mouing: and that doth man himſelfe ſee. Therfore they muſt needs be moued by ſome other power and that is the Godhead; which our eie ſeeth not, and yet by means of the eie, our reaſon conceiueth and perceiueth it in all things. Againſt them which denie Chriſtes Godhead, [we alledge this principle of their owne.] That naturally of nothing nothing is made. It is the ſaying of Ariſtotle, and the ſchooles would haue him by the eares that ſhould denie it. Ieſus Chriſt hath of nothing made verie great things, yea euen contraries by contraries. The Heathen wonder at it, all ages crie it out, our eies do ſtill behold it. He that will denie this; muſt denie the world, he muſt denie all things, he muſt denie himſelfe. It followeth then that Chriſt wrought by a powre, that is miſtreſſe of Nature. Ariſtotle himſelfe ſaw it not, and yet Ariſtotle maketh vs to ſee it. The writers of Hiſtories tooke no heed of it; and yet they themſelues make vs to beleeue it. The Philoſopher thought but onelie vpon nature, and the Hiſtographer but onelie vpon his owne writing. And yet from both twaine of them, wee drawe both the Godhead of Chriſt, and the truth of our Scriptures: Certeſſe in like manner as by Arithmetike, out of two and ſixe wee draw out one continuall proportionable line hidden after a ſort in either of them, and yet greater than both of them togither, which is Eighteene: & as out of two ſticks chafed one againſt another, we draw out fire which is not ſeene in the two, the conſuming of thē both out of hand. To be ſhort, the marke that our faith looketh at, is the Author of Nature & principle of all principles. The rules therefore & the principles of Nature which he hath made cannot be contrarie vnto himſelfe. And he is alſo the verie reaſon and truth it ſelfe. All other reaſon then, & all

other

other truth dependeth vpon him, & relieth vpon him, neither is there, or can there be any reaſon or truth but in him : So far off is it, that the thing which is trewe and reaſonable in nature, is or can be falſe in Diuinitie, which (to ſpeake properly) is not againſt nature, but againſt the corruption of nature, and in verie deede aboue nature.

How farre matters of faith are to bee dealt with by reaſon.

Nowe come I conſequently to the other ſort, which ſay that although it bee poſſible in ſome ſorte ; yet the faith (that is to ſay, the Chriſtian doctrine) ought not to be proued or declared by reaſon : And their reaſon is, becauſe it conſiſteth in manie things which exceed the capacitie of man, & therefore that he which ſhould meaſure them by reaſon, ſhoulde diminiſh the dignitie and greatnes of them. Surely I will ſay more for them than they require : namely, that mans reaſon is ſo farre off from being the meaſurer of faith, which very far exceedeth nature, that it is not ſo much as the meaſurer of nature, & of the leaſt creatures which lie farre vnderneath man; becauſe of the ignorance and vntowardnes which is in vs and raigneth in vs. But in this they deceiue themſelues, that they imagine vs to vpholde, that wee ſhould beleeue no further than reaſon can meaſure & comprehend. For what a great way doth the truth of thinges excend further than mans reaſon ? But we ſay that mans reaſon is able to lead vs to that point; namely, that we ought to beleue euen beyond reaſon, I meane the things whereunto all the capacitie of man cannot attaine. And likewiſe, that when things are reuealed vnto vs, which reaſon could neuer haue entered into nor once imagined, no not euen when it was at the ſoundeſt; the ſame reaſon (which neuer could haue found them out) maketh vs to allow of them : the reaſon I ſay (whereunto thoſe myſteries were inuiſible afore) maketh them credible vnto vs: ſurely euen after the ſame maner that our eye maketh vs to ſee that in the viſible things, which we ought to beleue of the inviſible, without the which the viſible could haue no beeing : that is to wit, the inuiſible God, by the viſible Sonne, & alſo to ſee many things when the Sun is vp, which were hidden afore in darkneſſe : not that the eie-ſight was of leſſe force, or the thing it ſelfe leſſe viſible afore : but becauſe the Sonne is now vp, which lighteneth the aire with his brightnes, which is the meane both whereby the eie ſeeth, & wherby the thing is ſeen.

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As for example, we beleeue that there is one God, the Father, the Son, & the holy Ghoſt. This is the article which they oppoſe againſt vs, & therfore doe I take the very ſame. This article cānot in any wiſe fal within the cōpaſſe of vnderſtāding, & much leſſe be cōprehended by mans reaſon. But yet doth reaſō lead vs to the ſaid point, that there is a God: that he hath created man to liue for euer: that whereas man hath ſtepped out of the way, to followe his owne ſway, he reformeth him again by his word: That this word (as I haue ſaid already heretofore) is the olde and newe Teſtament, which conteine thinges that cannot proceed from creatures. Heere Reaſon ſtayeth, & holdeth it ſelfe contented. For ſeeing that God ſpeaketh, it becommeth man to holde his peace: and ſeeing that hee vouchſafeth to teache vs, it becommeth vs to beleeue. Nowe wee reade this doctrine in Gods foreſaid bookes, yea oftentimes repeated. Lo how Reaſon teacheth vs that which ſhe her ſelfe neither knewe nor beleeued, namely by leading vs to the teacher, whom we ought to heare and beleeue; and to the booke wherein he vouchſafeth to open himſelfe vnto vs, in giuing vs infallible markes and tokens, whereby to diſcerne what commeth of God, and what commeth not of him. But when Reaſon commeth to the reading of the doctrine, and is perſwāded thereof; then ſhe awaketh, and if the Gentile refuſe it as impoſsible and repugnant to reaſon and truth, then ſteppeth ſhe forth ſtoutly, and marketh the likeneſſe thereof in nature, the images thereof in her ſelfe to ſet it foorth, and the Recordes of the Gentiles themſelues to incounter them withall.

Alſo ſhe findeth out ſolutions of their arguments, and aunſwers to their abſurdities. For ſurely all truth cannot be ſufficiently proued by reaſon, conſidering that many thinges exceede reaſon and nature. But yet cannot any vntruth preuayle by reaſon againſt truth; nor any truth bee vanquiſhed by the iudgement of reaſon. For vntruth is contrary to nature, nature helpeth reaſon, reaſon is ſeruaunt to truth; and one truth is not contrary to another, that is to ſay, to it ſelfe. For truth cannot be but truth, and Reaſon, reaſon.

The like may wee ſay of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, that no man could of himſelfe haue imagined it, nor as now alſo conceiue it: and yet notwithſtanding, that reaſon is able

able both to teach it vs, and to defende it. What will she say then to vs in this behalfe? That the workes which IESVS wrought could not proceede, neither from a man, nor from a deuil, nor from an Angell considered in their seuerall kindes, but onely from God the maker of heauen and earth. And this will she proue vnto vs, both in the respect of the history, and in respect of the kindes of his workes, as well by the Historiographers and Philosophers who were enemies to Christ and his doctrine, as by conclusions of necessitie conueyed from the principles which remaine in the natures of euery of them. And what will ensue thereof, but that Iesus woorking by the power of God, was sent of God, and therefore ought to bee heard and beleeued? Beleeued (say I) to bee God the sonne of God, because hee sayth it; and to bee man borne of woman, because the world sawe him to be so; & that otherwise he should be an enemie to God, and God an enemie to mankind; God (I say) too good to assist him with his power to our ouerthrowe, and too wise to lend him his spirit, to the defacing of his owne glory? But if vngodlines stirre coales; Reason will open her mouth and shewe, that it was agreable to Gods Iustice, and necessary for mans welfare; possible to the power of the creator, and agreeable to his wil and promises; behooffull for our basenes, and beseeming his glorie. And euen in vngodlines it selfe she will find wherewith to put vngodlines to silence, howbeit that euen in all godlines, she findeth not wherewith to speake thereof sufficiently. The same is to bee vnderstood of other like misteries, which shalbe treated of in their due places. And this bringeth vs backe againe to the saide point, that the truth beeing reuealed, enlighteneth reason; and that reason rowseth vp her selfe to rest vpon truth. And so farre off is Reason from abasing fayth, to make vs attaine thereto, that contrariwise she lifteth vs vp as it were vpon her shoulders, to make vs to see it, and to take it for our guide, as the onely thing that can bring vs to God; and the onely schoolemistresse of whome we ought to learne our saluation. To bee short, we say not that because Reason comprehendeth not this or that, therefore lette vs not beleeue it: for that were a measuring of Fayth by Reason, as they say. But wee say that Reason and Nature haue such a Rule, and that that is the common way, and yet notwithstanding

withstanding, that this thing or that thing is done or spoken beyond reason and beyond nature. I say then that the worke and word of God are an extraordinarie case, & that forasmuch as they are of God, it behoueth vs to beleeue them; and to beleeue is to submit our reason and vnderstanding to him. And so it is a making of reason seruant to faith by reason, and a making of reason to stoope to the highnesse of faith: and not an abasing of faith to the measure of reason.

Now forasmuch as we take reason to our helpe against the Infidels, the proofes which she shall yeeld vnto vs to guide vs to the doctrine and schoole of faith, shalbe chiefly of two sorts; namely, Arguments & Records. The Arguments which we will vse against the Iewes, we will take out of the grounds of the Iewish Religion, the maiestie of God, the nature and state of man, and the most euident and best authorised principles or conclusions among them. Against the Gentiles, wee will take them out of their substantialleſt Rules, out of the most renowmed Authors of Philosophie, and out of the expositions of their owne most approued Interpreters; one while abiding vpon their principles, & another while standing vpō the conclusions which they themselues do gather of them, & sometimes drawing such necessarie consequents and sequeales out of them my selfe, as they oftentimes perceiued not, as though they had not vnderstood what they themselues spake. Also against either of them, wee will iudge of the cause by his effects, and of the effects by their cause; of the end, by the instrument or mouer thereto, and of the mouer, by the end, & so forth of other things: which are the strongest arguments that can be, as which are either demonstratiue, or very neere demonstratiue. At a word, we will not alledge any argument which shall not be substantiall, or at leastwise which we shall not thinke to be so, neither will wee vrge any thing whereof we be not throughly perswaded in our selues: choosing alway the euidentest & easiest that we can, to apply our selues to all mens capacities. Notwithstanding, let not any man looke here for arguments that may bee felt, as that I should proue fire to be hotte by touching it, or the mysteries of GOD and Religion by the outward sence: but let it suffise him that mine argumentes shal bee fully as apparant, and commonly

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more apparant, than the argumentes which the Philosophers alledge in naturall things: Howbeit that *Aristotle* would haue men to looke for argumentes of lesse force at his hande in his first Philosophie, then in his discourses of naturall thinges; and for reasons of lesse force in his morals (so they be likely,) than in his first & highest Philosophie: which thing we may with much better right require in the thinges that surmount both nature and man, that is to witte, in Diuinitie. Moreouer, oftentimes heere shall bee questions propounded to vnfold, or obiections made to bee confuted, which might trouble the Reader if he were not satisfied in them, or else breake off the continuance of our proofes. And in them I shal be compelled now and then to be obscure, either by reason that the nature of the thing depending in controuersie, may perchaunce bee of some old forworne opinion, or els in respect of the tearmes peculiar to the case, which may hap to be lesse vnderstood of the common sorte, and more diffuze, and lesse pithie in our language, wherein such things haue not hitherto bene treated of. Neuertheleſſe, I hope to take such paines in the opening of them that the Reader whosoeuer he be, if he take any heede at all, shall easily attaine to the vnderstanding of them.

As touching the Records, they shalbe (in my iudgement) of the worthiest sort, and such as are least to be suspected or refused, as neere as I can chooſe. We be to declare our doctrine vnto men, & men themselues are a part of the doctrine which we set foorth. And what more clearenesse can there bee, than to make themselues parties in the proofe, Iudges in their own case, and witnesses against themselues? Vnto men therfore we will bring the witnesings of men, euen the things that euerie man readeth in his owne nature, and in his owne heart, from whence hee vttereth them either wittingly or vnwittingly, as things that are so written there, that he cannot wype them out though he would neuer so faine. These are common insightes, or insets (as a man may tearme them) namely the perswasion of the Godhead, the conscience of euill, the desire of immortalitie, the longing for felicitie, and such other thinges, which in this neather world are incident vnto man alone, and in al men, without the which a man is no more a man; insomuch that hee cannot deny them except he be out of his wittes, nor cal them in que-

in queſtion without belying of himſelf wrongfully. And here-of proceedeth the agreeable conſent of all mankind in certaine beleefes which depend immediatly vpon the ſaid Principles, which conſent we ought to hold for certaine and vndoubted. For the vniuerſalneſſe of this conſent ſheweth that it is nature, and not inſtruction, imitation, or bringing vp, that ſpeaketh, & the voice or nature is the voice of truth. As for lying or vntruth, it is a foundling, & not a thing bred; a meere corruption, and not a fruit of nature. Neuertheleſſe, whether it were thorough ignorance which hath as good as choked thē, or through frowardneſſe which hath turned reaſon a wrong way & made man as a ſtranger to himſelfe: thoſe common and generall Inſets haue remained barren in the moſt part of men. Yet notwithſtanding ſome men in ſundrie nations haue mounted aboue the common rate, and indeuored to cheriſh and aduaunce the ſaid Inſights, and drawen ſome ſmall ſparkes of truth and wiſedome out of them, as out of ſome little fire raked vp vnder a great heape of aſhes; the which they haue afterward taught vnto others, and for ſo doing haue bene called Sophies and Philoſophers, that is to ſay, Wiſe men and louers of wiſedome. Theſe alſo doo we take for witneſſes of our doctrine; and amongſt them, the notableſt and ſuch as the world hath eſteemed to be wiſeſt. And whereſoeuer they ſhall diſagree, either one with another, or with themſelues; there ſhall common reaſon be Iudge. And like as they haue caught ſome ſparkes from the fire, ſo will we kindle a fire of their ſparkes: howbeit (in verie deed) not to lead vs to ſaluation the hauen of our life; for in that behalfe we haue neede of God himſelfe to be our Pilote: but to ſhew vs as it were from a Tower; which way it ſtandeth in the darke wherin we now be, to the end we may call to God for helpe, and euer after make thitherward with all our whole hart. Particularly againſt the Atheiſts and Epicures, we will bring themſelues, the world, & the creatures therein for witneſſes. For thoſe are the Recordes which they beſt loue and moſt beleeue, & from the which they be lotheſt to depart. Againſt the falſe naturaliſts [that is to ſay profeſſors of the knowledge of nature and naturall things] I will alledge nature it ſelfe, the Sectes that haue ſought out nature, & ſuch writers in euery Sect, as they hold for chiefe Diſciples, Interpreters,

preters, and Anatomists or Decipherers of nature; as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, the *Academikes* and *Peripatetikes* both old and new, and speciallie such as haue most stoutly defended their owne Philosophie, and impugned our doctrine; as *Iamblich*, *Plotin*, *Porphirie*, *Procle*, *Simplice*, and such others: whose depositions or rather oppositions against vs, I thinke men will wonder at.

Against the Iewes I will produce the old Testament, for that is the Scripture whereto their fathers trusted, and for the which they haue suffered death, & whereby they assure themselues of life. And for the interpreting thereof, I will alledge their Paraphrasts, & those which translated it into the Greeke and Chaldey tongues afore the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ. For they were Iewes borne, of the notablest men among them, chosen by publike authoritie to translate it, and at that time reason was not so intangled with [illegible]ons, as it hath bene since. Also I will alledge their ancient doctors, dispersed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their bookes of greatest authoritie and most credit. And diuerse times I will interlace the Commentaries of their late writers, which generally haue bene most contrarie to the Christen doctrine, whom (notwithstanding) the truth hath compelled seuerally to agree, in expounding the Texts whereon the same is chiefly grounded.

Now in these allegations I shall sometimes be long, and peraduenture tedious to the Reader, whome manifest reason shall haue satisfied alreadie, so as (to his seeming) there needed not so manie testimonies. But I pray him to beleeue, that in this longnesse of mine, I straine my nature to apply myselfe to all men; knowing that some like better of Reasons, and othersome of Testimonies; and that all men (notwithstanding that they make more account of the one than of the other) are best satisfied by both, when they see, both reason authorised by witnesses, (for that is as much to say, as that many men had one selfe same reason) and also Recordes declared by reason; for that is as much to say, as that credit is not giuen to the outward person, but to the diuine thing which the person hath within him, that is to wit, to Reason. Herewithall I thought also, that all men haue not either the meane to come by all bookes,

bookes, or the leyſure to read them; whoſe labour I haue by that meane eaſed. And oftentimes I am driuen to doo that in one Chapter; whereof others haue made whole volumes.

To conclude, I pray the Reader, firſt to read this booke throughout, for without mounting by degrees, a man cannot attaine to high things; and the breaking of a ladders ſteale caſteth a man backe, & maketh the thing weariſome which was eaſie. Secondly I deſire him to bring his wit rather than his will, to the reading thereof. For foredeemings and foreſetled opinions doo bring in bondage the reaſon of them that haue beſt wits; wheras notwithſtanding, it belongeth not to the will to ouerrule the wit, but to the wit to guide the will. Thirdly and moſt of all I beſeech him to beare alwaie in mind that I am a man, and among men, one of the leaſt; that is to ſay, that if I ſatisfie him not in all points, my reaſon attaineth not euerie where ſo far as he doth; to the end that mine ignorance and weakeneſſe preiudice not the caſe, mine vndertaking whereof, in good ſooth is not vpon truſt of mine owne wit, or of mine owne abilitie; but vpon aſſured truſt of the cleerneſſe, ſoundneſſe, ſubſtantialneſſe, and ſoothneſſe thereof.

Now God vouchſafe to ſhead out his bleſsing vpon this worke, and by the furtherance thereof to glad them that beleeue, to confirme them that wauer, & to confute them which go about to ſhake downe his doctrine. This is the onely pleaſure that I deſire, the onely fruit which I ſeeke of my labour. And (to ſay the truth) I feele alreadie ſome effect and contentment thereof in my hart. But lette vs praie him alſo to vouchſafe in our daies, to touch our ſtonie harts with the force of his ſpirit, and with his owne finger to plant his doctrine ſo deeply in them, as it may take roote and bring foorth fruit. For certeſſe it is Gods worke to perſwade and win men, albeit that to counſell them, yea and to mooue them, ſeemeth in ſome ſort to lie in man.

The

1 THat there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.
2 That there is but onely one God.
3 That the wisedome of the world acknowledged one onely God.
4 What it is that man is able to comprehend concerning God.
5 That in the one substance of God there are three persons, which we call the Trinitie.
6 That the Philosophie of olde time agreed to the doctrine of the Trinitie.
7 That the world had a beginning.
8 When the world had his beginning.
9 That the wisdome of the world acknowledged the creation of the world.
10 That God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without any matter, substance, or stuffe whereof to make it.
11 That God by his prouidence gouerneth the world, and all things therein.
12 That all the euill which is or which seemeth to bee in the worlde is subiect to Gods prouidence.
13 That mans wisedome hath acknowledged Gods prouidence, and howe the same wadeth betweene destinie and fortune.
14 That mans soule is immortall.
15 That the immortalitie of the soule hath bene taught by the auncient Philosophers and beleeued by all nations.
16 That mans nature is corrupted, and hee himselfe fallen from his first originall, & by what meanes.
17 That the men of olde time are of accorde with vs concerning mans corruption and the cause thereof.
18 That God is the souereigne welfare of man, & therefore that the chiefe shootanker of mã ought to be to return vnto god
19 That the wisest of all ages are of accorde, that God is the chiefe shootanker, and souereigne welfare of man.
20 That true Religion is the way to atteine to that shootanker & souereigne welfare, and what are the markes thereof.
21 That the true God was worshipped in Israel, which is the 1. mark of true religion.
22 That the Gods which were worshipped by the heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posteritie.
23 That the Spirites which made men to woorship them vnder the names of those men, were wicked spirites, that is to saye, fiendes or diuels.
24 That in Israel Gods worde was the Rule of his Seruice: which is the second marke of the true Religion.
25 That throughout the whole processe of the Bible or olde Testament, there are things which cãot proceed but frõ God.
26 That the things which seeme most wonderful in our scriptures, are confirmed by the heathen themselues. Also the solutions of their obiections.
27 That the meane which God hath ordeyned for mans saluatiõ, hath bene reuealed from time to time to the people of Israel, which is the 3. mark of the true religion.
28 That the mediator or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to be both God & man, that is to wit, the eternall Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.
29 That the time whereat the mediator was promised to come, is ouerpast: & therfore that he must needes bee come already, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.
30 That Iesus the Son of Mary came at the time promised by the scriptures, & that he is the mediator and Messias.
31 A solution of the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, that he might not bee receiued for the true Christ or Messias.
32 That Iesus Christ was & is god, the son of god, cõtrary to the opiniõ of the Gentiles.
33 A solution of the obiections of the Gentiles against the Sonne of God.
34 That the Gospell doth in very deede conteine the historie and doctrine of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God.

¶ The Conclusion of the whole booke.

OF THE TREWNES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

The first Chapter.

That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.

Uch as make profession to teach vs, doo say they neuer finde lesse what to say, then when the thing which they treate of is more manifest and more knowne of it selfe, then all that can bee alledged for the setting forth thereof. And such are the principles of all the Sciences, and specially of the certeynest, as which consist in Demonstration. The whole (will Euclyde say) is greater then his part. And if from equall things ye take equall things, the Remaynder shall be equall. This is rather perceiued of euery man by commõ sence, then proued by sharpnesse of Reason. And like as they that would goe about to proue it, doo shewe themselues worthie to bee laughed at, as which should take vpon them to inlighten the Sunne with a Candle: so they that deny it, doe shewe themselues to bee wranglers and vnworthie of all conference, as contenders against their owne mother wit, yea and against their owne confession; according to this common saying of the Schooles, That there is no reasoning against those which deny the Principles. Now, if there bee any matter wherein this Rule is found trew; it is most peculiarly in this, that there is a God. For it is so many waies and so liuely paynted forth in all things, and so peculiarly ingrauen in mans hart; that all that euer can bee deuized, sayd, and written thereof, is much lesse then that which is seene thereof euery where, and which men feele thereof in themselues. If yee loke vpward, yee see there infinite bodies and infinite mouings; diuers, and yet not trubling one another. If yee loke downeward, yee see the Sea continually threatening the Earth, and yet not passing his bounds: and like-

wise the Earth altogither heauie and massie, and yet notwithstanding settled or rather hanged in ỹ Ayre, so as it stirreth not awhit. These bodies direct vs incontinently to a Spirit, and this ordereth to a certeine Gouerner; forsomuch as it is certeine in nature, that bodies haue of themselues no mouing, and that euen those bodies which are quickened, could not agrée stedfastly either with other bodies or with themselues, but by the ordering and gouerning of a Superiour. But when wée enter afterward into our selues, and finde there an abridgement of the whole vniuersall; a bodie fit for all sorts of mouings, a Soule which (without remouing) maketh the bodies to mooue which way it listeth; a Reazon therein which guydeth them euerychone in their dooings; and yet notwithstanding, this Soule to bée such as wée can neither see it nor conceiue it: It ought in all reazon to make vs all to vnderstand, that in this great vniuersall masse, there is a soueraine Spirite which maketh, mooueth, and gouerneth all that wée see there; by whom wée liue, moue, and bée; who in our bodies hath framed a Counterfet of the whole world, and in our Soules hath ingrauen an image of himselfe. This is it that caused one auncient Philosopher to say, that whereas our eyes cannot pearce vnto God; he suffereth himselfe to bée felt with our hands: And another to say, that the very first vse of Reazon, is imployed in conceiuing the Godhead; not properly by knowing it, but as it were by feeling it, which is more certeine: yea, and that the béeing of our Soule is nothing els, but the knowing of God vpon whom it dependeth. And Auicen speaketh yet more boldly, saying that he which acknowledgeth not the Godhead, is voyd, not of Reason, but euen of Sence. Now, if these Sences from whence our first knowledge proceédeth, do witnesse the thing vnto vs; and wée do firmly beléeue a thing when we feele it, and that (as they teach vs) wée may féele GOD as well in the world as in our selues: Surely vnto him that treateth of Religiõ, it ought to bée graunted as an vnuiolable Principle, That there is a God; and all men ought to bée forbidden to call it into question, vpon paine of not being men any more. For if euery Science haue his Principles, which it is not lawfull to remoue, bée it neuer so little: much more reason is it that it should be so, with that thing which hath the ground of all Principles for his Principle. Nevertheless, let vs with the leaue of all good men, bestowe this Chapter vpon the wickednesse of this our age: and if there bée any which by forgetting God, haue in very déede forgotten their owne shape,

Trimegistus in Pœriandro. Iamblichus, concerning Misteryes. Chapt. 8.

and

and mistaken their owne nature: let them learne heereby to reknowledge themselues againe.

It is a straunge case, that these men which ordinarily speake of nothing but the world, will not see in the world, the thing which the world sheweth and teacheth in all parts. For, let vs begin at the lowest, & mount vp to the highest; and let vs consider it whole together or in his parts; and wee shall not finde any thing therein, either so great or so small, which leadeth vs not step by step vnto a Godhead. In this world (to consider it first in the whole,) we haue fower degrees of things: to wit, which haue Beeing, which haue Life, which haue Sence, and which haue Reason: Some are indewed with all these giftes, and some but with some of them. The Ayre, the Sea, and the Earth are great, and haue a great scope. They beare vp and sustayne all things that haue Life, all things that haue Sence, and all things that haue Reason. And yet notwithstanding, they themselues haue not any more then onely bare Beeing, without Life, without Sence, without Reason: that is to say, the nearest to notbeing. The Plants, besides being, haue also life, and they draw their nourishment from the Earth, and their refreshing from the Ayre. The Beastes haue both Beeing, Life, and Sence, and take their foode both from the Elements and from the Plants. Man hath Beeing, and Life, and Sence, and Reason; and he inioyeth the Elements, liueth of the Plants, commaundeth the Beastes, and discourseth of all things both aboue him and beneath him. Lo heere an order, such from degree to degree, that whosoeuer conceiueth not by and by some Author thereof, hath neither Reason nor Sence, no nor is worthie to haue either life or beeing. I pray you from whence commeth this goodly proportion, and this orderly proceeding of things by degrees? Whence commeth the difference in their partitions? Whence commeth it that the hugest and widest things are vnderlings to the least and weakest things? Whereof commeth it that some things haue but a dead being, and next vnto notbeing; and that othersome haue a beeing that is mouing, sensible, and reasonable, howbeit some more, and some lesse? Commeth it of the things themselues? How can that bee? For seeing that nothing doth willingly become an vnderling vnto others: why bee not the heauiest masses allotted to the best shares? Whereof commeth it that the liuing things which in respect of the whole Sea are but as a drop, and in respect of the whole Earth are but as a graine of dust, are in degree of preheminence aboue them?

The World leadeth vs vnto God.

And whereof commeth it, that man being the frayleſt of all liuing wightes, is ſerued by the Elements, by the Plants, and by the Beaſtes, yea euen by the wildeſt of them? Then is there a deuider or diſtributer of theſe things, who hauing imparted thē to others, had them firſt himſelfe, and that moſt aboundantly; and who moreouer is of neceſſitie, almightie, ſeeing that in ſo vnequall partition, he holdeth them neuertheleſſe in concorde. I ſay further, that all things are comprized vnder theſe fower: that is to wit, vnder Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reaſon, according to his diuers imparting of them vnto all things.

Now I demaund, whether was firſt, of Beeing or Notbeing; of Liuing or Notliuing; of Senſible, or Notſenſible; of Reaſonable or Notreaſonable? Surely it was neither Reaſonable, nor Senſible, nor liuing; for the time hath bin that wee were not. But wee knowe that wee had fathers, and that our fathers had forefathers: and the ende of them maketh vs to beleeue that they had a beginning. In like caſe is it with beaſts and plants; for wee know the breeding, growing, decaying and fading of them. Much more then may wee ſay the ſame of Being. For the things heere beneath which haue but onely bare beeing, are farre inferiour to the other things; and therefore cannot bring foorth themſelues, and conſequently much leſſe bring forth the other things. It remaineth then that Notbeeing, Notliuing, Notſenſible, and Notreaſonable, were afore Beeing, Liuing, Senſible, and Reaſonable. And yet notwithſtanding wee haue both Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reaſon. It followeth therefore that it is a power from without vs, which hath brought vs out of Notbeeing into beeing, and hath parted the ſaid gifts among vs diuerſly according to his good pleaſure. For otherwiſe, from out of that nothing which wee were (If I may ſo terme it,) we ſhould neuer haue come to be any thing at all. Now betweene nothing and ſomething, (how little ſo euer that ſomething can bee) there is an infinite ſpace. Needes therefore muſt it be that the cauſe thereof was infinite (at leaſtwiſe if it may bee called a cauſe,) and that is the very ſame which we call God.

Let vs come to the nature of the Elements whereof the whole is compacted. The Fyre is contrarie to the Water, and the dry to the moyſt; and of theſe contraries are infinite other things produced vnder them. Now the nature of contraries is to deſtroy one another; and no two things, euen of the leaſt, can bee coupled together, but by the working of a higher power that is able to compell them.

them. But wée see that these things do not incroche or vsurpe one vppon another, but contrariwise that they match togither in the composing of many things: and yet notwithstanding that not so much as two strings beeing of one selfesame nature, can agree in one tune, without the wit of a man that can skill too streine them and too slake them as he seeth it good. It followeth therefore that the heauenly harmonie wherein so many contraries are made too accord both vniuersally and particularly, are set togither and guyded by a spirit. Insomuch that if we will say, that according too the comon opinion, the aire is spread forth as a stickler betweene the Fyre and the Water, and is ioyned too the one by his moysture, and too the other by his heate: Wée must needes say also, that there is a great and souerein Iudge aboue them, which hath made them too abyde that stickler.

Let vs mount vp higher. Wee see the Heauen how it moueth round with a continuall mouing. Also wee see there the Planets one vnder another, which (notwithstanding the violence of the first moueable) haue euery one his seuerall course and mouing by himselfe. And shall wee say that these mouings happen by aduenture? But the same aduenture which made them to moue, should also make them to stand still. Agein, as for aduenture or chaunce, it is nothing els but disorder and confusion: but in all these diuersities, there is one vniformitie of mouing, which is neuer interrupted. How then? Do they moue of them selues? Nay; for nothing moueth it selfe, and where things moue one another, there is no possibilitie of infinite holding on; but in the end men must be faine to mount vp to a first beginning, and that is a rest. As for example, from the hammer of a Clocke wée come too a whéele, and from that whéele too another, and finally too the wit of the Clockmaker, who by his cunning hath so ordered them, that notwithstanding that he maketh them all too moue, yet he himselfe remoueth not. It remayneth then that of all these mouings, wée must imagine one [Mouer] vnmouable: and of all these so constant diuersities, one [vnuariable] alwaies like it selfe: and of all these bodies, one spirite. And like as from the Earth wée haue styed vp too the Ayre, from the Ayre too the Skye, from the Skye too the Heauen of Heauens, still mounting vp from greater too greater, from light too light, and from subtile to subtile: so let vs aduaunce our selues yet one degrée higher, namely too the infinite, too the light which is not too bée conceiued but in vnderstanding, and too the quickening spirit; in respect

whereof, the thing that wée wonder at héere beneath, is lesse then a poynt, our light is but a shadowe, and our spirit is but a vapour. And yet notwithstanding he hath so paynted out his glorie and infiniteneſſe, euen in the things which wée most despise; as that euen the grossest wits may easely comprehend it.

Let vs come downe againe to dw the like heere belowe. Wée shall see the Earth replenished with Herbes, Trees, and Fruites: both Sea and Land furnished with Beastes, Fishes, Wormes, and Birds of al sorts; euery of them so perfect in his kind, as mans vnderstãding cannot spye any want or superfluitie in thẽ. Whence is all this? Is it of the Elements? Nay, how shall the thing which hath neither life nor sence, giue life and sence to other things? Or commeth it of the Sunne? Nay, when did wée euer see him bring forth any such like thing? Whence then is this varietie, but of a most fruitfull & vncõsumable might? Whence commeth this perfection, but of a singuler wisedome? Of Plants, some are hot, and some cold; some sweete, and some bitter; some nourishing, and some healing. And of the most daungerous, the remedie is found either in themselues or in the next vnto them. Also as touching Beastes, the wildest and such as liue by pray, kéepe by themselues alone, because the flocking of them together would bee noysome. But the tame & such as are most for our profite, dw naturally liue in flockes and heardes, because the great numbers of them are for our commoditie. Is this also a worke of fortune? Nay, I say further: The Sunne heateth the Earth, the Starres dw limit her seazons, the Ayre moysteneth her drought; the Earth serueth the Grasse, the Grasse serueth the Beasts, and the Beasts serue Man. Each thing serueth other, and all serue one alone. Whence may this bonde come? If things bée euerlastingly, and of themselues; how haue they thus put themselues in subiection? By what meanes or when began they first to do so? Also how can one of them be for another, seeing that the ende wherefore things are, is euer afore the things themselues, either in nature, or els in consideration; and that the eternitie hath not any thing either afore or after it? So that if they haue had their beginning of themselues; did they bring forth themselues in seed, in flower, or in kernell? in Egge, or in full life? small or great, and so forth? Againe, seeing that the one cannot bée without the other, neither Beastes without Grasse, nor Grasse without the Earth, nor the Earth bring forth any thing without the Heauen; which of them came afore, and which of them came after? Or

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if they were all tyed together: whence commeth this agreement among so many diuers things; but of the same mynd which made and still gouerneth all things? Seeing then that these things are so linked together, and that they tend all to one: let vs conclude also that that cannot come to passe but through one, who brought them forth altogether at one instaunt and one burthen, when hee thought good. But now let vs see whence commeth this other one whereunto they tend, that is to wit Man; and whether he also bee not for and by that one which hath made them, that is to wit, for and by God.

He that seeth but onely the portrapture of a man, falleth by and by to thinke vpon a Paynter; and the first speech that he vttereth, is to aske who made it. Now, if a dead worke doe make vs to conceiue a liuing worker: much more reason is it, that a liuing worke as man is, should make vs to bethinke vs of a quickening workemaister: yea euen of such a one as may bee (at least wise) as farre aboue man, as man is aboue the portrapture of his owne making, (forsomuch as there is an infinite distaunce betwixt being and not being, liuing and not liuing;) and the same againe is God. The proportion in mans bodie, which is so well obserued, that all our Artes doe borrowe from thence, doth witnesse vnto vs a singuler Cunning: and the parts also in that they all serue each others vse, and euery of them serue the whole; betoken a great wisedome. Now, where Cunning and wisedome bee, there chaunce hath no place. For when a man loseth an eye, an arme, or a legge; wee following the common error do commonly say, it is a mischaunce. But when a member that was out of ioynt is set in againe, or a member that was lost is supplyed, though it be but with a botched one: none of vs will say it was chaunce; because that in the iudgement euen of the grossest sort, the propertie of chaunce is to vndo and to marre things, and not to make or mend any thing at all. Againe, by our Sences which conceiue al Colours, Sounds, Sents, Sauors, and Feelings; wee may see, heare, smell, tast, and feele, that one selfsame workman made both the Sences, and the things that are subiect to the Sences. For to what purpose were the Sences without the sensible things? or the sensible things, without the Sences? And seeing that they relye one vpon another; which of them was tyed first in the world? If man made them for his Sences; why maketh he not the like still? If he made himselfe to bee borne for them; why suffereth he himselfe to bee bereft of his Sen-

Man leadeth vs to God.

ces one after another: Then is it to be sought for elsewhere then in man. But when in the same man we yet further consider Speech: must wee not needes say that he was made to communicate himselfe to many: And how are they borne one for another: Againe, when wee come to his Mynd, which in discoursing reacheth farre beyond all sensible things; shall wee not say that there are things merely to bee comprehended by vnderstanding, for the which the Mynd was made: And on the other side, if wee finde a Mynde in our selues which are but a little graine of the whole world; dare wee say that there is no Mynd elsewhere then in our selues: Moreouer, seeing that by this Mynd of ours wee vnderstand all other things; which Mynd yet for all that vnderstandeth not ne knoweth not it selfe, neither perceiue wee what or whence this Mynde is which so vnderstandeth in vs: ought wee not to acknowledge that there is a Mynd aboue vs, whereby wee haue vnderstanding of other things, and which vnderstandeth & knoweth in vs the things which wee our selues knowe not there:

Now then, seeing we vnderstand not ne knowe not our selues, (my meaning is that we bee ignorant what we bee, and what it is from whence our noblest actions procéde:) can we bee the authors of our selues: And from whence then ought wée to acknowledge our selues to haue our originall: O man, it may bee that thou lookest but to thy father. But from father to father, we shall come at length too a beginning. And soothly thou art very dulheaded to thinke thy selfe too bee the author of a man, considering that neither thou in begetting him, nor his Mother in brééding him, did once thinke vppon the fashioning of him in hir wombe: No more (say I) than the Nuttree doth when a Nutte falleth from it to the ground, which neuertheless without the Nuttrées thinking thereof, groweth into Roote, Spring, Barke, and boughes; and in ỹ end shooteth forth into Leaues, Flowers and fruite: And yet notwithstanding, in peinting of an Image thou lookest vpon it a hundred times, and diuers dayes; thou amendest it, and thou busiest all thy wits about it. If thou be the dwer of this woorke in the making of man, tell mee why thou hast not children when thou wouldest, and why thou hast them sometime when thou wouldest not? Why hast thou a Daughter, when thou wouldest haue a Sonne, or a Sonne when thou wouldest haue a Daughter? In peinting thy Pictures thou doest not so disapoint thy selfe. Also, if thou beest this good workemaister in making of thy child; tell me how thou hast fashio-

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ned it? Whence is the hardneſſe of his bones? the liquor of his vaynes, the ſpirite of his Heartſtrings, and the beating of his Pulſes? Seeſt thou this, which is alſo as finally in thy power, as if it were none of thine? Tell mée what is hidden in his breaſt, and the whole workemanſhip that is couched within him. If thou haſt not ſeene it in the opening of thy like, thou knoweſt nothing thereof. Tell mée yet further the imaginations of his brayne, and the thoughts of his heart: nay, tell mee thine owne, which oftentimes thou wouldeſt faine alter or ſtay, and canſt not. It is a bottemleſſe Pit, the which thou canſt not gage: and therefore it followeth that thou madeſt it not. Knowe thou therefore O man, that all this commeth too thee from ſome cauſe that is aboue thy ſelfe. And ſéeing that thou haſt vnderſtanding, needes muſt that cauſe haue vnderſtanding too; and ſeeing that thou vnderſtandeſt not thy ſelfe, needes muſt that vnderſtand thee: and ſeeing that thou after a ſort art infinite in nomber, but much more infinite in thy thoughts and deedes: needes muſt that bee infinite too. And that is it which we call God. What ſhal I ſay more? or rather or what remaineth not for mee to ſay? I ſay with the auncient Triſmegiſt, Lord, ſhall I looke vpon thee in the things that are here beneath, or in the things that are aboue? Thou madeſt all things, and whole nature is nothing els but an image of thée. And I will conclude with Dauid, Bleſſe ye the Lord all ye workes of his; yée Heauens, yée waters, yée Winds, yee Lightenings, yee Showers, yee Seas, yee Riuers, and all that euer is, bleſſe yee the Lorde: yea and thou my ſoule alſo bleſſe thou the Lord for euer. For, to lay forth the prookes which are both in the great world and in the little world; it would ſtand me in hand to ranſacke the whole world; as the which (with all that euer is therein,) is a plaine booke laide open to all men, yea euen vnto Children to reade, and (as yee would ſay) euen to ſpell God therein.

Vniuerſall Conſent.

Nowe like as all men may reade in this booke as well of the world as of themſelues; ſo was there neuer yet any Nation vnder heauen, which hath not thereby learned and perceiued a certeine Godhead, notwithſtanding that they haue conceiued it diuerſly, according to the diuerſitie of their owne imaginations. Let a man ronne from Eaſt to Weſt, and from South to North: let him ranſacke all ages one after another: and whereſoeuer he findeth any men, there ſhall he find alſo a kind of Religion and Seruing of God, with Prayers and Sacrifices. The diuerſitie whereof is ve-

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ry great; but yet they haue alwayes consented all in this poynt, That there is a GOD. And as touching the diuersitie which is in that behalf, it beareth witnesse that it is a doctrine not deliuered alonly from people to people; but also bred and brought vp with euery of them in their owne Clymate, yea and euen in their owne selues. Within these hundred yeres many Nations haue bene discouered, and many are daily discouered still, which were vnknowen in former ages. Among them, some haue bene found to liue without Lawe, without King, without House, going starke naked, and wandring abroad in the fields: but yet none without some knowledge of God, none without some spice of Religion: to shewe vnto vs, that it is not so natural a thing in man to loue company, and to clad himselfe against hurts of the wether, (which things wee esteeme to be verie kindly:) as it is naturall vnto him to knowe the author of his life, that is to say, God. Or if wee yeeld more to the iudgement of those which were counted wise among the Heathen nations, (whome afterward by a more modest name men called Philosophers:) The Brachmanes among the Indians, and the Magies among the Persians, neuer began any thing without praying vnto God. The lessons of Pythagoras and Plato, and of their Disciples, began with prayer and ended with prayer. The auncient Poets (who were all Philosophers,) as Orphey, Homer, Hesiodus, Pherecides, and Theognis, speake of none other thing. The Schooles of the Stoikes, Academikes, and Peripatetikes, and all other schooles that florished in old time, rong of that. The very Epicures thēselues who were shameless in all other things, were ashamed to denie God. To be short, the men of old time (as witnesseth Plato) chose their Priestes (which were to haue regard of the seruice that was to be yelded vnto God,) from among the Philosophers, as from among those which by their consideration of nature, had atteined to knowe God. And so (which seldome happeneth but in an apparant trueth) the opinion of the comon people and the opinion of the wise, haue met both iump togither in this point.

Well may there bee found in all ages some wretched kaytifes, which haue not acknowledged God, as there be some euen at this day. But if we loke into thē, either they were some yong fooles giuen ouer to their pleasures, which neuer had leysure to bethinke them of the matter, and yet when yeeres came vppon them, came backe againe to the knowing of themselues, and consequently of

God:

God: or els they were some persons growen quite out of kind, sa-ped in wickednesse, and such as had defaced their own nature in thē selues; who to the intent they might practise all maner of wicked-nes with the lesse remorse, haue striued to perswade themselues by soothing their owne sinnes, that they haue no Soule at all, and that there is no Iudge to make inquirie of their sinnes. And yet notwithstanding, if these fall into neuer so little daunger, or be but taken vpon the hip, they fall to quaking, they crye out vnto heauen, they call vpon God. And if they approch, but a farre of, vnto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their teeth. And when they be well beaten; there is not any shadowe of the Godhead so soone offered vnto them, but they imbrace it: so ready are nature and conscience (which they would haue restreined and imprisoned) to put them in mind thereof at all howres. They be loth to confesse God, for feare to stand in awe of him; and yet the feare of the least things maketh them to confesse him. Nay, because they feare not him that made all things, therefore they stand in awe of all things; as wee see in the Emperour Caligula, who threatened the Ayre if it rayned vpon his Gameplayers; and yet notwithstanding he wrapped his Cape about his head, or hid himselfe vnder his Bed, at euery flash of lightening. I beleeue (saith Seneca concerning the same matter) that this threatening of his did greatly hasten his death, for so much as folke sawe that they were too beare such a one, as could not beare, euen with the Goddes.

Suetonius in the life of Caligula.

Seneca in his first booke concerning Wrath.

Among the learned, although the libertie of Sects was lawlesse: yet the chiefe that men counted for Atheists, were one Diagoras a Melian Poet, one Theodore a Cyrenian, one Ewhemere a Tegean, and a very fewe others. But to say truely, these rather skorned the Idolles and false Goddes of their tymes, then denyed the true God. Accordingly as we see many of them yet still among vs, which hold themselues cōtented with the knowing of vntrueth, without seeking after the trueth; and with mocking of Superstitions, without seeking the pure and true Religion. Of the said Diagoras it is reported, that as hee was burning an Image of Hercules in his fire; he said, Thou must now doe me seruice in this thirteenth incounter, as well as thou hast done to Eurisstheus in the other twelue. This was but a skorning of Idolles. For notwithstanding this: his Uerses began thus, that all things are gouerned by a Godhead. Also it is reported of the other, that he should say to the Egiptians; If they be Gods, why bewayle ye them?

Obiections concerning such as were counted Atheists.

them? and if they be dead folkes, why worship ye them? This also was a disprouing of the false Gods. And as for Ewhemere of Tegea, men are of accorde that the cause why he was called an Atheist, was for that he wrate the true Historie and Genealogie of the Heathen Gods; shewing that they were Kings, Princes, and great Personages, whose Images being kept for a remembrance of them were turned into Idolles, their worthie doings into perely Gamings, and their honorings into worshippings. And which of vs at this day beleeueth not as much? There were in deede a kinde of Philosophers called Scepticks (that is to say Dowters) which did rather suspend their Judgement concerning the Godhead, then call it in question. But yet it ought to suffize vs, that they be the selfsame which deny al Sciences, yea euen those which consist in Demonstration; and which professe themselues to doubt of the things which they see and feele; in so much that they doubt whether they themselues haue any beeing or no. But yet for all that, let vs see after what maner these kind of people doe reason. Against the thing which the world preacheth, which Nations worship, and which wise men wonder at; these folke say at a worde for all, how shall wee beleeue that there is a God, sith we see him not? O fole, and (which worse is) O fole by being wise in thyne owne concept: Thou beléeuest that there is a Sunne, euen when thou art in a Dongeon or in the bottome of a Prison, because his beames are shed in at thy windowes: and doubtest thou yet still whether there be a God or no, when he sheweth himself to thee through the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; in the Ayre, the Earth, the Sea; in all things that they conteyne, yea and euen in thy selfe? If thou haddest neuer seene Tree afore, thy wit at the very first sight of it, would leade thée to the rote which is vnder the Tree: and the sight of a Riuer would leade thee to the welspring thereof, which may peraduenture be two hundred Leagues of. And whosoeuer should tell thee the contrarie, thou wouldest stand at defiaunce against him. O man, like as the Tree leadeth thee to the roote by his braunches; doth not the roote leade thee likewise to the kernell, and the kernell to him that made it? And as the Riuer leadeth thée to his head; shal[illegible]t the head leade thée to the originall spring thereof, seeing thou [illegible]anst not doubt but it hath a beginning, sith thou seest that it runneth with a streame? If thou shouldest arriue among the Indians, and finde but some sillie Cottage in the desolatest Countrey thereof; Thou wouldest by and by conclude, this

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Ile is inhabited, some man hath passed heere. And why? Because thou seest there some tokens of mans wit, and knowest well that the Goates which thou hast seene raunging or skipping vpon the Rockes, can build no such thing. Now, when thou beeing borne beneath, seest here a hundred and a hundredthousand things which are not possible to be made by man: nay (which more is,) which it is not possible for him to knowe nor to vnderstand: oughtest thou not to say immediatly, Gods spirite hath passed this way, needes must here haue bene some higher thing then man?

Mention is made of certeyne precize persons, which beleeued nothing but that which they sawe, and the Wizards made them to see Deuilles: Whereupon they came to beleeue also that there is a God. It was a mad kinde of conuersion, to beleeue in God by the ministerie of the Deuill. But what a number of other things beleeuest thou which thou seest not? Thou beleeuest that ỹ Plants haue a kinde of Soule, that is to say, a certeyne inward power or vertue which maketh them to shoote forth in their season. Thou seest them, but thou seest not it; neither knowest thou whence it commeth, or where it lyeth. Thou beleeuest that the Beastes also haue one other kinde of Soule, which maketh them to mooue: and yet thou seest it as little as the other. Also thou beleeuest that thou thy self (besides these) hast an abilitie of reasoning both vpon them, and vpon thy selfe, and vpon such as are like thy selfe. And yet as touching the bodie, thou seest not any thing altered in the partes thereof after death; neither within nor without. Where is that Soule then, or where hast thou euer seene it? If thou beleeue thereof because of the effects which thou seest, which cannot come from any thing els: I assure thée euen by the same effects, that if thou beléeue nothing thereof but that which thou seest with thyne eyes; thyne eyes see not but by thy Soule, and thyne eyes themselues see not thy Soule. To be short, thou beleeuest that thou hast a face, which without a loking Glasse thou seest not: And wilt thou not beleeue there is a God, whose face shineth forth in all things?

Plutarch in his treatise of the ceassing of Oracles, reporteth that a Ruler of Cilicia which was an Atheist, came to the beleef of a God, by an answere giuen from the Oracle of Mopsus, to a demaund of his whiche was deliuered sealed.

Others some to shewe themselues more fineheaded, haue argewed thus. If there bee a GOD, he must needes be a bodily liuing wight, or els he should be senceless. And if he ha senses, then is he chaungeable; and if he be chaungeable, then may he perish: that is to say, he is no longer God. Beasts are they in very deed, which can conceiue no better then that which is common to Beasts.

Others haue sayd thus: If he be without bodie, he is also without

out Soule, and consequently without action. Or if he be a bodie, he is subiect to the chaunges therof. Alas that they should not be able to conceiue a Spirite without a bodie, nor to see that euen in our selues it is the onely Soule that worketh, and that the bodie stirreth not but as it is moued by the Soule.

Others againe do reason, that if there be a God, he must needes be perfectly happie: and if he be perfectly happie, he is vertuous: if vertuous, he ouermaistereth his affections: and if he ouermaister his affections, he is tempted of his lustes; a thing altogether vnbeseeming the Godhead. And by these inconueniences they conclude, that there is no God at all: not perceiuing, or rather wilfully refusing to perceiue that which Plutarke sayth very well: namely, that the person which ouermaistereth his affections, is but halfe vertuous, but the staied person is wholly vertuous, because the one doth but bridle his passions by force of reason, whereas the other hath them alreadie settled according to reason. But there is yet more in God: for he is reason it selfe, and there is nothing in him but reason. Soothly this kind of reasoning of theirs agreeth in effect with this saying of Xenophanes, that if Beastes were able to paynt, they would portray God like to themselues, because they could not naturally conceiue any further. Such and other like are the arguments of these godly Philosophers, which euen little babes might laugh to scorne: but els they could not haue bene against so manifest and euident a trueth. And yet dare I also well assure you, that they themselues knewe the falsenesse of those arguments, but that they were as it were sworne to doubt of all things, and to gainsay all things.

Plutarke in his treatise of morall vertue.

Xenophanes as he is alledged by Clement of Alexandria in his Stromats.

Let vs then conclude with the learned and the ignorant, the Greekes and the Barbarians, Men and Beastes, things sensible and senceless, the whole and euery part thereof: That there is a God. And if there bee yet any folke that caste doubts thereof, indeuouring to race out not onely God but also man himselfe out of their hearts: let vs boldly appeale euen vnto themselues; not doubting at all, but that their owne Conscience which cannot be defeated, will one day make them to vnderstand it.

The

The second Chapter.

That there is but onely one God.

LEt vs studie further in the booke of nature, and see whether that as it hath taught vs a Godhead, it teach vs not also that the same consisteth in onely one God. I haue tould you alreadye, that of things, some haue being, some haue being and life, some haue being, lyfe and sence; and other some haue being, lyfe, sence, and reason. These fower sortes fall into three, from three into two, and from two into one, and that one is Beeing; afore the which (as I haue proued already) there went a Notbeeing. The residue therefore how diuers so euer they be, are all conueied in the one Beeing, and this one Beeing must needes rest in the power of one first Being, whereof the being which we see, is but a shadowe. Againe, in all ỹ things which we see; we reduce the particulars too an vnderkind, the vnderkinds to an vpperkind, and the vpperkind to a most generall. As for example, we reduce all particular humane persons vnder the terme of man; All men vnder the terme of Wight; all wights vnder the terme of liuing things; and all liuing things vnder the terme of things that are or be; alwayes referring euery diuersitie to some vnitie, and the same vnitie to another vnitie which is more vniuersall. It remaineth then that when we can mount no higher, we must distinguish ỹ things that are, into the thing which is of it selfe, and the thing which is not of it selfe. That which is not of it selfe, is the World and all that euer is therein, as I haue proued afore. That which is of it selfe, is the thing which we cal God, beyond whom nothing can bee imagined, and by whome all things both are and haue bene, as which could haue no beeing of themselues. Now to produce from Notbeeing into beeing, requireth an infinite power. For betweene nothing and something is an infinite distance; and two infinites cannot be abidden, no nor imagined together. For the infiniteneſſe of the one doth incloase and bynd the power of the other, and loke whatsoeuer is giuen too the one, is taken away from all others. Therefore like as there must

The World leadeth to one onely God.

needes

nædes be one Infinite, so must there be but only one, yea and most simply one: from whose vnitie neuertheless flowe all the diuersities which we see in the whole world, like as from a Pricke, proceedeth a Lyne, an outside, and all substantiall bodies. And of vnitie or one in nombering, proceedeth euen and odde, round and square, and all the multiplicities, proportions, and harmonies which wee see: sauing that the Pricke and the vnitie of nomber are intermingled and interlaced with all things, whereas the foresayd most single and alonly One, abyding still one in it selfe, bringeth forth all the other vnities, and conteineth them all.

Let vs examine euery sort of things seuerally by them selues, and we shall learne the like still in them. In the Elements wee see contrarie qualities & operations. And where contraries are, there nædе but two heads to set them at warre. For they cannot dwell together, neither can they match together, and much lesse can they reigne together. The further that any of them extendeth his power, the lesse can hee away with any fellowe. Now then if one reigned ouer the Heate, and another ouer the Colde; one ouer the Dryth, and another ouer the Moysture; so as there were diuers makers or gouerners of the worlde: wee should also see diuersities of factions, Element against Element in the whole worlde and in euery thing that is compounded, and continual warre in the middes of their Bowels. But now see we no such thing; but euery of them imbraceth other, both in the whole and in euery seuerall thing, notwithstanding that naturally they displace and destroy one another.

Furthermore they stand not at defyance alone by them selues, but the Sea becleapeth the Earth, the Sea and Earth togither are lapped vp in the Ayre, the Ayre is compast about with the Skye, and euery of them stopeth vnder other; insomuch that of their contrarieties ye see there procedeth a goodly vniformitie. Seeing then that there are not two factions, there is but one maker, and seeing they yeeld all into one, it cannot be but also by one. In the Earth wee see Riuers, which runne a very long race, but yet from one head: and againe many streames, which yeeld themselues all into one, which one is the Sea; and the Sea also being vndiuidable passeth through the whole inferiour world. Like as they come out of one vnitie, so doe they yeeld themselues vp into one other vnitie. In the Heauen wee obserue infinite diuers mouings, but yet all obeying vnto one. There is one light which sheadeth it selfe throughout

throughout all places, but yet it procéedeth from one onely; which seemeth to multiply it selfe infinitely, & yet cannot by any meanes be parted: I meane one Sunne, whose beames spreading out on all sides, doe reach from the Skye vnto the Earth, and yet neuertheleſſe continue ſtill fast knit together in one bond by one vnitie. Now all these parts, which procéede from one and tend to one, doe make vs to beléeue that all procéede from one most single one.

Againe, in the things that haue life, as in Hearbes and Trées; wee see a barke, a stalke or trunke, many boughes or braunches, and an infinite number of leaues. The bodie hath no likeneſſe to the leaues, nor the leaues to the fruite, nor the fruite to the blossomes. And yet doe all these come from one roote, which hath his force vnited to it selfe; and the roote springing of a kernell or of a grayne, (which cannot be the worke of any mo then one workman) conteyneth all the sayd diuersities in his vnitormitie, and of it selfe alone yéeldeth forth infinite of the same kinde; and of one beginning of life which is not multiplyed in it selfe, maketh it selfe a beginning of life (as well within it selfe as without it selfe) vnto many things that haue life.

Likewise as touching wights, wee see in euery of them a thousand diuers parts. Outwardly, Head, Eyes, Nose, Eares, Téeth, Tongue, Féete, Tayle, and so forth: and inwardly the Heart, the Lungs, the Stomacke, the Liuer, the Bowelles, the Kidneys, the Bones, the Sinewes, the Heartstrings, the Veynes, and such other things. The beginning of this whole Masse and of all those so manifold parts, is next cousen vnto nothing; a very small drop, of one shape, but onely one. Yet notwithstanding, it hath the beginning of life and sence vnited in it selfe; which multiplyeth it self into many abilities, sences, actions, and mouings: and that not inwardly onely, but also outwardly in infinite numbers of the same kinde, which in procesſe of tyme doe fill whole Countries. So certeyne is this principle in nature, that all multitudes come from an vnitie or One, and that there cannot bee any multitude, vnleſſe the same haue first bin no multitude. But wee take no héede of it, because wee see it euery day: and yet is it giuen vs to looke vpon, to the end we should haue regard of it. Howbeit, forasmuch as man is both the image of God, and the Counterpane of the world together: wee cannot see this vnitie so apparantly in any thing, as in man himselfe. If we looke vpon his bodie, all the parts thereof are made one for another, and minister one to another with mutuall

Man leadeth vs to one God.

duetie: and without so doing, he could not continue nor liue. The Eyes guyde the Feete; the Feete beare the Eyes; by one part the things that are needful are taken in; and by another the things that are superfluous are voyded out: and all and euery of them referre their doings to the benefite of the whole bodie. This vnion of diuers operations tending al to one poynt, shewes that the framing of man was made by one onely workemanship. And as the workemanship is but one, so must the workemaister also needes bee but one. For, like as by a building that is made by peeces and of diuers proportions, we deeme the diuersitie of the maysterbuilders; so by the vniformitie thereof we iudge it to be the deuise and workmanship of one alone. The Veynes are spred forth throughout the whole bodie, howbeit from one welhead, that is to say from the Liuer: so be the Sinewes, howbeit from the Brayne; So likewise are the Heartstrings, howbeit from the Heart. By these three sorts of Condityppes, are life, sence, and breath shead forth euen to the least and vttermost parts, and the braunches thereof are without number, but the originall of all is onely one. But yet doth this shine forth more cleerely in the Soule of man. It hath life, sence, and mouing. All these are dealt forth, mayntayned, and guyded by the onely one Soule. Here ye see alreadie one vnitie. The Soule which hath his powers so diuers and so farre spred, is whole thorowout all the whole bodie, and whole in euery part thereof, as much in the least as in the greatest, and as much in the least as in the whole. There ye see yet a streighter vnitie. Againe, the Soule is yet more streightly shut vp into Mynde, which is the Soule of the Soule, as the Apple of the Eye is the Eye of the Eye; and yet notwithstanding, this Mynd (as entierly one as it is,) conceiueth and doth infinite things, entereth into a thousand places without remouing, passeth ouer the Seas, mounteth vp to the Heauens, and reacheth downe to the deapth of the Earth. Lo here an vnitie most streight in it selfe, and yet extended to the vtmost parts of the world.

Hermes saith that the Sunnebeames of God are his Actions, the Sunnebeames of the World are the Natures of things, and the Sunnebeames of Man are Artes and Sciences. Therefore let vs see whether the Artes and Sciences will guyde vs to the same vnitie, whereunto those Actions and the natures of things haue led vs alreadie, beginning at the lower, and mounting vp to the higher. Graunmer teacheth vs to bring the diuers parts of speech

speeth into one congruetie, and the end thereof is to speake; and the end of speaking is societie. Rhetorike teacheth to drawe mennes minds to one selfsame opinion. Logike teacheth to sift out ỹ trueth from a nõber of falshods, which trueth can be but one. Their ends then are congruetie, societie, vnitie of mind and trueth, which are but sundrie sortes of vnitie. Arithmetick proceedeth from vnitie, Geometrie from a pricke; and Musick from agreement of sounds; and the end of them is to reduce things to one comon reason, to one proportion, and to one harmonie, all which are kinds of vnitie, and their braunches are braunches of the same. For Perspectiue draweth all his lynes to one poynt: Masonrie and Carpentrie tende to vniformitie. The handicraft indeuereth to bring many powers and many mouings vnder one, to ouerrule them all: All which again are but sundry sorts of vnitie. Phisick tendeth to the preseruation or restitution of health; and health is nothing els but a well proportioned vnion of diuers humors togither. The skill of Lawe tendeth to Right, and there is but one Right, though there be infinite wrongs. Then serues it but to mainteyne, restore, and bring men backe ageine vnto vnitie. Let vs proceede further; Yea all Philosophie subdeweth many diuers passions and affections vnto one reason, in one man. Howholdgouernment bringeth many men to the obeying of one householder: Ciuillgouernment reduceth many households into one Commonweale, which is nothing but an vnitie of many people, whether it be vnder one Lawe or vnder one magistrate; insomuch that euẽ the most popular Comonweales haue (in their extremities) taken a Dictator, and in their ordinarie course of gouernment a Consull, the one after the other. Nowthen all that euer man conceiueth, inuenteth and disposeth, doth leade vs alwayes to an vnitie. Where vnitie is lost, there things goe to wrecke, Artes are confounded, and Commonweales are dissolued. Then like as in vnvnited diuersitie wee finde waste and subuersion; so must we loke in vnity for the increase and preseruation of all things. Now if man, and all that is within man and without him doe leade vs to one alone: shall he suffer himselfe to raunge out vnto many? And if all the Sonnebeames of man, I meane his Arts and Sciences, tend to one vnitie: shall only diuinitie turne vs aside to a pluralitie of Goddes? May rather, by so many vnities, she will make vs flye vp to the true and perfect vnitie, and that vnitie is the onely one God.

But let vs see now how all things being so diuers in the whole

The linking in of things togeather.

worlde, are referred one to another. The Water moysteneth the Earth, the Ayre maketh it fatte with his showers, the Sunne inlighteneth it and heateth it according to his seasons. The Earth nourisheth the Plants, the Plants feede the Beastes, & the Beasts serue man. Againe, nothing is scene here to be made for itselfe. The Sunne shineth and heateth; but not for it selfe: the Earth beareth and yet hath no benefite thereby: the Winds blowe, and yet they sayle not: but all these things redound to the glory of the maker, to the accomplishment of the whole, and to the benefite of man. To be short, the noblest creatures haue nede of the basest, and the basest are serued by the noblest; and all are so linked together from the highest to the lowest, that the ring thereof cannot bee broken without confusion. The Sunne cannot be Eclipsed, the Plantes withered, or the Raine want; but all things fele the hurt thereof. Now then, can we imagine that this worke which consisteth of so many & so diuers peeces, tending all to one end, so cuppled one to another, making one body, & ful of so apparant consents of affections; procedeth from elsewhere than from the power of one alone? When in a feeld we see many Battels, diuers Standerds, sundry Liueries, and yet all turning head with one swaye; wee conceiue that there is one Generall of the field, who commandeth them all. Also when in a Citie or a Realme wee see an equalitie of good behauior in an vnequality of degrees of people, infinite trades which serue one another, the smaller reuerensing the greater, the greater seruing to the benefite of the smaller, both of them made equall in Justice, and all tending in this diuersitie to the common seruice of their Countrie: we doubt not but there is one Lawe, and a Magistrate which by that Lawe holdeth the said diuersitie in vnion. And if any man tell of many Magistrates; we will by and by inquire for the soueraine. Yet notwithstanding, all this is but an order set among diuers men, who ought euen naturally to be united, by the communitie of their kind. But when things as wel light as heauy, whot as cold, moyst as dry, liuing as vnliuing, endewed with sence as senceless, and eche of infinite sortes, doe so close in one composition, as one of them cannot forbeare another; nay rather to our seeming, the worthiest doe seruice to the basest, the greatest to the smallest, the strongest to the weakest, and all of them togeather are disposed to the accomplishment of the worlde, and to the contentment of man who alonly is able to consider it: ought we not forthwith to perceiue, that the whole worlde and all things conteyned therein

therein, doe by their tending vnto vs, teach vs to tend vnto one alone: And seeing that so many things tende vnto man; shall man scatter his doings vnto diuers ends: Or shall hee bee so wretched as to serue many maysters: May further, to knit vp this poynt withall, seeing that all things the nobler they bee, the more they doe close into one vnitie, (as for example, wee see that the things which haue but mere being are of infinite kynds, the things that haue life are of infinite sortes, the things that haue sence are of many sortes, howbeit not of so many; and the things that haue reason are many, onely in particulars): doth it not followe also that the Godhead from whence they haue their reason (as nobler thā they) is also much more one than they, that is to say, only one as well in particularitie and nomber, as also in kynd?

Howbeit, notwithstanding all these considerations, forasmuch as there is diuersitie, yea and contrarite in worldly things; some haue gathered vpon this diuersitie, that there be diuers Gods, acknowledging neuertheless one Almightie aboue them all. And othersome, in respect of the contrarietie, haue set downe but two Gods onely. The first say, If onely one God had made all things, there should haue bene no difference in things: but there is difference; and therefore it must nedes bee that there are many Gods. Surely had these men wel considered the things afore alledged by mee; they should haue seene that nature is wholly and altogether against this Consequence. There is great diuersitie in one Plant, in one Wight, in one Man: and yet notwithstanding the ground thereof is vniforme. Yea and it is so true that onely vnitie is fruitfull, that we see how the diuersitie it selfe and that which commeth thereof, is vtterly barrein, both in Wights, (as in Mules) and in Plants, as in the Stergon, and also in all other like things. If they consider the Sunne, hee maketh Plants to growe all at one tyme, diuers one from another, and as diuers in themselues. Hee maketh some of them to shootefoorth, some to ryppen, and some to wither. At one instant he both worketh drought in the Earth, and drayeth vp Clowdes out of it to moysten it: he giueth Sommer, Daylight, & fayre weather to some, and Winter, night, and fowle wether vnto othersome: Hee maketh some folkes whyte, some blacke, some read, and some Tawny; and yet is hee but one selfesame Sunne, and one selfesame Creature, which at one selfesame instant, by one selfesame course, and with one selfesame qualitie of heate, doth all the sayd things, not onely diuers, but also contrarie.

The obiectiōs of such as mainteyne mo Gods thā one.

Iulian the Apostata, in Cyrillus.

Stergon is an herbe which groweth of an Onyon stuffed with Linseede or seede of Flax.

And hee that should say that it is any other than one selfesame Sunne that maketh the Ethyopian blacke, and the Scotte yellowish, were not worthy to be answered. Now if a Creature doth by heate (which is but a qualitie) bréede so diuers effectes; what shall we say of the Creator, I meane the infinite Being of GOD, who imparteth himselfe to all things?

Again, if man consider himselfe, he féeleth, he séeth, he speaketh, he vnderstandeth a thousand diuers things, without any alteration in himselfe. May which more is, he conceiueth, he inuenteth, and he performeth so diuers workes, that Nations doe wonder one at another. One man portrayeth out the whole worlde in a little péece of Paper, peinting out all the Images of the Heauens, and all the Climates of the Earth. Some one other counterfeiteth all liuing wights, which Créepe, which Goe, which Flye, which Swimme. And all this commeth but of one mynd which conceiueth and bréedeth all these formes, because it hath no forme of it owne; for had it any of it owne, it could not breede them, because it owne would occupie it to the full. What haue we then to thinke of him, whose willings are powers, and whose thoughts are déedes? Who is an infinite mynd; in comparison of the brightnesse whereof our mynds are but a shadowe? If we, who (to speake properly) are but in outward showe, doe things in outward showe so diuers: do we doubt that he which is in very trueth, cannot do them also in very trueth? Moreouer, if the diuersitie make vs to imagine diuers Gods, howbeit all proceéding of one alone: shall we say that he which in his vnitie, bred the rest of the Gods with their so diuers powers, had not the same powers in his vnitie? Againe, seeing the sayd diuersitie was once included within the sayd vnitie; is it to be sayd that he was fayne to hatch vp diuers Gods, for the bringing of that diuersitie to light? May, like as nature doth all things the shortest way: so also God made all things immediatly. And if they say it was his pleasure to make the high things himselfe, and to leaue the lowe things to be done by the pettie Gods: we must consider that High and Lowe, Noble and Vnnoble, are but considerations of man. For to make the one or the other, is all one vnto God; who of his infinite goodnesse and power, hath drawne both twayne of them out of nothing, which was no more the one than the other, as wée shall see hereafter.

Against two beginnings.

Let vs come to such as haue vphilde two beginnings, the one good whom they call Oromases; and the other euill whom they call

call Arimanius; which opinion men say procéeded first from Zoroastres, and afterward from the Persians and Manichies; but wee shall finde no foundation thereof in nature. Their meaning is, that the Elements, the Plants, Beastes, Men, yea and Spirites, were as yee would say parted betwixt these twoo Gods, so as the one should bee the Creator of the one, and the other of other; the good God, of the good; and the euill of the euill. If it be so, then is there a Ciuill warre fully furnished, of forces set in battelray on both sides: so as there remayneth nothing but fighting, and yet after so long tyme we see no such fight at all. And therfore let vs conclude, that this cōtrarietie of beginnings is not. Vnto the one, they alotted Light: and vnto the other, Darknesse: vnto the one, Sommer: and vnto the other Winter: vnto the one, Heate: and vnto the other, Cold. In very déede these are Contraries, but yet is one selfsame Sunne the doer of them all, after as he goeth further from vs or commeth neerer to vs. And his going from vs is not to forgoe his light, but to shine therewith the neerlyer vnto others; nor to coole himselfe, but to heate other folkes. Then if these contraries come of one selfsame one, that is to wit of the Sunne: Much more likely is it in reason, that the Sunne himself should not come of two. Againe, why should the one of these contraries be good, and the other bad? Whosoeuer shall haue tryed the extremitie both of the Heate and of the Cold, shall not be able to discerne which is the worser. Likewise he that shall haue obserued the benefite that commeth of either of them in their seasons, shall not be able to discerne which of them to take for the better. The Heate ripeneth fruites; but it also seareth and parcheth them. The Colde starueth them; but it also maketh them to bud. Take away either of them both, and you take away all fruites. And like as both of them are needfull to one selfsame thing, that is to wit, to the bringing forth of fruites: so be they also procured by ẏ course of one selfsame might, which is the Sunne. The same Sunne is the lightner of our eyes to our behoofe; and he is also the blinder of them if wee gaze vpon him at the heyghth of the day. Yet notwithstanding, both in the Sunne and in our eyes is the selfsame light which they call good, and which by his reckoning should bee to them both good and bad: and if it be so, on which side shall they turne themselues?

Plutarch in the lyfe of Osyris and Isis.

They adde further: Among Plants there are so many poysons, and among liuing wights, so many noysome Beastes: that how should a good God bee author of them? Sillie man that thou art!

The Poysons thou occuppest in Tryacles for thy health, euen against the Plague. And of those Beastes thou canst skill to vse the skinnes to clothe thee against the Colde. And if thou hast an euill opinion of some of them, because thou canst not serue thy turne with them; as much wouldest thou haue sayd sometime of ỳ Horse, which as now doth thee seruice so many waies: & as much might the Satyre haue said of Fire when it burned him, notwithstanding that as now it be so many waies necessarie. Now then they might benefite thee, if thou wistest how to vse them: and whereas they anoy thee, it is not of their nature, but through thyne owne weakenesse or rather ignorance. But if they be good so farre forth as thou hast skill of them: shall they not bee good to him which knoweth them throughly? In the Closet of a Surgion who is but a man as thou art, thou shalt finde a thousand toles; and thou wilt perchaunce esteeme him so wise, that thou wilt not thinke there is any one of them, which serueth not to some purpose. Yea, and if any of them doe cut thée or race thée; thou wilt not blame the tole nor the maister thereof, but thy selfe which tookest it by the blade, whereas thou shouldest haue taken it by the handle. And as little canst thou say, that the tole which did cut thee, as that the tole wherewith thou diddest cut what thou wouldest, had another maister or maker. Now then, wilt thou bring lesse regard with thée in this great shop of the Creator? It is his will that some things shall serue other liuing wights which serue thée, and othersome shall serue thee alone. Yea, and he will haue euen the harmes which thou receiuest by them, to serue thée to some purpose: and he serueth his owne turne better by thée, then thou canst serue thyne owne. And if thou which art nothing, hast yet so much wit as to drawe some peculiar good to thy self, out of another bodies workes, yea euen out of such as thou accountest euill; as out of Poyson, health; from the Wolfe, his skinne to couer thée; from the night, rest; and so forth: Shall not the almightie and infinite Spirit much better dispose them for the benefite of all men, yea and of all the whole world which comprehendeth so many things together?

They say yet againe; But why should a good God take pleasure in so many needlesse things? For to what purpose serueth the Fly, and such other things? Tell me, wouldest thou like well that thine owne Children should speake such reproach of thy workes? Nay rather wherein doth the Flye anoye thée? And wherfore serued the Flye that Zeuxis paynted in his Table? It serued to make his greatest

greatest disdeyners, (euen those which would haue had that rather then all the rest wyped out of the Table) to confesse his arte and excellent skill. And this serueth to conuict thée of blockishnes, thée (I say) which haddest rather to finde fault with God and with the Flye, then to wonder at the excellencie of him, who hath inclosed so liuely a life, so quicke a mouing, and so great an excellencie in so little a thing. So then, it is not for vs to chace her out of the table; but rather to confesse our owne ignorance, or els to chace it away. Hereby therefore we perceiue, that of all the things which they can alledge, there is none which is not good and behofefull in it selfe; and that the euilnesse thereof commeth onely through vs, and therfore that the thing hath but onely one Beginner thereof, who is good.

But behold, they vrge the matter yet more strongly. Howsoeuer the case stād (say they) it cannot be denyed but there is euilnesse in things, seeing that they corrupt themselues, and the sinne that is in our selues is vtterly euill: and sith it is so, from whence may that bee? For if God be good, he cannot bee the author of euill; and therefore there must nēdes bee another author thereof. This question shall bee handled more lightsomely when I come to treate of Mans fall, which is the bringer in of the two euilles, namely both of payne and fault; but yet may we assoyle it if we take hēde. We say that making and creating are referred to natures or substances, and that all natures and substances are good; and therefore that God who is good, is the author and Creator of them. On the contrary part, we say that euill is neither a nature nor a substance, but an income or accident which is falne into natures and substances; It is (say I) a bereuing or diminishing of the good qualities which things ought naturally to haue. This euill hath not any being in it selfe; neither can haue any being but in the thing that is good. It is not an effect, but a default; nor a production, but a corruption. And therefore to speake properly, we must not seeke whence commeth the doing of euill, but whence commeth the vndoing of good. As for example, Wine is of Gods creating, and it is good. Now this good substance falling to decay, that is to say, to abate or diminish of his vertue, becommeth Vineger. Whereupon no man asketh who made the substaunce that is become sharpe, for it is the selfsame that it was afore; but they aske whence cōmeth the sharpnes or eagernesse, that is to say, the alteration that is befalne to the substance. If thou say that it commeth of the foresayd euill Beginner the author of all euill, as the good Beginner is the author of all

goodnesse:

goodnesse: forasmuch as euill is nothing els but a default, want or fayling of good; it is the souereine or chiefe default or fayling, as the good is the souereine or chiefe being. And if it be the chiefe default, then is it not any more. For the default or fayling of a thing, is a tending of the thing to notbeing any more the same that it was: and the fayling of all, is a tending to the vtter vnbeing or notbeing of the whole.

Moreouer, the sayd euill Beginner, which worketh not but in the substance that is made or created by another, could do nothing if the good Beginner wrought not first; and so should he haue the Commencement of his power depending vpon another than himselfe, which is a thing repugnant to a Godhead. And if you aske what is then the cause thereof: I tell you it is the very nothing it selfe; that is to wit, that God almightie, to shewe vs that he made all of nothing, hath left a certeyne inclination in his Creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to say, to chaunge and corruption, vnlesse they bee vphild by his power, who hauing all in himselfe, abideth alonly vnchaungeable and free from all passions. As in respect then that things be, they be of God; but as in respect that they corrupt & tend to notbeing that which they were afore; that commeth of the sayd notbeing, whereof they were created. And so they be good, as in respect of their bare being; and euill as in respect that they forgo their formal being, that is to say, their goodnesse: God on the behalfe of the [souereine] God, the father of all substances; Euill as on the behalfe of the Nothing: And sothly neither by nature nor by iustice ought they to be made equall with the vnchaungeable Being of their Creator. And this is to be seene alike in all things. An Apple rotteth, and a man dyeth. The Apple and the man, that is to say, the natures of them are Gods Creatures. As for the rottennesse and the sickenesse, they bee but abatements and defaults of the good nature that was in either of them from the good Creator. Man againe becommeth a Sinner, and hereunto he needeth no newe creation. It is a vanishing away of the good nature, which loseth her taste. And therefore S. Austine sayth, that the Latins terme an euill man Nequam, and an euillnesse Nequitiam, that is to say, Naughtie and Naughtinesse. Now, like as of rightnought there needeth no beginner; so also is there none to bee sought of naughtinesse or euill. And by þ meanes there remayneth vnto vs but onely one God the beginner and author of all things, as wee haue defined him alreadie afore. Plato, Plotin,

Nothing being a negatiue, causeth nothing which is the priuatiue.

Plotin, and other great Philosophers of all Sects, are of opinion that Euill is not a thing of itselfe, nor can bee imagined but in the absence of all goodnes, as a depriuation of the good which ought to be naturally in euery thing: That euill is a kynd of notheing, and hath no abyding but in the good, whereof it is a default or diminishing. That the cause thereof is in the very matter whereof God created things, which matter they termed the very vnbeing, that is to say, in very trothe no being atall, whereof the Creatures retayne still a certeine inclination, whereby they may fall away from their goodnesse: And that in the very Soule of man, the euil that is there is a kind of darknesse, for want of loking vp to ỹ light of the soueryne mynde which should inlighten it; and through suffering it selfe to bee caried too much away to the materiall things which are nothing. But now that we haue done with nature, it is good tyme to sée what the wysest men will teach vs concerning the onely one God.

Plato, in his Timæus.
Plotin, in Enn. 1. lib. 8.
Trismegist. in Asclepio.
Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

The third Chapter.

That the Wisdome of the world hath acknowledged one onely God.

SOme man will say vnto mée, if in the worlde, if in the things contayned in the worlde, if in man himselfe, it bee so lively painted out that there is but only one God; whereof then commeth the multitude of Gods among men, yea and among those whome the worlde counted wysest? I will not proue héere that all those Gods were either dead men or Diuels: for that shalbe handled more materially in another place. But it shall suffice for this present, to shewe the vniuersalitie of consent in this point, and that euen those which through custome do celebrate the pluralitie of Gods, did yet notwithstanding beléeue that there is but onely one true God: Which thing I will first maynteyne by the wyse men which liued from age to age. Mercurius Trismegistus, who (if the bookes which are fathered vppon him bee his in déede, as in trueth they

they bee very auncient) is the founder of them all, teacheth euery-where, That there is but one GOD: That one is the roote of all things, and that without that one, nothing hath bene of all things that are: That the same one is called the onely good and the goodnesse it selfe, which hath vniuersall power of creating all things: That it is vnpossible that there should bee many makers: That in Heauen he hath planted immortalitie, in earth, interchaunge, and vniuersally, lyfe and mouing: That vnto him alone belongeth the name of Father and of Good; and that without blasphemie those titles cannot be attributed either to Angels, to Fends, or to men, or to any of al those whom men do cal Gods as in respect of honor and not of nature. He calleth him father of the world, the Creator, the Beginning, the Glorie, the Nature, the Ende, the Necessitie, the Renewer of all things, the worker of all powers, and the power of all works, the onely holy, the onely vnbegotten, the onely euerlasting, the Lord of euerlastingnesse, and the euerlastingnesse it selfe; the onely one, and by whome there is but onely one worlde; alone, and himselfe alonly all; nameless, and more excellent than al names. Vnto him alone will he haue vs to offer vp our prayers, our Prayses, and our Sacrifices, and neuer to call vpon any other than him.

I would faine knowe whether it bee possible for vs to say any thing, either more, or better for the setting forth of the sayd vnitie: In deede in some places hee speaketh of Gods in the plurall nomber, as when he calleth the world a God, and the Heauen with the Planets which rule the Heauen, Gods: but that is after the same maner which he sometymes calleth man himselfe a God, notwithstanding that noman can doubt of his birth and death, which are things cleane contrarie to the true Godhead. The Starres (saith he, speaking of the Creation) were nombred according to the Gods that dwell in them. And in an other place he saith, There are two sorts of Gods, the one wandring, and the other fixed. But in the tymes going before, he had sayd that God is the beginner of them, That he made them, That he is the Father and onely good, vnto whom nothing is to bee compared, either of the things beneath, or the things aboue. Also he saith further, That the world is a second God, and a sensible God: and that Man is a third God, by reason of the immortall Soule which is in him: but yet he calleth them Children, Impes and Creatures of the onely one God, and most commonly Shadowes and Images of him; neither is it

Mercurius Trismegistus, in his Pœmander. Chap. 3. 8. 10. 11. 12. And in his Asclepius. Chap. 2. 6. 8. 9.

his

his meaning to attribute so much vnto them, as only one sparke of goodnes, or power to make the least thing that is. To be short, hee setteth downe some Gods as principall, some as meane, and other some as vndergouernours: But the conclusion of his matter is, that the souereine dominion belongeth to God the souereine Lord of them all, vpon whom alonly they depend, and from whom they proceede, who alonly is called Father and Lorde, and whatsoeuer holyer name can be giuen, who made both men and Gods, yea and men (sayth he) much better and more excellent then all the Gods. And as at the beginning of his worke he had prayed vnto him alone; so thanketh and praiseth he him alone in the ende: which thing I thought good to set out at length, because many Philosophers haue drawne their skill and knowledge out of his fountayne.

Pythagoras speaketh of God in these termes: God is but one; not as some thinke, without gouernment of the world, but all in all. He is the orderer of all Ages, the light of all powres, the Originall of al things, the Cresset of Heauē, the Father, Mynd, Quickener, and Mouer of all. Moreouer, he calleth him The infinite power from whence al other powers flowe; which cannot be verified but of him alone. Philolaus a disciple of his sayth, That there is but onely one God, the Prince and Guyder of all things, who is alwaies singular, vnmouable, like himselfe, and vnlike all other things. Also Architas sayth, that he esteemeth no man wise, but him which reduceth all things vnto one selfsame Originall, that is to wit, vnto God, who is the beginning, end, and middle of all things. And Hierocles one of the same Sect, sayth, that the same is he whom they call by the name of Zena and Dia, the Father and maker of all things, because all things haue their life and being of him. Verely (by the report of Eudorus as he is alledged by Simplicius) they called him the founder of matter. And had we the bookes of Numenius, we perceiue well by the things which we reade & heere there, that we should finde them manifest and plaine. Now, all these had this doctrine both from Nature and from the Schole of Pherecydes the Syrian the Maister of Pythagoras, vnto whom Aristotle attributeth it in his Metaphisicks. Empedocles the successor of Pythagoras, celebrated none other but this onely one, as appeareth by these Verses of his.

All things that are, or euer were, or shall hereafter bee,
Both man & woman, Beast and Bird, Fish, Worme, Herb, Grasse, & (Tree,
And euery other thing, yea euen the auncient Gods each one
Whom wee so highly honor heere, come all of one alone.

Alledged by Cicero, Plutarke, Clemens of Alexandria, and Cyrillus.

Philo the Iewe: and Iamblichus of the Sect of Pythagoras.

Hierocles against the Atheists.

Simplicius in his Phis. Numenius concerning the Good. Arist. 14. Metaph. Cap. 4.

Aristotle alledgeth them in his first Philosophy and in his booke of the World.

Aristo. 1. Phis: cap. 10. lib. 3. Simplic. lib. 1. Phis.

Parmenides and Melissus taught the same; and so did their Schoolemaister Xenophanes the Colophonian, as we bee credibly informed by the Verses of Parmenides rehearsed by Simplicius; in the which Verses hee calleth him the Vnbegotten, the whole, the only one, not which hath bin or shalbe, but which euerlastingly is all together and all of himselfe. To be short, of the like opinion were Thales, Anaxagoras, Timeus of Locres, Acmon, Euclide, Archœuetus, and others of the auncientest Philosophers. And Aristotle witnesseth in many places, that it was the common Doctrine of the men of olde tyme; The which Zeno held so streightly, that to deny the Vnitie of God, and to deny the Godhead it selfe, he thought to bee all one. And the cause of so saying among the auncient Philosophers, was not their only reading therof in the writings of some that went afore them, (as we might doe now); but also their reading thereof both in the World and in themselues. But let vs come to the chiefe Sects of the Philosophers.

Academicks.

Socrates the Schoolemaister of Plato, confessed only one God, and (as Aulus Gellius and Apuleius report) was condemned to drinke Poyson, for teaching that the Gods which were worshipped in his tyme were but vanitie: And for that in scorne of them he was wont to sweare by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dogge; as who would say there was no more Godhead in the one than in the other. Yet notwithstanding, he was the man whom Apollo by his Oracle deemed to bee the wisest of all Greece; thereby confessing that he himselfe was no God. His Disciple Plato deliuereth a rule in fewe words, whereby to discerne his meaning. When I write in good earnest (sayth he) you shall knowe it hereby, that I begin my letters with onely one God: and when I write otherwise, I begin them with many Gods. Verely his ordinarie maner of speeches were not, If it please the Gods, with the helpe of the Gods, and such like: but if it please God, by the helpe and guyding of God, God knoweth it, Such a man is the cause thereof next vnto God, and such other like. Whereas he affirmeth al other things not to bee in very deede: He calleth God, the Father of the whole World, the Beer, that is to say, he who only is or hath beeing; the selfbyed, who also made ỳ Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne, the Mone, the tymes and seasons, and all other things both heauenly and earthly, high and lowe, and whatsoeuer els is. In other places he calleth him the Beginning, the Middle, and the End; by whom,

Plato in his 13. Epistle to King Denis.

whom, for whom, and about whom all things are; the Gouerner of all that euer is and shall be; the very Goodnesse, and the Paterne of all goodnesse; the King of all wights indewed with reason and mynd; of whom all things haue their Béeing, and which is of more excellencie then the word Béeing. And the names and titles which he giueth vnto the true God, are commonly giuen him vnder the name of Iupiter, and he thinketh that they be not to be communicated vnto any other. In déede sometymes he suffereth himselfe to be caried away to the cōmon maner of speaking, perhaps for feare of the like end that his Schoolemaister had, & he doth it expressely in his booke of Lawes, which was to bee published to the people. For there and in diuers other places, he calleth the heauenly* Spirites by the name of Gods: but yet he maketh God speaking to them as to his Creatures; naming them Gods begotten and made by him; and him on the contrary part the Father & God of Gods. Also he honoreth Heauen with the same name, because of the substantialnes thereof: and likewise the Starres, by reason of the perpetuitie of their course: And it may be ẏ in that respect the Greekes called them* θεοὶ, Gods. Howbeit, he addeth that they bee visible Gods, and that the Heauen was made by [the only one inuisible] God, That it hath none other immortalitie, than such as he hath giuen vnto it, and that he hath placed the Starres in the Skye for the measuring of tymes, seasons and howres, appoynting vnto euery of them his Circuit. As touching mē, he sheweth wel enough what he beléeued of them, by his declaring of their Genealogie: that is to say, their mortalitie; to wit, that he acknowledged in thē some shadow of the Godhead, but that the very essence or substance thereof was in the onely true God.

Plato in Timœus, in his 10. booke of his Commonweale, and in his Epistle to Dion, Hermias, and Coricus.

ὑπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας.

Plato in his booke of Lawes, and in his booke intytled Epinomis.

*We call them Angelles.

*Of the word Thein, which signifieth to Runne.

Plato in his Timœus and Laertius in Platoes life.

All the Platomists haue followed the sayd doctrine, bringing it so much the more to light, as they themselues haue drawne néerer to our tyme. Damascius sayth; The one bringeth foorth all things; The one ought to be honored by silence: The one (like the Sunne) is seene dimly a farre of, and the neerer the more dimly, and hard at hand taketh away the sight of all things. Iamblichus surnamed the Diuine, acknowledged euery where a diuine cause, which is the beginning, end, and middle of all things: That there is one God the maister of all, at whose hand welfare is to be sought: That the end of all Contemplation is to ame at one, and to withdrawe from multitude vnto vnitie: And that the same one or vnitie is God, the Ground and of all trueth, happinesse, and sub-

Damascius.

τὸ ἓν παμφορον.

Iamblichus in his booke of the Sect of Pythagoras.

substaunce, yea and of all other Grounds themselues. He sayth in deede, (and his bookes are so full of it) That there are both Goddes and Fiendes; and of them he maketh diuers degrées, as, good and bad, high and lowe, and so forth. But yet for all that, he alwaies acknowledgeth one chiefe, whom he calleth the onely one God, which hath bin afore all that is, and is the Fountaine and Roote of all that first vnderstandeth or is first vnderstoode, that is to say of all formes, shapes or Patternes [conceiued or conceiuable in mynd or imagination,] Suffizing to himselfe and Father of himselfe; the begetter of the Soules of the other Gods, according to the Patternes conceiued in his owne mynd; who is not only the chiefe Being, but also the superessentiall Beeing, [that is to say, a Béeing which farre surmounteth, passeth, and excelleth all Béeings:] nor simply Good, but the very Good and Goodnesse it selfe: Insomuch that he calleth all the other Goddes Seuered essences, Goodnesses deriued, and Myndes sparkling forth from the Godhead of the Supersubstantial God, [that is to say, of the God whose substance surpasseth and excelleth all maner of substances:] which Gods vnderstand not any thing but by beholding the sayd One, nor are any better than dealers forth of certaine giftes which they haue from him. And Theodore the Platomist addeth, that all of them pray earnestly to the first, and drawe from him which is of himselfe; and that otherwise they should goe to nought.

Iamblichus in his booke of Mysteries. Chap 1.3.5. 12.16.17.39.

ὑπερούντως ὄν.

ἐλλάμπεις ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος ἡ ὑπερουσίος θεός.

Proclus in Platos Diuinitie.

Proclus, (after the maner of the Platomists, which was for the most part to be very Superstitious) turneth himselfe ofttymes aside to many Gods: but yet his resolutiõ is this in expresse wordes. Who is he (sayth he) that is King of all, the onely God separated from all, and the producer of all things out of himselfe, which turneth all ends vnto himselfe, and is the end of ends, the first cause of operatiõs, the author of all that euer is good and beautifull, the inlightener of all things with his light? If thou beleeue *Plato*, he can neither be vttered nor vnderstood.

ὁ ἑνιαῖος θεὸς.

ὑπερβολή.

And anon after, Then is it this first simplicitie which is the King; the Souereintie and Superexcellencie of all things, vncomprehensible, not to bee matched with any other thing, vniforme, going beyond al causes, the Creator of the substance of the Gods which hath some forme of goodnesse. All things goe after him and sticke vnto him: for he produceth and perfecteth al things that are subiect to vnderstanding, like as the Sunne doth to al things that are subiect to sence. To be short,

it

it is the vnutterable cause which *Plato* teacheth vs vnder two names in his Commonweale, calling it the very Goodnesse it selfe, and the fountayne of trueth, which vniteth the vnderstanding to the things that are vnderstood. And in his Parmenides, The One or Vnitie wherevpon all the diuine Vnities are grounded, and which is the Originall of all that is, and of all that as yet is not. In his booke of the Soule and of the Spirit, he teacheth vs the way to atteyne from many multitudes to this supersubstantiall Vnitie, which hee calleth the Nature grounded in eternitie, the life that liueth and quickeneth, the waking vnderstanding, the welspring of all welfare, the infinite both in continewance and in power, and yet notwithstanding without quantitie, and so forth. Neuerthelesse, he attributeth much to Angelles and Fœndes according to Art Magicke, which the Platonists did greatly affect in those daies: howbeit in such sort, as he continually followeth this rule of his so oft repeated in his bookes, That all things are from the true God who is hidden; and that the second degrée of Gods, that is to say the Angelles and Fœndes, are from the very selfsame: and (to bee short) that to beléeue any mo Gods than one, and to beléeue none at all, are both one thing.

Εν θείων ἑνάδων ὑποστατικόν.

Proclus in his booke of the Soule and the Spirit cap. 32. 42. 53.

Many Gods (sayth Proclus) is Godlesnesse.

Simplicius sayth: Whatsoeuer is beautifull, commeth of the first and chiefe beautie: All trueth commeth of Gods trueth: And all beginnings must needes bee reduced to one beginning; which must not bee a particular beginning as the rest are, but a beginning surpassing al other beginnings, & mounting farre aboue them, and gathering them all into himselfe, yea, and giuing the dignitie of beginning to all beginnings, accordingly as is conuenient for euery of their natures. Also, The Good (sayth he) is the Welspring & Originall of al things. It produceth all things of it selfe, both the first, the middlemost, and the last. The one Goodnesse, bringeth foorth many Goodnesses; The one Vnitie, many Vnities; The one Beginning, many Beginnings. Now, as for Vnitie, Beginning, Good, and God; they be all but one thing. For God is the first cause of all, & all particular Beginnings or Grounds, are fast settled and grounded in him. He is the Cause of Causes, the God of Gods, and the Goodnesse of Goodnesses.

Simplicius vpō the Epictetus of Arrian.

τὸ ἀγαθὸν

Porphyrius acknowledged the one GOD, who alone is euery where, and yet in no one place; who filleth al places, and yet is conteyned in no place; by whom all things are, both which are and

Porphyrius in his 2. booke of Abstinence, & in his booke of Occasions. chap. 21.

which are not. This God doth he call the Father, which reigneth in all: & he teacheth vs to sacrifize our Soules vnto him in science, and with chast thoughts. On the other side, he acknowledgeth the other Gods as his Creatures and Seruants, some visible, & some vnuisible: vnto whom he alloweth a materiall seruice, farre differing from the seruice of the true God.

Porphyrius in the life of Plotin.

Plotin in his first Enneade lib. 8. Chap. 2. Enneade 6. lib. 4. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. & in the whole 6. booke, and in the 3. Enne: lib. 8.

As touching Plotin his Schoolemaister, surnamed the Diuine, whom the Oracle of Apollo (as is reported by Porphyrius himselfe) did register in the number of the wise men of this world, and in the number of the Gods in the other world: He that would alledge the things which he hath spoken diuinely concerning the vnitie of the one God, should be fayne to set downe his whole treatises vndiminished. The Summe is, That there is one Beginner of all things, who hath all things and is all things, whose hauing of thē is as though he had them not, because his possessing of them is not as of things that were another mans; and his being them is as though he were them not, because he is neither all things, nor any thing among things, but the power of all things. That this Beginner dwelleth in himself, is sufficient of himself, & of himselfe bringeth forth all maner of Essences, Soules, and liues, as being more than Essence, and all life. That by his Vnitie he produceth multitude, which could be no multitude, vnlesse he abode One. As touching the vndergods, he sayth that they neither bee nor can bee happie of themselues, but onely by the same meane that men can become happie; namely, by beholding the light of vnderstanding, which is GOD, through their partaking whereof they abide in blessednesse. Yea, he affirmeth that the Soule of the whole world furnished by the Platonists, is not happie but by that meanes: namely, by beholding the light which created it, like as the Moone shineth not, but by the ouershining of the Sunne vpon her. That was the very opinion of the Platonists as well old as newe concerning the onely one God, notwithstanding that of all Philosophers they were most giuen to the seruing and seeking out of the bodilesse Spirites, whom we call Angels and Deuils, and whom they called Gods and Fends.

Augustin: de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 10. cap. 2.

The Peripatetecks.

Now let vs come to the Peripateticks, and begin at Aristotle Platoes Disciple, who notwithstanding was vnreligious in many places, in not yeelding vnto God his due glorie, after the maner of these superstitious folke, who are ouerliberal in bestowing it vpon others; and yet euen in him shall we finde this selfsame trueth. Aristotle

ristotle leadeth vs by many mouings, vnto one first mouer, whom he declareth to bee infinite, without beginning and without ende. From thence a man may step further: for that which is infinite can be but one, because (as I haue sayd afore) the infiniteneſſe of one restreyneth the power of all others. Afterward he defineth him to be Liuing, Immortall, and Euerlasting. And againe, [he nameth him] the onely possessor of wisedome, the Beginner of all Causes, and such like: None of all which things can bee attributed to any mo than onely one. Yet notwithstanding, he setteth certeyne Godheads in the Heauen, in the Starres, and in the Sunne & Moone; vnto which Godheads he allotteth the gouernmēt of those things, and termeth them heauenly Mynds, First substances, vnchaungeable and vnpassible, which (in his opinion) cannot wexe old, because they be aboue the first Mouable, & consequently aboue tyme. Yea, and Common custome, with the force of Loue caried him so farre, as to set vp Images vnto Iuno and Iupiter, vnder the name of Sauiours, for the vse of Nicanor, and to doe Sacrifize to a woman whom he loued, as the Athenians did vnto Ceres. But yet in his Abridgement of Philosophie, which he dedicated in his olde age vnto Alexander, his finall doctrine is this. This world (sayth he) wherein all things are orderly disposed, is mainteyned by God; & the higheſt thing that is in it, is that it is Gods dwelling place. No nature is sufficient of it selfe to indure, if it bee not assisted by his tuition. He is the Father of Gods & Men, the breeder and Mainteyner of all the things whereof this world is composed; and yet for all that, he entreth not into them, but his power and prouidence ouersitting them from aboue, atteyne vnto all things, moue the Heauen the Sunne and the Moone, Preserue the things on earth, and make all and euery thing to doe according to their nature. He likeneth him to the great King of Persia, who from out of his priuy Chamber gouerned his whole Empyre by his power and officers; sauing (sayth he) that the one is God infinite in power, and the other a very base and feeble wight. He sayth moreouer, that all the names which are attributed to the Gods, are but deuices to expresse the powers of the onely one God the Prince and Father of all. And therefore it is more behofefull to sende the Readers to the reading of that whole treatise of his throughout, than to set in any more thereof here, because they shall there see a wonderfull eloquence matched with this godly diuinitie.

Aristotle in his Metaphisiks, and in the first booke of his Naturall Philosophy.

Aristotle in his booke of Heauen.

Aristotle in his booke of the world, which Iustine the Martir affirmeth to haue bin named his Abridgement of Philosophy.

γενέτωρ.

That which the first and most diuine (saith his disciple Theophrastus) will haue all things to bee exceeding good; and it may be also, that he is aboue the reache of all knowledge and vnsearchable. Againe, There is (saith he) One diuine beginner of all things, whereby they haue their beeing and continuance. But in his booke of Sauors he passeth further, and saith that God created all things of nothing. But to create of nothing, presupposeth an infinite power; and againe, that power presupposeth an vnitie.

Theophrastus in his Metaphisiks. ὑποθέσεων.

Theophrastus in his booke of Sauours.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence, and Cyrill against Iulian the Apostata.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence written to the Emperour Antonine, attributeth Prouidence ouer all things vnto one only God, which can doe whatsoeuer he listeth, as appeareth by all his whole discourse. And he was of such renowne amõg all the Aristotelians, that they called themselues Alexandrians after his name. To be short, the most part of the Interpreters and Disciples of Aristotle, found it so nedefull to acknowledge one onely Beginner, and so absurd to maintaine any mo than one; that to the intent they might not confesse any such absurditie in their Maister, they doe by all meanes possible excuse whatsoeuer might in his workes be construed to the contrarie.

The Stoiks.

As touching the Stoiks of auncientest tyme, wee haue no more than is gathered into the writings of their aduersaries; who do all attribute vnto them [the maintenance of] the vnitie & infiniteneſſe of G O D, according to this which Aristotle reporteth of Zeno; namely that there must nedes be but one God, for els there should be no God at all, because it behoueth him to be singularly good and also almightie, which were vtterly vnpossible if there were any mo than one.

Also Simplicius reporteth of Cleanthes, that in his Iambick verses he praied God to voutsafe to guyde him by his cause, which guideth all things in order, the which cause hee calleth destinie and the cause of causes. But the two chief among them whose doctrine we haue in writing, will easely make vs to credit all the residue.

Epictetus in Arrianus.

Epictetus the Stoik (whose words Proclus, Simplicius, and euen Lucian himselfe held for Oracles;) speaketh of only one God. The first thing (saith he) that is to be learned, is, that there is but one God, and that hee prouideth for all things, and that from him neither deede nor thought can be hidden. He teacheth vs to resort vnto him in our distresses, to acknowled him for our Maker and Father, to lift vp our eyes vnto him alone if wee will

will get out of the Quamyre of our sinnes, to seeke our felicitie there, and to call vpon him in all things both great and small. Of all the Goddes that were in time past, he speaketh not a word: but surely he saith that if we call vpon the onely one God, hee will informe vs of all things by his Angels.

As for Seneca, he neuer speaketh otherwise. What doth God (saith he) to such as behold him? Hee causeth his workes not to be without witnesse. And againe, To serue God (saith he) is to Reigne. God exerciseth vs with afflictions to trie mans nature: and he requireth no more but that wee should pray to him. These ordinary speeches of his, shewe that he thought there was but one God. But he proceedeth yet further. From things discouered (sayth he) wee must proceede to things vndiscouered, and seeke out him that is auncienter than the world, of whom the Starres proceede. And in the end he concludeth, that the World and all that is conteyned therein, is the worke of God. Also he calleth him the Founder, Maker, & Creator of the World, and the Spirit which is shed forth vpon all things both great and small. And in his Questions: It is he (sayth he) whom the Hetruscanes or Tuscans meane by the names of Iupiter, Gardian, Gouernor, & Lord of the whole world. If thou call him Destinie, thou shalt not deceiue thy selfe; for al things depend vpon him, & from him comes the causes of all causes. If thou call him Prouidence, thou sayest wel; for by his direction doth the World holde on his course without swarning, and vtter foorth his Actions. If thou call him Nature, thou doest not amisse: for he it is of whom all things are bred, and by whose Spirite we liue. To be short, wilt thou call him the World? In very deede he is the whole which thou seest, and he is in all the parts thereof, bearing vp both the whole World and all that is thereof. By this sentence we may also shewe, that by the terme Nature the Philosophers ment none other than God himselfe, accordingly as Seneca sayth in another place, that God and Nature are both one, like as Annœus & Seneca be both one man. And whereas he sayth that God may be called the World; it is all one with that which he sayth in another place: namely, GOD is whatsoeuer thou seest, and whatsoeuer thou seest not: That is to say, whereas thou canst not see him in his proper beeing, thou seest him in his workes. For in other places also he defineth him to a Mynd and Wisedome without bodie, which cannot be seene but

Seneca euerywhere.

Seneca in his Booke of the happy lyfe, & in his Treatise of Comfort.

Seneca in his naturall Questions, and in his bookes of Benefiting.

Aristotle calleth him τὸ πᾶν, that is to say, All the whole.

in vnderstanding. Now, of all the former things by him repeated in many places, none can bee verified of any mo than one. For he that maketh all, gouerneth all, and is all, leaueth nothing for any other to make, gouerne, or be, otherwise than from himself. But he speaketh yet more expressely, saying; Thou considrest not the authoritie & maiestie of thy Iudge, the Gouernor of the World, the God of Heauen and of all Gods. All the Godheads which we worship euery man by himselfe, depend wholly vpon him. And againe; When he had layd the foundations of this goodly Masse, although he had spred out his power throughout the bodie thereof: yet notwithstanding he made Gods to be officers of his kingdome, to the end that euery thing should haue his guyde. Now, this is after the same maner that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Angelles. So then, he is not onely God the excellentest of all Gods; but also their very Father, Author, and Maker.

Seneca in his booke of sodeine death, & in his exhortations alledged by Lactantius. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Let vs yet further adde Cicero and Plutarch, who haue of euery Sect taken what they thought good. Both of them speake ordinarily but of one God, the author and gouerner of all things, vnto whome they attribute all things, and in that ordinary style is their word Nature, which surmounteth the custome of their tyme; but yet doth their doctrine expresse much more heere. Cicero treating of this matter in his booke intituled Of the nature of the Gods, acknowledgeth one souereine GOD, whom he calleth the God of Gods, & that is the difference which he maketh. The Nature of the Gods (sayth he) is neither mightie nor excellent; for it is subiect to the selfesame (beit Nature or Necessitie) which ruleth the Heauen, the Earth, and the Sea. But there is not any thing so excellent as God, who ruleth the World, and is not subiect to Nature, but commaundeth Nature it selfe. And he is full of the like sentences.

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.

As for Plutarke, he suffereth himselfe to raunge ouerofte into fables; but yet in good earnest he speaketh thus. Let vs not woorship the Elements, the Heauen, the Sunne, the Moone, and so foorth: for they be but Lookingglasses for vs, wherein to consider the cunning of him that ordeyned all things; and all the World is but his Temple. Againe: Wherefore doth *Plato* call God, the Father and Maker of all? He calleth him the Father of the begotten Gods, and of men, like as *Homere* also doth: but he calleth him the Creator of the things that haue no life

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris. of Oracles that are ceassed: Of calmenesse of Mynd: Against ignorant Princes:

life nor Reason. And therefore (sayth he in another place) he made the World as a Common house both to Men & Gods. Yea, (sayth he further) Although there were many moe such Worldes as this is; yet notwithstanding the one onely God should gouerne them all. Now this true God, whom he calleth the great God, the great Workemaister, the Sea of Beautie, the Ground of all good things, and the true Being, of whom alone it can be said: Thou art, and not thou hast bin or shalt be; is he whom he meaneth by the name of Iupiter, saying: That of the Gods, one is called Liberall, another Gentle, and a third the Dryuer away of euill; but the great *Iupiter* is in Heauen, who hath care vniuersally of all things. Thus ye see then how all the Philosophers of all tymes, of all Sects, and of all Nations haue agreed in one God: which is the thing that ỹ learned Varro noted very well; namely, that although the Teachers of the Heathen named many Gods and Goddesses: yet notwithstanding they comprehended them all vnder one, which was Iupiter, of whom the residue were but powers and functions: And this Iupiter is he whom such folk worshipped vnder another name, as worshipped the only one God without Images; and he sayth that so God ought to bee worshipped. And to that purpose alledgeth he these verses of the right learned Poet Valerius Soranus.

Of Platonicall Questions: Against the Stoiks: Against Epicures: What is ment by this Greeke word ἄ.ει.

Varro, as he is alledged by S. Austin in the Citie of God. lib.4.cap.9.11 & lib.7.cap.5. 9.23.

The Ioue almightie is the King of Kings and God of Gods,
One God, and all, the Father both and Moother of the Gods.

But now it is tyme to come to the auncient Poets, which were also Philosophers, and who by their feynings opened the gap to the pluralitie of Gods. Among these the first that wee méete with is Orpheus, whom Iustine calleth the first Author of them, the first giuer of names vnto them, and the first blazer of their Pedegrées. But yet there is a Recantation of his in his Hymne vnto Musæus, which is called his Testament, that is to say, his last doctrine, whereunto he would haue men to sticke. Lift vp thyne eyes (sayth he) to the only maker of the World; He is but one, bred of himselfe: and of that one are all things. He is all in all; he seeth all and is seene of none. He onely giueth both welfare and wofull teares and warre. He sitteth in Heauen gouerning all things; with his feete he toucheth the Earth, and with his right hād the vtmost shores of the Sea. He maketh the Mountaynes, Riuers and deepe Sea to quake, and so foorth. And in another place he calleth him the Firstborne, the Great, the Appa-

Poetes.

Iustin in his booke of Monarchie. Iustin to the Gentyles. Athenagoras in his Treatise concerning the Resurrection. The Recantation of Orpheus who is called the Author of the pluralitie of Gods.

Clemens in his Protreptik to the Gentiles.

rant, who hath created an incorruptible house for them that are immortall. Also vnder the name of Zeus or Iupiter, he sayth of him as followeth.

Looke vp to that same only King, which did the world create.
Who being only one, selfbred, all other things begate.
And being with them all, vnseene of any mortall wight,
Beholdeth all things; giuing Man now wealth and harts delight,
Now wofull warre: For sure there is none other King but hee.
I see him not, because the Clowdes a couert to him bee.
And in the eye of mortall man there is but mortall sight,
Too weake too see the lightfull Ioue that ruleth all with right.
For sitting in the brazen Heauen aloft in Throne of gold,
He makes the earth his footstoole, and with either hand doth hold
The vtmost of the Ocean waues: and at his presens quake
Both Mountaynes huge, & hideous Seas, and eke the Stygian Lake.

And anon after againe.

The endlesse Skye and stately Heauens, and all things els besyde,
Did once within the Thundring Ioue close hoorded vp abyde.
The blessed Gods and Goddesses whose beeing is for ay,
And all things past or yet to come within Ioues bowelles lay.
From Ioues wyde womb did all things come; Ioue is both first & last;
Beginning, Middes, and End is Ioue; From Ioue are all things past.
Ioue layd foundation of the Earth, and of the starry Sky.
Ioue reigneth King; The selfesame Ioue of all things farre and ny
The Father and the Author is. One power, one God is hee;
A lonly Great, one Lord of all. This royall Masse which wee
Behold, and all the things that are conteyned in the same,
As Fyre and Water, Earth and Ayre, and Titans golden flame
That shines by Day, and droopy Night, and euery other thing
Are placed in the goodly House of Ioue the heauenly King.

Phocylides,

Phocilides followeth him in these wordes. There is but onely one God, mightie, wise and happie. And againe, Honor the onely God. Also, All of them are mortall men, God reigneth ouer their soules. And Theognis (who is of the same tyme) speaketh not any otherwise. Homere (whom Pythagoras reporteth to be punished in Hell for making Fables of the Gods) cannot make a notabler difference betweene the true GOD and al the rest of the Gods whome men worshipped in this time; than when hee saith, That if they were all hanged at a Theyne beneath; he would pull them vp spight of their teeth: and also that he maketh them all too

Theognis.
Homer.

quake

quake vnder him: and that whensoeuer there is any greater déede talked of, he speaketh alwaies but of one God in the singular nomber. Also Hesiodus who described ỳ pedegrees of the Gods, sheweth his heléef sufficiently in this onely one verse written to his brother. Hesiodus.

Both Goddes and Mortall Men, from one selfe race descend.

That is to say, All the Goddes are created by the onely one God.

Likewise Sophocles saith thus. Sophocles in Cyrillus against Iulian the Apostata.

Certesse of Goddes there is no mo but one,
Who made the Heauens, and eeke the earth so round,
The dreadfull Sea which cleaps the same about,
And blustring Winds which rayze the Waues aloft.
But we fond men through folly gone astray,
Euen to the hurt and damning of our soules,
Haue set vp Idols made of Wood and Stone,
Thinking lyke fooles, by meanes of honoring them
To giue full well too God his honor due.

Euripides goeth yet further, saying. Euripides Clemeus in his

Thou Neptune, *and thou* Iupiter, *and all*
You other Goddes, so wicked are you all,
That if due Iustice vnto you were doone,
Both Heauen and Temples should be emptie soone.

And yet in defacing the false Goddes, hée ceasseth not to commend the onely true God in many places.

Aratus in the same place which is alledged by S. Paule, attributeth all to one Iupiter, whome hee would haue to bee honored without ceassing. Aratus. Iouis genus sumus.

As touching the Latins, Ouid in his Metamorphosis attributeth the Creation of the World and of all things therein, vnto the onely one God. And Virgill doth ordinarily call him the King of Goddes and Men; and hee describeth him sheading forth his power to the vttermost coastes of Heauen and Earth, and with his vertue quickening the World, and all that is therein. Ouid. Virgil in his fourth booke of Husbandry & euerywhere else.

But forasmuch as Scœuola the Highpriest of the Romaines distinguished the Gods of old tyme into three sortes, that is to wit, Philosophicall, Poeticall, and Ciuill; and wee haue séene how the Philosophers and Poets, (notwithstanding their owne Wyndlases and fables, and the infinite superstitions of their tymes,) doe méete one another in the onely one GOD: let vs sée consequently what the Ciuill sort will say vnto vs, that is to say, what hath bin beléeued, Scœuola, as he is alledged by S. Austin in the Citie of God lib. 3. Cap. 27.

beléeued, not onely by the learned sort of all Nations, but also by the very Nations themselues. Sothly so incredible hath the vanitie of men bin since their turning aside from the true way, that all Nations haue let them selues ronne looce after such absurdities as wee would not beléeue, if wee sawe not the like still at this day. Some worshipped the Heauen, the Plantes, and the Starres like silly soules which at their first comming into a Kings Court, doe thinke that the first gay apparelled man whome they méete with is the King. Some made Gods of the Goodes which God gaue them. Some worshipped the Beastes which were for their benefite. And finally they made Goddes, not only of themselues, but also of their Speares, Shields and Swords, and buylded Temples to their owne Passions, as vnto Fearefulnes, Hardines and such others; yea and euen vnto things so filthy and lothsome, as a man may bee ashamed and abashed to heare spoken of. Neuertheleslé, the costomable vse of such things made folke to haue no regard of them, and the most spirituall sort of them were so possessed with Ambition, that it filled all their myndes to the full. Yet notwithstanding, when they were once awaked, and fell a little to the bethinking themselues as of a thing in very déede against Nature, they were ashamed of their doings, yea and euen of themselues. Why Sir, (answered they to Saint Austin? Thinke you that our Forefathers were so fooliſh and blinde, as to beleeue that *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Pan*, and such others were Goddes? It is not possible. Nay, they beleeued but in the onely one GOD, whose giftes and functions they honored vnder diuers names; and whatsoeuer is more, is but Superstition. Truely the Ægyptians (as wee reade) did honour Diuels, Men, Beastes, Serpents, and Plants: and to bee short, euery thing was to them a GOD. But as touching the true GOD, they described him in their holy Carects as a Pilot alone gouerning a Ship. And all their diuinitie (as is to be seene in Iamblichus,) was referred vnto onely one God. Insomuch that the people of Thebais in Ægipt, reiected all the said absurdities of many Goddes, saying that there was none other God but only he whom they called Cnef, which was neuer borne, nor could euer dye, that is to say the Euerlasting. Also in Say a Citie of Ægipt, the Image of Pallas, that is to say of Wisdome, had his Inscription: I am all that hath bin, is, or euer shalbe, and there was neuer yet any mortall man that vncouered my face. And Proclus

The consent of People.

In the Citie of God. lib. 4. cap. 24.

Iamblichus concerning the Mysteries of the Egiptians. cap. 37. 39.

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

clus addeth thereto, And the Fruites that I haue brought forth is the Sonne, as who would say, It is the Wisdome whereby God worketh, which is the Goddesse worker. Now if euen among the Ægiptians the opinion of the one onely God was not quenched: much more reason haue we to deeme, that it was not quenched among other nations.

In the Lawes of the twelue Tables were written these words: Let Men come to the Goddes chastly. Let Pompe bee remoued away: If they doe otherwise, God himselfe (that is to say, Iupiter whom onely they called the most gracious and most mightie) will reuenge it. Yet notwithstanding, it is certeyne that afterward Rome became the very Sinckpan of all the Idolatries of the world: for in winning of Nations, they wan also their Superstitions. But could all this wype out in them the print of Nature? May, contrarywise, Tertullian speaking of the Heathen of his tyme, sayth thus: As wholly as their Soules are brought in bondage to false Goddes, yet when they awake as a dronken man out of his sleepe, they name but one God, and the speech of euery man is, as it pleaseth G O D. They call vpon him as their Iudge, saying; God seeth it, I referre my self to God, God requite it me. O record of a Soule by nature Christian! To be short, in vttering those wordes, they looke vp to Heauen, and not to the Capitoll: for they knowe that Heauen is the Seate of the liuing God. Lactantius who came a good while after, saith the like. When they sweare, (sayth he) when they wish, whē they giue thanks; they name neither Iupiter, nor Gods in the plurall number, but the onely one God: so greatly doth Nature constreyne them to acknowledge the truth. If there come an Alarum, or if they be threatened with warre; they do after the same maner: But as soone as the daunger is past, by and by they runne to the Temples of many Gods, whereas notwithstanding they called but the one God to their succour. And in very trueth, if we consider the naturall motions which we haue in our afflictions; they part not our harts into diuers prayers at once, but doe put vs in mynd of onely one God, and to offer our prayers vp vnto him.

Cicero in his second booke of Lawes. Deos adeunto caste: opes amouento: si secus faxint, Deus ipse vindex erit: that is, Goe to God chastly: remoue away riches: If any doe otherwise God himselfe will punish him.

Tertullian in his Defence.

Lactantius. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Now, forasmuch as Nature, Mans wisedome, and the voyce of all people, doe in all Languages commend, woorship, and confesse one onely God: It remayneth for vs to see whether wee may not gather the like, euen by the very confession of the false Goddes themselues,

Lactantius lib. 1. Chap. 6. Iustine in his Apologie. The Oracles of the Sibylles.

thē selues, which haue gone about to deface his name by al meanes. It is a case disputed among the learned, by what Spirite the Sybilles spake, because it is not vnconuenient that God should compell the very Deuels to set forth his prayses. Howsoeuer the case stand, they speake but of onely one God, saying.

There is but onely one true God, right great, and euerlasting,
Almightie, and inuisible, which seeth euery thing,
But cannot bee beheld himselfe of any fleshly man.

Also they crye out against the false Goddes, and exhort men to beate downe their Altars, accounting them happie which giue themselues to the glorifying of the only one God. But let vs heere Apollo himselfe. Being asked at Colophon by one Theophilus whether there was a God or no, and what he is: He answered in 21. Greeke verses rehearsed by Lactantius, whereof I will holde me contented with the latter three, which are to be englished thus.

Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 6.

The selfebred, bred without the helpe of Moother,
Wise of himselfe, whose name no wight can tell,
Doth dwell in fyre beyond all reach of thought:
Of whom we Angelles are the smalleſt part.

The rest of these Uerses commend and set forth the Maiestie of the great God, but these suffize for this matter. Heere the Fend doth what he can to magnifie himselfe, saying that he is an Angell and a little portion of God, but yet hee acknowledgeth him as his Souereine. Porphyrius the great enemie of Christians, rehearseth many other like. The same Apollo being asked how GOD was to be worshipped, answered in 22. Uerses, calling him the euerlasting Father, the Walker vpon the Heauen of Heauens, the Fashioner or framer of substances, the father of all things, the father of all wights both mortall and immortall. And on the other side he calleth all others his Children, his Seruants, his Messengers, and the Heraults or blazers abroad of his prayses. In another answere comprised in ten Uerses, he calleth him the burning Flame, the Wellspring and Originall of all things, the author of life, and so forth; and afterward he concludeth,

Porphyrius in his tenth book of the prayses of Philosophy.

I am but Phœbus; more of mee yee get not at my hand;
It is as little in my mynd as I can vnderstand.

*Pausanias.

Being asked at another tyme by the * Founder of Constantinople, whether he should resist an enemie of his or no; he answered thus:

Apollo

Apollo is not of that mynd; beware
How thou doeſt deale; he is too ſtrong for thee.
For God it is that makes him vndertake
This enterpriſe, and doth the ſame maynteyne,
Euen God I tell thee vnder whom both Heauen
And Earth and Sea and euery thing therein,
And Phœbus eke and Hell it ſelfe doth quake.

Proclus ſayth, that the Oracles acknowledged the great God the Welſpring of the fountayne of all things. And for an example he alledgeth this Oracle of fower Verſes; From God ſpringeth the generation of all matter; from the ſame ground riſeth the fineneſſe of the fyre, and the Globes of the World, and whatſoeuer els is bred, and ſo foorth. That is the anſwer of Apollo the God ſo greatly renowmed among the Heathen, when he was aſked what God was. And being vrged to tell what he himſelfe was, and how he would be called, he ſayd: Proclus vpon Timæus.

Call me the Feend that knoweth all and is right ſage and wiſe.

And at another tyme he ſayth thus.

Wee Feends which haunt both Sea and Land through all the world ſo wide,
Do trēble at the whip of God which all the world doth guide.

Theſe foreſayd Oracles are reported by Porphyrius, Proclus, and other Heathen men, wherof ſome be rehearſed alſo by Lactantius: which may ſuffize to ſhewe how the very Deuils doe beleeue one God, and quake at him. But I hope I ſhall bee pardoned for handling this matter a little at the largeſt, becauſe the conſent of all men in that behalfe which I haue alreadie proued, is contrary to the opinion of many men. And therefore ye ſee heere how the World, Men, and the Deuilles themſelues crye out with the holy Scripture, Hearken O Iſraell, the Lord thy God is but one God, the God of Gods, who onely worketh wonders, & hath not his like among the Gods. And that is the thing which I haue gone about to proue in theſe laſt two Chapters. Deuter. 6. Pſalm. 85.

The fourth Chapter.

What it is that we can comprehend concerning God.

NOW, albeit that the leaſt things which are in Nature and in our ſelues, doe ſufficiently ſhewe vs that there is but one GOD: Yet notwithſtanding all Nature is not able to teach vs what that God is, neither is man,

in

in nature able to comprehend any thing of him: and the reason therof is euident in both twayne. In Man, because the greater can neuer be comprehended by the lesser, neither can Man haue any thing in vnderstanding, which hath not first bene in his sences, as from whence proceedeth vnto him the beginning of all naturall knowledge: And he neither seeth nor perceiueth God in himself, but only by his effects. In Nature, because it is a thing wrought by God, and no work or effect how great so euer it be, can perfectly expresse the cause or worker thereof. Man is able to discourse after a sort, of the things that are lesse than himselfe, as of Beastes, Plants, and Stones. And yet if hee will enter into their substaunces; he must needes stop short, and is constreyned to stay vpon the histories of them, confessing his knowledge to be but ignoraunce. If he come to himself, to knowe his owne Soule by the power of his Soule: by and by he is at his wits ende: For the maner of his discourse is but to proceede from kynd to kynd, and to passe from one reason to another. But on the contrary part, his mynd seeth not it selfe, but onely turneth into it selfe, leauing not any thing empty without it self whereunto to extend, no more than a Circle doth. And yet notwithstanding, euery thing is equall to it selfe, and measurable by it selfe. What shall we then thinke that Man can doe, if he aduaunce himselfe to the considering of Goddes nature; seeing that the least Creatures that are doe put him to his trumpe? That is the very thing which hath made the ignorant sort to ouershoote themselues so farre, as to counterfect God by a shape like themselues: which thing the very Beastes (sayth Xenophanes) would haue done, if they had bin Paynters, as which cannot ordinarily conceiue any greater thing than themselues. We see then how Man is of himself too farre vnable to conceiue such a Greatnesse. Againe, if we consider the effects, a man planteth, buyldeth, paynteth, and weaueth a thousande diuers workes: and wee thinke it not straunge that the bruite Beastes conceiue not thereby what Man is, howbeit that there is alwaies some proportion of vnderstanding betwene Creature and Creature; but betweene the Creature and the Creator there is none at all. Nay, there is yet this more, that a man shall see and feele the workes of another man, and he shall knowe from whence he taketh his stuffe, after what maner he matcheth things together, and what Arte he hath obserued: But shall he for all that, knowe what the Soule or Mynd of that man is? No; nor yet his owne Soule. For his doings come nothing neere to that which he

Man cannot comprehend God.

is,

is, no not so neere as the heate which the Sunne sheadeth into vs from aboue, approcheth neere to the naturall power that is in the Sunne; the which notwithstanding wee durst not take vpon vs to describe, if we had neuer felt it otherwise than in a Prison. But if thou couldest haue entered into the mynde of that man at the making of his worke, thou shouldest haue seene it farre more beautifull there: and all that euer he could do or thou say, is alwaies farre lesse than his Concept; and yet the same Concept of his is but as a sparke of the Mynd, whereof the same worke is a part. Now then, if thou being a man, canst not conceiue the mynde of a man by his doings, though thou beare the like mynd about thée thy selfe; and if his doings (of what sorte so euer they be) come farre short of that which he himselfe is: darest thou be so bold as to describe God by his works what he is, and to dispute of his substaunce? And if thou canst not conceiue him by his workes; how wilt thou then conceiue him, seeing thou canst not behold him otherwise? To this purpose we haue the common Historie of Simonides, who being asked by Hiero King of Syracuse what God is; demaunded one daies respit to giue answere, and afterward two, and then fower, and in the end confessed that the more he thought thereon, the lesse he vnderstood thereof; and yet he was the man which taught very well, that God was the very wisedome it selfe. Xenophon, Plato, Plotin and others say that he is a thing which cannot bee found, nor ought to be sought. To bee short, all the Philosophers crye in one voyce with Dauid, * Lord, thou hast made darknesse thy Couert, Lord I am wearied euen in thyne outter Courtes. Yet notwithstanding, whereas men are not able to atteyne to Gods substaunce; they haue gone about to betoken it by the excellentest names that they could deuise, as we haue séene in the last Chapter. They considered þ forasmuch as all things haue their beeing from him, he himselfe was the souereine Béeing; and that to be so, it behoued him to bee euer, and therefore they called him the Euerlasting. And that to haue béeing without life, is nothing: and that he which giueth life to all, must needes bee all life: and therefore they call him the liuing God. And againe, that life without vnderstanding is dead, and vnderstanding without power is vnperfect; and that he which giueth both of them to all, must néedes haue thē in himselfe for all: and therefore they call him Mynd and Wyght, attributing vnto him the perfect knowledge and infinite power of all things. Finally, forasmuch as to Bée, to Liue, to Vnderstand, and

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.
Plotinus Enn. 6. lib. 8. cap. 11
Galen in his 9. booke vpon the Decrees of Hippocrates.
Although it appeare by certeine demonstration, that it is a diuine workmayster that hath procreated vs: yet can we not by any wit or reason conceyue, neither what his substance is, nor how he made vs. For we must consider that it is a farre other thing, to shew that a certeyne Prouidence made vs: than to knowe the substance, eyther of our owne Soule, or of him that made vs.

Possuit tenebras latibulum suum, Defecit in Atrijs tuis Domine.

and to be mightie, the higher that they be, are so much the lesse to be esteemed, if good also abound not on all partes: because men on the other side receiue so many good turnes at his hand, they call him Good, exceeding good, and the goodnesse it selfe; assuring themselues that no other name doth so peculiarly fit him as that. Yet notwithstanding neither that, nor any thing els that we can imagine more, can come nere him by infinite distance. Let vs attribute vnto him the highest degree of all perfections that can be, (as in very deede he must needes haue them at the highest pitch, seeing that there is not any that hath measured them vnto him:) yet doe we attribute vnto him but imperfection. For if any of them be finite, then is he not infinite, as we ought to conceiue him to be: and infinite it cannot be, because the one of them should by the infiniteness thereof shut vp the other within bounds. Therefore it behoueth vs to conceiue a most single singleness, which neuertheless in one perfection comprehendeth al perfectiõs, as the rote of them; which seemeth a thing contrarie to mans vnderstanding: that is to wit, that his Prouidence is no more Prouidence than Iustice, nor his Iustice more Iustice than mercie, nor his knowledge more knowledge then life, nor his life more life than single beeing: To be short, that his being is such a being as is wholly and alonly all, I meane altogether deede, altogether forme, altogether perfection and so forth. And that is the thing which God himselfe teacheth vs, in that being asked his name by Moyses, hee answered him, I am that I am: which name the Iewes had in such reuerence, that the very Priestes themselues (as they say) named it not but at the great Feastes. And yet in the iudgement of Plotine, that name is not sufficient for him. Also we call him the good, and yet is that too little for him; for God is the good of goodnes, as heate is the heate of hotnes. But God is the goodnes it selfe; and whatsoeuer is good, is of him. Yet notwithstanding, the very word Goodnes is not sufficient; for goodnes hath his being in some substance. But in God there cannot any thing be conceiued, which is not substantially, yea and more than substantially substance. Againe, when we say, he seeth, he knoweth, he vnderstandeth; these things haue relation to tyme; and hee that made time is without the reache of time. Also when wee say, hee is here, or hee is there, it is all one; for hee that made all places is not conteined in any place. And therefore Trismegistus saith very well, That he is better and mightier then any name can expresse. And Salamon cryeth out with admiration, what

τὸ ὂν ἀΐδιον ζεῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆν. νοῦς, δύναμις, ἐντελεχεία. τὸ ἀγαθὸν.

Mercurius Trismegistus in his Pœmander. cap. 2. & 6.

Ehjeh asher ehjeh.

what is his name? As who would say, man is not able to vtter or conceiue any word ẏ doth properly fit him, neither in Nownes nor in Verbes nor in complet spéech, because man is an essence subiect to time, place and accidents, which cannot passe beyond it selfe. Now then, what is the vttermost poynt that all our fine conceites can reache vnto? Verily the most in effect that we can knowe concerning his being, is that we can vnderstand nothing at al thereof. Insomuch that whatsoeuer we say thereof affirmatiuely, whether we terme it Soothnesse or Wisdome, or Kingdome, or Unitie, or Godhead, or any thing els which we meane thereby, it can not fit him. Finally, we can no more name him than comprehend him, how high so euer we thincke we mount vp. And therfore we must with Trismegistus call vpon him in silence; and say vnto him with Dauid, Lord, the best prayse that I can giue vnto thée is silence.

θεωρεῖται ὁ ἐπέκεινα νοῦς sayth Porph. ἀνοησίᾳ κρείττονι νοήσεως, ὡς πρὸς τοῦ θευδόντος. in præpositionibus.

Now séeing we cannot knowe what God is, but by not knowing it, it standeth vs on hand to knowe what he is not, which is no small helpe for vs to know him after a sort. Wherein we must followe a cleane contrarie rule. For as we haue said, that of all the things that are spoken and affirmed of Gods essence or substance, none fitteth him, being taken strictly: so whatsoeuer is spoken therof negatiuely, shalbe found true, being taken after the same maner: Insomuch that that man may bee sayd to bee most skilfull in that behalfe, which knoweth most Negatiues or Remotions (as they terme them.) To make this poynt yet clearer, nature hath taught vs by the diuers mouings which we sée héere beneath, that there is a GOD which is the first mouer of the whole world. And by the same reason, we say that he himselfe is vnmouable, that is to say, remoueth not at all. For we see that the nature of him which moueth, insomuch as he moueth, is to be and to be setled in rest. Euen our Soule (as in respect of the body) is vnmouable, notwithstanding that it cause and procure all the mouings of the body: and the mo things that a man intendeth to moue, the more it behoueth him to haue his mind settled. Forasmuch as God is euermore doing, he is euer at rest, and he hath not his resting in another but in hym selfe, or rather is his owne rest himself. And therefore the auncient Philosophers called him τὸ ἀκίνητον, τὸ ἀτρεμὸς, that is to say, the vnmouable and stedfast, to put a difference betwéene him and the heauen, the Planets, and the Starres, which are subiect to mouing, and whom the ignorance of folke hath called Gods. Hereuppon we say also that he is vnchangeable: for the change of a thing

Dennis in his booke of the names of God. σιωπῇ φωνούμθυε. *Tibi silentium laus.* What God is not.

Vnmouable.

1. Phisik. 3. τὸ ἀκίνητον.

ἀτρεμὸς. in it self, as a kind of mouing which tēdeth out of it self. As for exāple, he that desireth or coueteth, desireth or coueteth ẏ thing which he hath not. But God is one, & al togither; neither is it possible for him to receiue being from any other: for nothing is changed but by some other thing, which in some respect is more mightier thā it, as Wood is changed by Fyre. But al things haue their power & force frō God alone. Therfore by this terme Vnchaungeable, we deny him to be lyke the immortall soules, which admit such passions as we perceiue, or also to the very bodilesse Spirites, whome we call Angels, & the Philosophers call Gods; who be not vnchangeable, sauing so farre forth as they rest in ẏ beholding of him which cānot be changed. And it maketh nothing against the matter, that we see so diuers changes in all things. For it is one thing to change ones selfe, & another thing to will ẏ there should be a chaunge; like as it is one thing to moue ones selfe, & another thing to will ẏ there be a mouing. The Sunne maketh many diuers changes in the things which we see here beneath, he maketh things grene, hee maketh things yellow, he ripeneth things, he withereth things & so forth, and yet notwithstanding he changeth no whit of his heate; and had he also a mynd (as some suppose him to haue,) he might also wil al these chaunges without changing himself. So also may God, and much better. He without altering his own being, willeth & maketh al the changes in the beings of things: & yet it is as certeine ẏ he is vnchangeable, & that if he were not so ẏ whole chaungeable nature should perish; as it is certaine that if he were not vnmoueable, all mouing should vtterly ceasse. Now out of these two negatiues we drawe a third, namely ẏ he hath neither beginning nor end, which thing we call Euerlastingnes. For the beginning and ending of all things, proceedeth of mouing and chaunge: and therefore he that is not subiect to thē, can haue neither beginning nor end. Moreouer, Time is but a measure of mouing, wherin there is both a forenesse & an afternesse. He therefore which is not subiect to mouing, is not subiect to time, and he which is not subiect to time, hath not his being by continuance of succession from one mouing to another. And so Gods being is altogether at once, which is the peculiar propertie of euerlastingnes. And whereas we say, he hath bin, and he shall be; it is as much to say as there was neuer any tyme when he was not, neither shall it euer come to passe that he shall ceasse to be.

Out of the verses of Parmenides reported by Simplicius.

Vnchaungeable.

Euerlasting.

Mere Act.

Againe, being euerlasting he is not subiect to any passiue possibilitie, that is to say, lyke whatsoeuer he is, he is the same actually and in very deede, and he cannot become any other thing than he is.

alreadie. For, were there any passiue possibilitie in him as from himselfe, then should there be a chaunge in him; and if it were from ellwhere, then should there be a mouing from possibilitie to deede, or to doing; & he is not subiect to any of them both. Furthermore, Euerlastingnesse cannot be in way of possibilitie, but only actually and in very deede. For euery maner of deede being simply taken is afore the possibilitie thereof, as the cause is afore his effect, for almuch as the possibilitie is (as ye would say) quickened by the deede. As for example, from a graine to an Herbe, and from a kernell to a Tree by the power of the Sunne. But as for Euerlastingnesse, it can abyde neither forenesse nor afternesse; and therefore loke whatsoeuer it can bee, it is the same all at once, and actually or in very deede, and euer. Wherupō it followeth also immediatly, that God is neither matter nor materiall: for the propertie of matter is to be merely passiue; that is to say, capable of diuers formes or shapes, and such as may in possibilitie receiue, being it selfe altogether naked and such as the Philosophers describe it to bee. By these conclusions we come to another, which is, that God is not compounded. For whatsoeuer is so, we say is of later tyme than the things whereof it is compounded. But God is euerlasting, and vnto him nothing can be new. Againe, Compounding is a knitting of many things into one; & ere those things could bee united in very deede, it behoued thē to be first in possibilitie; that is to say, to bee capable thereof. Now, as for God, he is not a thing in possibilitie (which is an vnperfect beeing) but altogether actually and in very deede.

From Possibilitie into deed.

A grayne may become an herbe, and a kernell a tree: which they be not so long as they continue a grayne and a kernell.

Vnmateriall.

God is single and vncompounded.

Moreouer, wee say that God made all things, and knoweth all things. Now, if he had in him the nature of any of them, the same would trouble the natures of the rest, as wee see that the tongue of a sicke man that is sicke of an Agewe, is vnable to iudge of the tast of things, because it is furred by a cholerick humor; and the eye which hath any matter therein, can see nothing. It followeth then that to make and to knowe all things, God must nedes bee very single, and not holding any thing at al in him. And the more single hee is, the more is hee capable of the innumerable multitudes of things; like as the eye is then most capable of all colours and the eare of all voyces; when [in themselues] the one is least troubled with noyses and the other with colours. Wherevpon it followeth that seeing he is not compounded, he cannot be a bodie: for all bodies are conteyned within boundes, and haue partes, which thing most people haue knowne well enough as Numenius the Pythagorian

Bodylesse. Numenius περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

Place is to be considered, either as a thing created, or as a conteyner of a thing placed. This way God is nowhere: the other way he is euery where. So is he both euery where, and no where. No where by limitation or poynting downe of place, & euery where by filling all places.

gorian reporteth. And not being a bodie, he cannot be in place, neither wholly nor partly. By reason whereof, wee may say in strict speech, that he is no where, that is to say, that no part of him is limited within any place to be poynted at. Notwithstanding, like as he made all things by the power of his beeing; so doth the same power enter into all things, till all things and conteyne all things. And forasmuch as the same is vndiuidable, it is whole in all, and whole in euery part: and so likewise is he himselfe; that is to say, he is euerywhere, whole throughout, in whom all things haue their beeing, howbeit that hee is not determinatly or definitely in any thing. Wee haue an image hereof in our owne mynd, which yet notwithstanding is but a vayne shadowe. For, in as much as all the things which we conceiue are lesse than we; they be in the mynd without intermingling of the mynd with them, and the mynd after a certeyne fashion toucheth them all, although it bee not comprehended in any of them. Now, if all these things be in our mynd, because they be entered into it by our sences: how much more shall all essences be in God and he in all of them, seeing that all of them proceede from him, and that his onely conceyuing of them hath brought them forth? Now then, let vs not imagine any intermingling in this behalfe. The light of the Sunne continueth entierly throughout; it cannot bee deuided into partes, nor shet vp in any place, nor seuered from the welspring thereof: it sheadeth it selfe into all places, it filleth all places, and it is present with all things which we see, (I speake after the maner of the Diuines) in essence, in power, and in presence. The Ayre is lightened with the presence thereof, and darkened with the absence, and wee perceyue both twayne of them; and yet for al that, it intermingleth not it self with the Ayre, ne leaueth any whit of it selfe into it. And shall wee presume to thinke lesse of the light which is not to bee conceyued but in vnderstanding; considering that wee see the like with our eyes? Or shall wee thinke it straunge that GOD should bee both euery where and nowhere, considering how wee see that from a bodie there isseweth such a bodilesse thing, as without touching any of them, lighteneth them all? And if a light shine in all things that shine; shall not the souereine essence bee in all things that are? And seeing that things could not haue bin made vnlesse Gods power (which is his very essence) had bin present with all things & with euery of them; shall any thing let him from being present with all things still? Now, like as the light of the Sunne hath diuers ef-

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fects through the disposition of mens eyes, and of the shærcnesse of things, and the diuersities of the substances whereon it lighteth: so is Gods presence diuers to diuers things, and yet is it without any diuersitie in it selfe. He is (sayth S. Austin) in himself, as the beginning and the end: to the World, as the Author and gouernor thereof: to his Church, as a father in his House: to our Soules, as a Bridegroome in his Chamber: to the Rightuous, as a Helper and defender: to the Reprobates, as a trembling and terror. No man fleeth from him but to him, from his rigor to his goodnesse, and so foorth. For what place shall he meete with (sayth he) where he shall not finde thy presence? The selfesame presence which was present at the making of all things, is present with euery thing to preserue them all: and yet is it neuertheless absent from all things and from euery thing, as it was at the tyme that there were no things at all; because none of them conteyneth it or any part of it, but it conteyneth all things. S. Austin vpon the Psalmes. 1. Phisic. 2. &c. ἐν τῷ ἀπεῖρον.

But we must passe yet one step further. God (say we) is present euerywhere. Then is he infinite, and yet is he not conteyned in any place, for he is not a bodie. It followeth therefore that he is not infinite in bodie, but in Spirit; nor in quantitie, but in goodnes and power, and better if better may be sayd. Wherfore, let vs not imagine him to bee a huge or massie lumpe, as the ignorant sorte doe. The massinesse of things is that (as wee see) which maketh them vnable to doe things. Contrariwise, the more spirituall a thing is, the more actiue it is. He then which is the action of al powers, must needes bee a Spirit of infinite power, and yet notwithstanding exempted from all quantitie, (which properly is but a weakenesse or want of power) yea, and yet in such sort infinite, as all the infinitenesse thereof bee comprehended within bounds as to himselfe, that is to say, so as he finish or bound himselfe, because he neither is nor hath any thing without himself. Thus haue we by reason (and we may also haue it by the Deuilles in the forealledged Oracles, and likewise by all the Philosophers) that GOD is vnmouable, vnchaungeable, beginningless, endless, single, bodyless, and infinite; all which are termes whereby wee declare, not what he is, but onely what he is not; not to make vs to conceyue him, but to keepe vs from deceyuing our selues by our owne vayne conceytes. And of all these Negatiues we conceyue but one affirmatiue, as we did at the first; namely, that God is his owne being, as he himself saith vnto Moyses; insomuch that he is of himselfe, and all things are of Infinite. Infinite, not by stretching or streyning out, but by sheading in.

him, and he cannot be aught els than he is; insomuch also that it is all one with him to be great and mightie, as meerely and simply to bee; which is as much to say as that we must (as much as wee can) conceyue him to be good without qualitie, great without quantitie, euerlasting without tyme, euerywhere present without place, and so forth. And to conclude this Chapter, whereas wee cannot comprehend God in his very being, wee will indeuer to come neere to the knowledge of him three waies by considering his effects; howbeit in such sort as that we must thinke infinitely of him, aboue and beyond the things which seeme greatest vnto vs in the perfections which we perceyue to be in all things; as, goodnesse, trueth, wisedome, Iustice, life, vnitie, and such like; and yet conceyuing him (if we can) to be but one only perfection comprehēding all perfections in one, and yet euery of them infinitely aboue the highest degree of perfection that we can imagine. And finally as in respect of the imperfections which are in all things, (as chaungeablenesse, weakenesse, materialnesse, and such like,) by conceyuing them to be more infinitely farre of from his nature, than wee can set them of in our vnderstanding. But when wee haue or shall haue taken neuer so much paynes in that behalfe, yet the vttermost that wee shall haue learned, is but only not to be ignorant of our owne want of knowledge. And therefore, to the intent we lose not our selues in seeking him, the surest way for vs is to possesse him by louing seruing and worshipping him; the which thing hee of his loue towards vs graunt vs to doe. Amen.

The fifth Chapter.

That in the onely one Essence or Substance of God there are three persons which we call the Trinitie.

LET vs presume yet a little further, not by rash inquisitiuenes of man, but by the mercifull guyding of God, who hath vouchsafed to vtter himselfe vnto vs in his Scriptures: and let vs see whether reason will helpe vs to maintayne and proue the things which she of her selfe could neuer haue found out. For, reason is after a sort

sort in like case towards God, as our eye is towards the Sunne. Neither the Sunne nor any thing vnder the Sunne, can well bee seene without the Sunne: likewise neither God nor any thing belonging to God can bee seene without God, how good eyesight or myndsight so euer wee haue. But when the Sunne shineth, then our eye seeth the things which it sawe not afore, & iudgeth of them at his ease, notwithstanding that the eye bee but the same it was afore, and haue but the same power of sight which it had afore, without receyuing any newe increase thereof. Likewise, when GOD vouchsafeth to vtter any doctrine vnto vs, the selfsame reason which otherwise could neuer haue perceyued it, doth then see it, and discourse it, and allowe of it, without receyuing any newe power ability or chaunge in it selfe. We haue concluded by reason, that God is a most single essence: And we beleeue by discouery from heauen, that in the same most single essence are three persons or Inbeings. Reason of it selfe could neuer haue attayned to the finding thereof: for we cannot distinguish things vnlesse we conceyue them; and yet neuertheless, reason will serue vs to proue it.

First of all, we haue alreadie acknowledged by Gods effects or doings, that there is in him a working nature or power, (I must be faine to speake in the speech of man seeing that the diuine speech is vnknowne to vs) which is the beginner and mouer of al things. And in euery of his workes, wee see a singular cunning; and in the knitting of all, both great and small together, wee see a wonderfull order, as I haue discoursed heretofore; and wee see there is neither order nor cunning where there is no vnderstanding. It followeth therefore that the souereine vnderstanding is in God from whom this great order and cunning proceede. Againe, albeit that of the things which are in this world, some vnderstand, and some vnderstand not; yet notwithstanding, all of them are appoynted to some certeyne end and marke, as the Sunne to make the day & to heate; the Moone to lighten the night, and all the Planets and Starres to marke out the Seasons; and so forth of all other things. None of them stumbleth in his way, none steppeth aside from his ende: and yet notwithstanding, the most part of them could not prescribe it to themselues. For the beginner of all ends is vnderstanding, and in the most of these there is no vnderstanding. Needes must it bee therefore, that God the maker of them did also appoynt them their ends, and consequently that he had vnderstanding for them. Now, the innumerable multitude of things, and the linking of their ends

The begetting of the Sonne, or of the second Person.

one to another as they now be, do shewe that al of them haue their beginning from one selfsame vnderstanding. Then must it nedes be, that this common author of their being, that is to say, the souereine being, must also be the souereine vnderstanding, seing he imparteth the effects of vnderstanding to so many things which haue it not. Moreouer, the things which haue vnderstanding are the disposers and orderers of the other things, and not contrarywise. Man buyldeth, planteth, reareth vp Cattell, and maketh his commoditie of all of them together. Of men themselues, the skilfullest make Lawes, and take vpon them to rule others. To be short, the things which haue no vnderstanding doe naturally serue as instruments to those which haue it; and the thing which hath the lesse of it, serueth that which hath the more of it; and no part in nature dealeth to the contrary. And (as wee haue proued by all the Philosophers themselues) it is God that created all things that haue vnderstanding, as well those which are not tyed to bodies, as those which haue bodies; allotting to them their offices and ends, and so consequently he is the very beginner and end of them himselfe.

Then once againe, so farre forth as we can describe this vnderstanding by the outward effects thereof, it must nedes be in God a most excellent abilitie (if it may bee so named) by direction whereof he executeth most wisely the actiue or inworking vertue power and nature which we marke in all things in this world, howbeit, so as the chiefe working of them doth abide and rest still in him. I haue proued heretofore that God is infinite: which being so; nothing can be imagined in him, which is not infinite likewise: for otherwise he should bee as well finite as infinite both together. And infinite he were not, if he could vnderstand or knowe that to day which he vnderstood not afore. Nedes then must it be, that he from al eternitie vnderstandeth and knoweth the things which haue bin, which are, and which shall be; the whole, and the parts; the generalles, the specialles, and the particulars; the originalles, the procedings, and the aftercommings; the doings, sayings, and thoughts of men; and so forth, so as this vnderstanding in God is euerlastingly infinite.

Againe, vnderstanding is an inworking which abideth and remayneth in the partie which hath it, and passeth not into any outward thing. For, when we vnderstand the course of the Sunne, we become the more skilful therof in our selues; but as for the Sunne, he is nothing altered thereby. Also I haue told you alreadie, that God is most single, and that there is not any thing in him which

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is not his very essence or being. Wherupon it followeth, that God not onely hath vnderstanding, but also that his vnderstanding is his very essence [that is to say, he is the very vnderstanding it self.] Now then, let vs see what it is that this vnderstanding begetteth. I haue told you that God is a mere doing, and that whatsoeuer he doth, he doth it from euerlasting; and that on the other side being most single, there is nothing in him which is not a doer. Wherevpon it followeth that this vnderstāding is euerlastingly occupyed in doing. And wherein then is it occupyed? What is the thing that it worketh vppon? Surely it can meete with nothing but it selfe. God then conceyued and vnderstood himselfe; and it must needes be that he vnderstood himselfe, seeing that the chiefest wisedome is to knowe ones selfe, whereof he could not fayle. Therefore it was of necessitie, that this vnderstanding of God, should yeeld a reflexion backe againe to it self, as a face doth in a Lookingglasse, and as our mynd doth when it setteth it self to the considering of it owne proper nature; and that it should conceyue and beget in it selfe a perfect image of it owne selfe, which image is the same thing which in the Trinitie we call the Sonne, the Word, or the Speech; namely, the liuely and perfect image and wisedome of the Father. Now, this vnderstanding is actually euerlasting, [that is to say, euerlasting in deede] and euerlastingly actuall, [that is to say, euerlastingly doing,] and therefore wee say that the second person which it begetteth is also euerlasting: and God in his vnderstanding had not conceyued any thing that is lesse than himself; for it is equal with him. And whereas wee comprehend not our selues; that commeth of the darknesse and lumpishnesse of our flesh, which maketh vs vnlike our selues. We say then that the Sonne is equall to the Father, and the image of the Father. But yet moreouer, the being of the Father and his vnderstanding are both one: & his being or essence (being vnderstoode of it selfe) is none other thing than the being of the Sonne, who is bred and begotten by the Fathers vnderstanding or mynding of himself. Wherevpon we conclude againe, that the essence of the Father is the essence of the Sonne, [that is to say, that loke whatsoeuer the Father is, the Sonne is the same;] so as they differ not but by way of relation: and consequently that they be Coeternall, Coequall, and Coessentiall, [that is to say, of one selfesame euerlasting continuance, of one selfesame state condition and degree, and of one selfesame substance or being;] which is the thing that we be taught in the Church. This second person for

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diuers respects is betokened by diuers names. He is ordinarily called the Sonne, because he is a Conception of the vnderstanding which is in God, and a perfect resemblance of him. And here wee haue to consider, that according to the diuersities of natures; the maner of breedings or begettings doe varie also. For euery life (if I may so speake) begetteth or breedeth a Sonne, issue or offspring in it selfe afore it send it out; and the excellenter that the life is, the more inward to it is that which proceedeth or is bred thereof. Herevpon some haue supposed the Fire to be a liuing wight, because it breedeth or begetteth another fire like it selfe. But howsoeuer the case stand, like as the Elements are naturally the basest things in degree, so hath Fire the basest maner of breeding or begetting; as which is not able to doe it but out of it self, and by the applying of some outward matter to him. The Plant conceyueth moysture in it selfe, which springeth forth into bud, from bud into flower, and from flower into fruite; which fruite being ripe falleth to ỹ ground, and there bringeth forth another Plant. Now, this second Plant liued in the first Plant ere it liued in it selfe; and all liuing wights doe liue, moue and feele in their Dammes bellies, afore they come forth; which is yet a more inward maner of breeding and begetting than the other. The sensitiue life conceyueth an imagination which howeth vp it selfe in the memorie: but as it proceedeth from the Sences and sensible things; so doth it depart out of it self. The reasonable life hath his conceptions and breedings yet more inward than all the rest. For it hath his reflexion backe to it selfe; and wee commonly terme the doings or actions thereof by the name of Conceptions or Concepts, after which maner the learned sort doe call their bookes their Children. But yet there is this more in this matter; namely, that in men this conceyuing proceedeth of imagination, which is an outward thing vnto it, because nothing can enter into the vnderstanding of man but by the Sences; and moreouer, for that the thing which is mynded or vnderstood, and ỹ mynd or vnderstanding it selfe, are not both one in vs. But forasmuch as onely God is altogeter life, and his life is altogether vnderstanding, which is the highest degree of life; he hath his maner of conceyuing and begetting most inward of all. For, he conceyueth in himself and of himself, and his conceyuing is a begetting, and this begetting abideth still in himselfe, because his vnderstanding can neuer any where meete with any thing but that which he himselfe is. And that is the second person whom wee call the Sonne, and vnto

Why the second Person is called the Son, the Worde, Speech, Wisedome, &c.

vnto whom that name doth so much the more properly agree, because his resembling of him is more perfect, and his begetting or Sonneship (if I may so terme it) is more inward, than all the breedings and begettings which we commonly see, or than any other that we can imagine. Also we cal him Logos, which some translate Word or Speech, and othersome Reason. Eyther of those significations is ordinary to the word Logos, and agreeable to that which is intended to be signified thereby, so farre forth as diuine things can be expressed by the speech of man. When we call him Speech or Word, it is according to the doctrine of the Philosophers, who haue marked that there is in man a dubble Speech; the one in the mynd, which they call the inward Speech, which wee conceyue afore we vtter it; and the other the sounding image thereof, which is vttered by our mouth and is termed the Speech of the Voyce; eyther of both the which we perceyue at euery word that wee intend to pronounce: which thing those folke might yet much better obserue, which had neuer learned any Language, because they should not cease to haue those inward Concepts in themselues [though they could not speake] For the witte or vnderstanding doth by and by conceyue an inwarde Speech vppon the thing which is offered vnto it, and begetteth or breedeth that concept in our mynde as it were by a suddein flash of Lightning, and afterward our mynd vttereth it more at leysure by the voyce, the which voyce (notwithstanding) is vnable to represent or expresse ỹ inward Speech perfectly: insomuch that wee see many men haue a great number of goodly concepts in their mynds, which they be not able to expresse; and that in expressing them eyther by worde or by writing, they mislike their owne doings, because they bee farre inferiour to the things which they had conceyued in their mynds. Now, the speech of the mynd is very Reason it self: and loke what the speech of the mynd reasoneth and debateth, that doth the voyce vtter, and eyther of them is the image of the next that went afore. For loke what proportion is betweene the voyce or Speech of the mouth, and the Speech of the mynd; the like proportion is betweene the Speech of the mynd, and the Speech of the vnderstãding. The voyce hath néede of ayre, and is diuided into parts, and requireth leysure: The Mynd in déede is vndiuidable, but yet hath it néed of tyme to passe frõ one cõclusion or reason to another. But as for ỹ vnderstãding, it accomplisheth his action or working in lesse than a moment, and with one onely act doth so fill the Reason and mynd, that it is con-

Looke in the 12. Chapter of Mercurius trimegistus Pœmander.

Rapida quadam Coruscatione perfundit animum. that is to say, it sheadeth through the mynd with a certeyne swift glistering.

Vox profert, Animus ratiocinatur, Mentis Verbum ipsa Ratio est. that is to say, the voyce vttereth, the mynd reasoneth or debateth, and so Reason is the very word or speech of the Mynd.

streyned

stroyned to make many acts of one. And this diuersitie may euery man marke in himselfe, notwithstanding that all these acts seeme to be done together like Thunder and Lightning. Now then, the said Conception or Concept which Gods vnderstanding hath conceyued euerlastingly in himselfe, wee call Speech or Word; which is the perfect image of his vnderstanding, and Gods vnderstanding, is God himself. Also wee call it Reason, because Reason is as ye would say the Daughter, Speech or worde of the vnderstanding, and we say that by the same Speech or word, God made al things. For, as the Craftsman maketh his worke by the patterne which he had erst conceyued in his mynde, which patterne is his inward word: so God made the World and all that is therein, by that sayd Speech of his as by his inward skill or arte. For he being but one, conceyueth all things by conceyuing himselfe. To be short, we call him also the Wisedome of the Father, yea, and euen meerely and simply wisedome. For, Wisedome (euen in man) is nothing els but a hauiour proceeding of diuers Concepts or inward speeches, whereby our mynde is perfected in the knowledge of high things. Now, God is the heyghth of all heyghthes, and by the conceyuing of himself he knoweth himself. But yet we must take this withall, that the thing which is a hauiour in vs, is essence in him, [that is to say, that he is the very things themselues which wee obteyne to haue by meanes,] and that he himselfe is the ground of his owne wisedome, whereas the true wisedome of men, hath not any other ground than God. Now then, can there bee any greater wisedome in God, than to knowe himselfe? And is not that knowledge bred of vnderstanding?

The proceeding of the holy Ghost, or third person.

Let vs come to the third person. We haue acknowledged heretofore, that in the most single essence of God, there is a workfull power, abilitie, or nature, matched with an vnderstanding, according whereunto the sayde vertue or power executeth his actions. Now, in the selfesame essence, should there not also be a Will besides the sayd vnderstanding? If wee consider all the things in the world, we shall finde in them a kynd of Will, tending to the seuerall welfare of euery of them: & the more vnderstanding they haue, the more wil also haue they; because that the more their welfare is knowne vnto them, the more also is it desired; & the more it is desired, the more also is their will vniforme, and the lesse parted. I omit the senceleſſe things, as Plants, Herbes, and Stones, which haue certeine naturall inclinations, sufficiently marked by the searching

thing out of their natures. But yet it cannot bee denyed, but that the Beastes haue a sensitiue appetite to followe the thing which their Sence taketh hold of to be good for them. Men also doe runne with all their harts after the thing which they suppose to bee good for them, whether it bee honor, riches or pleasure. And the more they knowe it or thinke themselues to knowe it, the more doe they yeeld their will vnto it: and the more they hold and possesse therof, the more is their hart settled therevpon. Only their vnderstanding being bewitched by vanitie, is deceytfully driuen to chose the euill for the good; by meanes wherof, the will which ought to be discréete and full of wit and vnderstanding, is forced of necessitie to degenerate into fleshly and beastly lust. The Angelles likewise (as say the Philosophers) haue also a will, and much more simply one & more liuely than ours. And as by their vnderstanding they know the very good it self, that is to wit God; so haue they their will euer settled on him alone, without turning it aside to any of all the great multitude of obiects wheron we be wont to set our mynds. Now, shall not he himself haue a will, who hath giuen will to al liuing things and imprinted it in them? And he that hath imparted so many benefites to all things, to some mo and to some lesse; hath not he (say I) bestowed those benefites vppon them willingly? And he with the beholding of whom ỹ blessedest Spirits do fede their willes, hath not he the pleasure of contenting himself throughly with him selfe, seeing he knoweth himselfe perfectly? And what els is this pleasure, than will fulfilled, yea euen filled to the full with the true God which sufficeth to himselfe, which is the onely peculiar thing whereon the very will resteth in deede? Againe, the nature of will is to applye all abilities to their actions. To no purpose haue wee hearing, if wee list not to heare; to no purpose haue we sight, if wee list not to see; to no purpose haue wee abilitie to doe things, if wee list not to doe them. And this appeareth dayly in all our doings, which neuer come to effect, till they be quickened and put forth by the will. But we see that God hath applyed his power to the doing of many things, yea of things infinite and infinitely diuers. Therefore it followeth that he listed to doe them, and that he listed to make one thing to one ende and another to another, and one of them for another, and finally all for himselfe, and so consequently that he hath a will. And this will (so farre as we be able to discerne it by the effects) is a certeyn abilitie wherby he applyeth his worke full power, when, where, and how he thinketh good; guyding and

perfourming

perfoꝛming it accoꝛding to his owne mynd, howbeit that the chiefe act thereof is perfoꝛmed within it selfe. Neuertheleſſe, this is ſpoken alwaies after the maner of men. Foꝛ if we haue much a doe to diſcerne the differeuce betweene the abilities of Will and Underſtanding in our owne Soules, by reaſon of the linking of them together: much moꝛe reaſon is it that in this eſſence of God which is moſt ſingle, and infinitely moꝛe one than ours, we ſhould deeme all theſe things to be but one in him, notwithſtanding that they differ in certeyne reſpects. God vnderſtandeth, but I haue told you, that to be and to vnderſtand is all one in him. Alſo God willeth oꝛ liſteth; but to will and to vnderſtand are likewiſe both one in him: and ſo all three come into one eſſence [that is, bee all one thing.] The reaſon hereof is very euident: namely, that willing oꝛ liſting is no moꝛe an action that paſſeth into the outward thing, than Underſtanding is; but abideth ſtill in the Willer. Foꝛ by our liking of a thing, we may perceiue ſome alteration in our ſelues; but ỹ thing it ſelf that is liſted oꝛ willed feeleth nothing thereof. Now, I haue pꝛoued heretofoꝛe, that whatſoeuer is oꝛ reſteth in God, is his very being; and moꝛeouer, God willeth not any thing but as in reſpect that he vnderſtandeth it; foꝛ the knowne good is the ground of his will, and he vnderſtandeth not but by his eſſence, [that is to ſay, foꝛ that he is the very vnderſtanding it ſelfe.] It followeth then, that in God, his Will is his very eſſence as well as his vnderſtanding; inſomuch that he is both Power, Underſtanding, and Will all in one.

But let vs ſee now what pꝛocéedeth of GOD by his Will. I haue ſayd afoꝛe, that God is mere Action, and moꝛeouer, that he is moſt ſingle: therfoꝛe he is ſtill doing from all eternitie, and ſo likewiſe is whatſoeuer els we conſider in his eſſence. Now, there we haue found an Underſtanding, by the Inwoꝛking whereof he knoweth himſelf; and alſo a Will, whereby he cannot but will himſelf, ſeeing he knoweth himſelfe. And this Underſtanding, by a certeine Reflexion of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, hath begotten vs a ſecond perſon, whom we call the Sonne and the Wiſedome of the father. This will then which woꝛketh euerlaſtingly, hauing likewiſe none other thing to woꝛke vppon but it ſelfe, doth alſo by his woꝛking ſtrike backe vpon himſelfe, and delight it ſelfe in the infinite good which it knoweth there, and ſo ſheadeth out it ſelfe wholly to the louing thereof; and by this action it bringeth vs foꝛth a third perſon (if I may ſo terme it) whom we call Gods Spirit and the holy Ghoſt,

that

that is to wit, the mutuall kindnesse and louingnesse of the Father and of the Sonne; of the Father the vnderstander, towards the Sonne conceyued and begotten by his vnderstanding: and of the Sonne backe againe towards the Father, acknowledging all that he hath and all that he is to be of the Father. And this sayd Will is the essence of God himselfe, and consequently eternally actiue, and actiuely eternall. For, in the euerlasting all things are euerlasting; and in a mere act, all things are act; and of such can nothing proceede which shall not be like them. Needes therefore must this Spirit, this Louingnesse, or this goodwill, bee also actually euerlasting. Moreouer, the will extendeth as farre as the vnderstanding: for (as I haue sayd afore) will and vnderstanding are both one in God; and vnderstanding doth perfectly comprehend the thing that is vnderstood, namely the thing that is beloued, that is to wit God himselfe. The will then doth by his action (which is loue & liking) extend it selfe as farre as God himselfe; and so the third Person is equall to the second and the first. And yet doth this third Person proceede of the will, and the will is Gods essence, & of that essence can nothing proceede which is not his essence. Therefore he is not onely coeternall and coequall, but also coessentiall. Againe, wee see that in vs, there goeth alwaies some act of the vnderstanding afore the act of our will; for ỹ cause why we will things, is that we think wee vnderstand them; and wee desire them for the good which wee perceyue in them; & the loue of a thing cannot be in the louer thereof, but vppon his knowing of the thing loued; neither is will any thing els than appetite, bred of vnderstanding. The third Person therefore proceedeth from the first, not only by the will, but also by the vnderstanding, and by the knowledge which the vnderstanding breedeth. And because it proceedeth of two, and not by way of resemblance, but by act of Will; we terme him Proceeding and not Begotten; which is in effect the reason of all that is taught vs in the Church concerning that matter. Notwithstanding, whereas wee say that the action of Vnderstanding goeth afore the action of Will; our meaning is not to imagine any going afore or comming after in these persons; but onely to say forth this proceeding by the order of Nature, which wee could not haue done so well by the trueth of the matter: as if wee should say, that the Sonne is considered afore the holy Ghost, in like maner as ỹ knowing of a thing goeth afore the desire of it, because that if they could haue had any beginning, the Sonne had bin formost in that case.

As

As touching names, we call him most cõmonly the holy Ghost.

Why the holy Ghost is called Loue &c.

Holy, because there is nothing in God which is not pure and holy; whereby he is discerned from al other Spirits: and Ghost or Spirit, because we commonly call those things Spirits, the beginning of whose moving is vnknowne to vs; as the Wyndes, whose beginning is vnknowne vnto vs: the breathing of the Heartstrings, which proceeueth from an inward beginning that is hidden from vs; and such other things: and to be short, because that in all things which haue life, the inwarde force proceedeth from some kynde of will by a certeyne Spirit. Now, as for loue, it is nothing els but a certeyne couert forewardnesse or forthgoing of the will towards the thing that is loued; insomuch that the very benefite which we receyue by his loue, is a secrete and insensible throughbreathing, which worketh in vs, & yet we cannot well perceyue from whence it commeth. Againe, wee call him also Loue and Charitie, because all the actions of will are in loue and wellyking as in their rote, in like maner as all the doings of Gods Vnderstanding, méete altogether in his wisedome. For, whereas wee desire the thing which we want, or be glad of the thing which wee haue; the cause thereof is that we loue it or like well of it. Likewise also, whereas we feare a thing, or lothe it; that commeth of a hatred, which can haue no place in God, whose will nothing is able to withstand. Therefore as we haue God of God (that is to wit, the Sonne of the Father) by the euerlasting inworking of his Vnderstanding; so also haue wee God of God againe (that is to wit, the holy Ghost or loue of them both) by the ioyntworking of the Vnderstanding and Will together. Whereupon we conclude three distinct persons or Inbeings in one essence; not to exclude the singlenesse thereof which it behoueth vs to hold still; but to expresse the diuersitie thereof after a sort, which ought not to bee vnknowne; namely the power of the Father, the wisedome of the Sonne, & the goodnesse of their loue; for whom, by whom, and in whom, it hath pleased the sayd onely one vnspeakable essence to create and to loue all things.

πνεύματα.

Of whom, by whom, and in whom.

Three Persons and no mo.

But there is yet more, namely, that as there are three Inbeings or Persons in this essence; so also there can bee no mo but three: which thing may be made euident by the same reason. Whoso denyeth that there is Vnderstanding and Will in God as wee haue seene afore, must also denye that he hath made any thing, or that he doth any thing: for all the things which wee see here belowe, are marked both with the one and with the other. Likewise, he that confesseth

confesseth that all things are in him, (according to their preaching vnto vs) must needes also confesse the Sonne and the holy Ghost, to bee the wisedome and the loue; for they bee but actions of those two, which cannot be without their action; neither can action bee euerlastingly any where els than in God himself. Now, as we can not imagine God without his actions; so can wee not consider any other than those to abyde in him, nor consequently any other Vnderbeings that procéede from thence; wherevpon we say also, that a fourth person cannot be admitted. As for example, we say he is the Creator, and we say true; and in so saying wee finde also a relation to the Creatures. But this power of Creating procéedeth from the power which is in the Father, and is not an action that abideth still within him, but passeth directly into the thing created, which in respect of the Creator, is as nothing in comparison of infinitenesse, whereof it cannot haue the prehéminence. Also we say he is a Sauiour: and that is all one with the other. For his being a Sauiour, is by his Sonne, as we shall see hereafter; and moreouer, it is an action that passeth into the thing saued, and abydeth not in God alone. Therefore it maketh not to the stablishing of a fourth person or inbeing; for then it ought to be Coessentiall. To be short, all Gods operations doe eyther procéede from within him, and abyde still in the worker and in their first ground; or els they procéed from without, and passe into the outward effect. That worke or action which procéedeth from within, can bee of none other essence than the thing from whence it commeth: for in GOD there is nothing but essence, and in that essence can nothing abyde but the essence it selfe. That which procéedeth from without, is alwaies of a sundrie essence, as are the Creatures and workes of God, which come nothing nere the essence of the Creator. The thing which doth the worke without, is Gods power, howbeit accompanyed with his vnderstanding and will. And the thing that doth the work within, is his vnderstanding and will and nothing els, as wee may discerne in our selues, who are but a very slender image thereof. And like as in beholding a paynted Table, or in reading the verses of a Poet, we imagine not therefore that there was a peculiar and immediate abilitie of paynting or verifying in the mynd or souereyne part of their Soule; but we referre those skilles and al other like, vnto Wit and Will: euen so and much more according to reason, of all the workes and doings which we see done by Gods power, we cannot gather any other persons or inbeings in him, than

those which proceede immediatly of his Understanding and Will; and alonly those and none other can be Coessentiall in him. Now, Understanding and Will in GOD, are essence; and his essence is merely one and most single. And moreouer, the Word or Speech conceyueth not another Speech, but turneth wholly vnto the Father; neither doth the Spirit conceyue another loue than the loue of those two; but resteth and reposeth it self altogether in them. So then, there can but one onely word or speech proceede by the vnderstanding, nor but only one Loue proceede by the Will; neither can any other proceede of that Word and that Loue. And so there remayne vnto vs the onely three persons of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost; by the which two, the Father gouerneth and loueth all things, because he himself alone is all things.

Traces of the Trinitie in the World and in Man.

Now, as we haue read in nature that there is but one God, as a thing which we finde written euen in the least creatures: so may we now perceyue the euident footsteps of the three inbeings or persons in one essence, as a marke of the worker that made them, in some more and in some lesse, according their dignitie; which yet notwithstanding are such, as we could not well perceine them, vntill the doctrine thereof was reuealed vnto vs, no more than we can vnderstand the letters of Cyphering, which wee can neither reade nor decypher, vnlesse we haue some knowledge of ẏ matter which they import, from other folkes hands, or by coniecture, or by some other way. Wee finde an Vnitie in all things, yea euen in those which haue but only being. For all things are inasmuch as they be one: and whensoeuer they ceasse to bee that one, they consequently ceasse also to be. Againe, we see in them a forme or shape, and that is the marke of that witfull action (that is to say, of the euerlasting Word or Concept whereby God made them) which hath bred vs the essentiall forme or shape, and all other maner of formes and shapes. Also we see an inclination or disposition, in some more apparant than in othersome; in some to mount aloft, as in fire; in some to sincke downe towards the Center, as in a Stone; and in all, to hold themselues vnited in their matter & forme. This is the marke of the workfull Will, wherein God hath voutsafed to stampe vnto them; and of the vnion which proceedeth therof, wherein he loueth, vpholdeth, & preserueth all things. But euen in some of the things of this baceft sort, there appeareth not onely a trace, but almost an image thereof. For, the Sunne breedeth or begetteth his owne beames, which the Poets doe call the very sonne of the Sunne:

and

and from them two proceedeth the light, which imparteth it selfe to all things here beneath; and yet is not the one of them afore the other; for neither is the Sunne afore his beames, nor the Sunne or his beames afore the light, otherwise than in consideration of order and relation, that is to wit, as in respect that the beames are begotten and the light is proceeding; which is an apparant image of the Coeternitie. Likewise in Waters, we haue the head of them in the earth, & the Spring boyling out of it, & the streame which is made of them both and sheadeth it self out farre of from thence. It is but one selfesame continuall and vnseparable essence, which hath neither forenesse nor afternesse, saue only in order and not in tyme, that is to say, according to our considering of it, hauing respect to causes, and not according to trueth. For, the Welhead is not a head, but in respect of the Spring; nor the Spring a Spring, but in respect of the Welhead; nor the Streame a Streame, but in respect of them both; and so all three be but one Water, and cannot almost be considered one without another, howbeit that the one is not the other. It is an expresse mark of the originall relations and persons Coessentiall in the only one essence of God. The like is to bee sayd of Fire, which ingendreth fire, and hath in it both heate and brightnesse vnseparable. Also there are other examples to bee found of such as list to seeke them out. In Hearbes and Plants there is a roote, which yeeldeth a slippe, stocke or ympe, and the same ympe groweth afterward into a Tree. It cannot well be named or deemed to be a roote, but that therewith it hath also ingendred an ympe or stocke; for in that respect is it called a roote, and so is the one as sone as the other. Also there is a sappe which passeth from the one to the other, ioyning, knitting, and vniting them together by one common life, without the which life, neither the rote should bee a rote, nor the slip a slip, and so in effect they bee altogether, the one as sone as the other. Moreouer, among all liuing wights, euery of them ingendreth after his owne kind and forme; of whom one is an ingendrer and another is ingendred; among men, a father and a sonne; and by and by through knowledge, there proceedeth a naturall loue and affection from the one to the other, which knitteth and linketh them together. All these are traces, footsteps, and images, (howbeit with the grossest) of that high misterie; and also I haue told you afore, that no effect doth fully resemble his cause, and much lesse that cause which in all respects is most infinite.

The welhead, the Spring, & the streame.

Notwithstanding, in mans Soule, (when I say Soule, I meane there the highest power thereof) the image and likenesse of the Trinitie is yet much more lively and more expresse. For first there is in it a Nature & abilitie of working, and as it were a mere act, whereby it liueth and giueth life, and is it selfe in continuall working. The Latins call it *Mens* [that is to say Mynd] & we call it also the reasonable Soule, the which wee may liken to the Father. This Mynd bréedeth an vnderstanding or Wit, by the which we vnderstand and discerne, not onely other things, but also our selues; and againe by vnderstanding we come to will, through the which we loue other things, and most of them for our owne sakes. These thrée powers are very distinct in vs: for wee worke not alwayes by Wit, not alwayes by Will, and yet our mynd worketh continually. Moreouer, oftentymes wee will the thing which wee vnderstand not, and wee vnderstand the thing which wee will not. And therefore to will and to vnderstand are not both one. Neuertheless this Working, Vnderstanding and Willing, are not thrée liues or thrée Soules in vs, but one life and Soule, and that so streitly vnited in once essence, that euen in the selfsame instant that our mind doth a thing, it also vnderstandeth the reason why it willeth it or willeth it not, in which worke both our inworking power and also our wit and our will doe concurre all together. Yet notwithstanding, this image is farre from the thing it selfe. For these thrée powers are seuerall in the essence of our Soule; and howe nérly so euer they be vnited together, yet is not the one the other; But in God who is most singly one, Being is Vnderstanding, and vnderstanding is will, as I haue said afore. And againe, by Gods vnderstanding and by his will there procéede from hym two Inbeings, by reason whereof hee myndeth and loueth himselfe, and in himselfe all things. As for our Soule there can no such thing procéede from it by the wit or the will, because although they be both in it, yet they take their grounds from without themselues, insomuch that it can neither vnderstand nor loue, vnlesse the abilities thereof be set aworking by some outward thing. And which more is, the more it vnderstandeth it selfe, the more doth it streine it selfe to vnderstand and knowe another than it selfe: and the more it loueth it selfe through true knowledge of it selfe, the more dooth it séeke contentment by louing another, which other it cannot loue but by hating it selfe; that is to wit, it streyneth it selfe too behold and loue God, and to knowe and loue it selfe but only for his sake,

to

to whome alonly it belongeth to vnderstand all things in himselfe, and to loue all things of himselfe. But now it is high time hencefoorth to see what antiquitie will say to vs concerning this matter, the which it wilbe better for vs to reserue to the next Chapter following. And as touching the questions that may bee made by the curious sort vppon this poynt, we answere them at one word; Let them tell vs how they themselues are bred and begotten, and then let them aske vs of the begetting of the Sonne of God: Let them tell vs the nature of the spirit that beateth in their Pulses; and thē let them bee inquisitiue at our hands for the procéeding of the holy Ghost. And if they must be fayne to kéepe silence in so comon matters, which they dayly see and féele in themselues; let them giue vs leaue to be ignorant in many things, which are such (as sayth Empedocles) as no eye hath séene, nor eare heard, nor wit of man can conceyue.

The vj. Chapter.

That the Philosophie of old tyme consenteth to this doctrine of the Trinitie.

SUrely (as I haue sayd afore) this doctrine is not bred of mans braine, though it be paynted there after some sort; but was verely inspyred into our forefathers from aboue, who (as sayth Plato) were better than we, and nerer also vnto God. And in good sooth we see an infallible argument thereof, in that the elder the world groweth, the more do mens doctrines grow to perfection & knowledge. But contrarywise, the further that this hath gone from the former ages, the more hath it bin found darkened, & hath nowhere bin so lightsome as at the wellspring thereof; vntill that by the birth of the true daysonne in deede, it receyued greater light than euer it had afore. And therefore when Plato, yea and Aristotle himselfe speake of the Godhead, of the Creation of the World, and of other like Misteries; they be fayne to alledge the auncient report, and the record of antiquitie descended from hand to hand, as ỹ surest staffe to stand by in matters that excéde the capacitie of man. Which thing

Plato in his Philebus.

Plato. lib. 3. of his Commonweale: and lib. 10. & 12. of Lawes.

Aristo. lib. 1. of Heauen. & lib. 12. of his Metaphisiks.

Plotin often. &c.

thing they expresse ordinarily by these speeches, According to the old Sawe, as the auncientest reports goe, As our forefathers and Elders say, and such like. Among these men of the auncientest sort, the first that wee meete with is Zoroastres, whom Plutarke reporteth to haue liued certeyne thousands of yeres afore ẏ warres of Troy. Neuerthelesse, by report of the best Authors, he descended of Cham, and was vanquished by Nynus King of the Assyrians. Of him came the Magies, that is to say the Wisemen of Chaldey, and from them sprung vp the like in Persia, who had in their custodie the Registers of the Kings of those daies, & wrate their deeds, and had the ordering of matters perteining to Religion. And now marke what we find in their sayings gathered by men of old time, which are commonly called Logia, that is to say Oracles. The father (sayth Zoroastres) did perfect all things, and gaue them to a second Mynd whom all mankind taketh for the first. And Pletho Gemistus a Platonist sayth, that by this second Mynd, he meaneth a second God which succeedeth the Father, and hath his begetting of the Father; and that men haue taken him for the first, because God created the World by him, howbeit that the Father created the myndly shapes, and gaue the gouernment of them to this second Mynd. Ye see then here is a second person begotten of the Father. Proclus rehearseth the same, saying; This Mynd hauing alone taken the flower of Vnderstãding from the power of the Father, possesseth the vnderstanding and power to deale foorth his Fathers vnderstanding or mynd to all Originalles and all Beginnings of things. Then hath he his being and his vnderstanding from the Father, and all other things haue them from him. But the things which are found in his Commentarie vpon the Parmenides of Plato are wonderfull.

The Chaldies heard speake of the Trinitie.

Zoroastres.

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

Plinie and Aristotle beare witnesse that he wrote many bookes.

πάντα ἐξετέλεσε πατὴρ, καὶ νῶ παρέδωκε δευτέρῳ.

Pletho Gemistus.

ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλκῆς δρεφάμθυος. νόου ανθος.

Proclus lib. 2. & 3. vpon Platoes Parmenides.

For the better yeelding of the sence whereof, I will translate it into Prose, notwithstanding ẏ it be written in verse in the Greeke. The Mynd of the Father (sayth he) being settled by determinate purpose, did shed foorth shapes of all sorts; which issued all from one selfesame fountayne, because the deuise and end were both of the Father. But yet were they diuided by a Fyre of vnderstanding, and (as it were by destinie) distributed into other vnderstandings. For afore the making of this sundry-shaped world, God had conceyued an incorruptible patterne thereof, as a world subiect only to mynd and vnderstanding: In the mould whereof this present World being stamped, became

came full of al thoſe ſhapes, of the which there is but one only gracious Fountaine.

And againe in another place he ſayth as followeth.

That is to ſay, The loue of God being a fyrie bond, iſſued firſt from his vnderſtanding, and clothed it ſelfe with fire to temper the conueyances of the waterſprings, by ſpreading his heate vpon the ſame. Theſe are their accuſtomed obſcurities; wherein (notwithſtanding) it is clerely enough vttered, that there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Loue that linketh them together: and moreouer, that the ſayd begotten Mynd or Underſtanding is he by whom God framed the World, and that from him proceedeth the diuine Loue, as I haue ſayd heretofore. In another place they ſay that the ſayd Fatherly Mynd hath ſowed and planted in our Soules, a certeyne reſemblance of the ſayd begotten vnderſtanding, and that our willes be not acceptable vnto him, vntill wee awake out of forgetfulneſſe, and bethinke our ſelues againe of the || pure fatherly marke which is in vs. And againe, that the ſame Underſtanding, being of* power to beget or breede of it ſelfe, did (by conſidering) caſt a fyrie bond of Loue vpon all things, wherby they be continued for euer. But it is enough for vs that in the ſayings afore alleadged, wee haue a briefe Summe of the diuinitie of the Magies, who held three beginnings, whom (as wee reade in other places) they called Oromaſes, Mitris, and Ariminis, [that is to ſay] God, Mynd, and Soule. And ſurely wee ſhould wonder at them much more, if we had their whole bookes, as we haue but peeces of them remayning. Now, the Magies were firſt in Chaldye, and we reade in Moyſes how highly Balaam was eſteemed, in that he was thought able to bleſſe Nations and Armies. And theſe Chaldies are the ſame of whom the Oracle of Apollo anſwered, That only they and the Hebrewes had wiſedome parted betwixt them.

* ὁ πάτρικὸς νοῦς.

|| πατρικοῦ συνθήματος ἄγνος. αὐτογένεθλος.

Μοῦνοι χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λαχὸν ἠδ' ἑβραῖοι.
All wiſedome certeſſe parted is betweene
The Chaldies and the Hebrewes as is ſeene.

Mercurius Triſmegiſtus (as we haue ſeene in the third Chapter) acknowledged but only one God, who cannot well bee named but by two names, to wit, Good, and Father. And becauſe the ſame God is indewed with vnderſtanding, ſometymes he calleth him Νοῦν, howbeit that moſt commonly he makes a difference betweene the Father and the Underſtanding, which he calleth Mynd

Mercurie. The Egiptians

likewise. Which thing appeareth in this saying of his, I am Pœmander, the Feeder of Men, & the vnderstanding of the Beer which is of himself. But behold here records as cléere as can bée. God (sayth he) who is also Mynd, and Life, and Light, & Male-female; begate or bred Logon the Speech or Word, which is another Mynd, and the workmayster of all things; & with that Speech, another which is the fyrie God and the Spirite of the Godhead. Lo here a Mynd begottē of a Mynd, Understanding of Understanding, and Light of Light; and besides that, moreouer a Spirit. And againe, This Speech that proceedeth from GOD being altogether perfect, and fruitfull, and Workmistresse of all things, lighteth vpon the water and maketh it fruitfull. It is the same thing that is spoken of in Moyses, where God sayth, And the waters immediatly brought foorth. To be short, vnto this holy spéech (as he termeth it) he attributeth the begetting, ingendring & spreading foorth of al things from offspring to offspring, as is to be seene. But here is yet more: I thy God (sayth God) am Light and Mynd, of more antiquitie than the nature of moysture that is issued frō the shadow. And this lightsome Speech which proceedeth from the mynd, is the Sonne of God. That which heareth and seeth in thee, is the word of the Lord; and the Mynd is God the Father; these differ not one from another; and as for their vnion, it is the vnion of life, &c. And againe: This Speech being the workman of God the Lord of the whole World, hath chiefe power next him, and is vncreated, infinite, proceeding from him, the Commaunder of all things which he made, the perfect & naturall firstborne Sonne of the most perfect. To be short, he calleth him ẏ myndly spéech, euerlasting, vnchaungeable, vncorruptible, vnincreasing, vndecreasing, alonly like him, and firstbeknowne after God; and moreouer his onely Sonne, his welbeloued Sonne, the Sonne of the most holy, whose name cannot be named by mouth of man. And is not this as much as to call him Coessentiall, Coeternal, and the Creator of all things? And what more can we say thereof?

Of the third parson he speaketh more darkly. Al kind of things in this World (saith he) are quickened by a Spirit; One Spirit filleth all things; the World nourisheth the bodies, and the Spirit the Soules; and this Spirit as a toole or instrument, is subiect to the will of God. But here is yet somewhat more. All things (saith he) haue neede of this Spirit; it beareth them vp, it

τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς.

Of the selfebeing in his Pœmander. cap. 2.

ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ θεὸς ἀρρενοθήλις, ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ἀπεκύησε λόγον ἕτερον νοῦν δημιούργον, &c.

Νοῦς πατὴρ τοῦ λόγου.

Mercury alledged by Cyrillus. lib. 1. against Iulian. & in his Pœmander cap. 1.

ἐξ ἐκείνου προκοψασα παντελείου πρόγονος καὶ γνήσιος ἦος.

Merc. 1.

διξοδικῶν προσατ.

Austin in the Prayer of Fiue Heresies.

Mercurie in his Esculapius. Chap. 3. & 7.

it nourisheth them, it quickeneth them, according to euery of their capacities: it proceedeth from a holy fountaine, and is the mainteyner of all liuing things and of all Spirits. Here yee see the reason why we call him the holy Ghoste, namely, because he procedeth from the fountayne which is the very holynesse it selfe. And least we should thinke him to be a Creature, There was (saith he) an infinite shadowe in the Deepe, whereon was the water, and a fine vnderstanding Spirit was in that confuzed masse through the power of God. From thēce there florished a certeine holy brightnesse, which out of the Sand and the moyst nature brought foorth the Elements and all things els. Also the Gods themselues which dwell in the Starres, tooke their place by the direction & appoyntment of this Spirit of God. Thus then hee was present at the creation of things; and it is the same spirit whereof it is sayd in the Byble, That the spirit of the Lord houered vpon the outside of the deepe. But in some places he matcheth all three persons togither. O lyfe (sayth he) saue that life which is in mee. O light and God the Spirit inlighten mee wholy. O worker which beares thy Spirit about, let thy word gouerne mee. Lord, thou art the only one God. Againe, there was (sayth he) a light of vnderstanding, afore the light of vnderstanding, and there was euer a mind of the lightfull Mind, and besides those, there was not any thing els than the vnion of them by one Spirit vpholding all things: without which there is neither God nor Angel, nor other Substance: For hee is Lord, Father, and God of all, and in him and vnder him are al things. And hauing said so (sayth Suydas) he addeth this prayer. I adiure thee ô Heauen the wise woorke of the great God; I adiure thee ô voyce which God vttered first when he founded the world; I adiure thee by the onely begotten Speeche, and by the Father who conteyneth all things, &c. There is no man but he would wonder to see in this author the very woords of S. Iohn: and yet notwithstanding his bookes were translated by the Platonists long tyme afore the cōming of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it is no maruayle though we find sayings of his in diuers places which are not written in his Poemander, considering that hee wrote fiue and thirtie thousand, fiue hundred, and fiue and twentie Volumes, that is to say Rolles of Paper, as Iamblichus reporteth. And it is said that this Trismegistus otherwise called Theut, is the same that taught the Ægiptians to reade, and which inuen-

Mercurie in his holy Sermon in his Pœmander. cap. 3.

Gen. 1.

Mercurie in his Pœmander. cap. 13.

πνευματόφορε.

Νοῦς νόος φωτεινὸς. Cyrillus against Tullgentius.

Suidas in his Mercurie.

Μονογενοῦς λόγος.

Iamblichus in his 39. Chap. of Mysteries.

ted

ted them Geometrie and Astronomie, which deuided Ægipt into partes, which left his forewarning against ouerflowings written in two Pillers, (which Proclus reporteth to haue beene standing still in his tyme;) and to be short, which had bene reputed and honored as a God among them. And it may be, that the treble outcry which the Ægiptians made in calling vppon the first Beginner, whome they tearmed the darkenesse beyond all knowledge, like too the Ensoph of the Hebrewes, and the Night of the Orpheus, was still remayning vnto them, of his diuinitie. Thus haue you séene how Zoroastres and Mercurie haue aunswered vnto vs, the one for the Persians and Chaldeans, and the other for the Ægiptians. For in matters of Wisdome, the wise ought to be beléeued for the whole Nation.

Plato in his Phedon and Philebus. Eusebius of Demonstration Iamblichus Chapt. 1. Proclus vpon Plato. Damascius the Platonist.

Now let vs come to the Greekes. Orpheus which is the auncientest of them all, as soone as he beginneth to speake of these misteries, doth first and formost shut all Heathenish folke out of the doores, and then sayth thus: Let thine eye be vpon the word of God, and start not away from it, for that is it that made the world, and is immortall, and (according to the old saying) is perfect of it selfe, and the perfecter of all things, and it cannot be seene but with the mynd. And afterward, I adiure thee ô Heauen (sayth he) the wyse woorke of the great God, I adiure thee thou voyce of the father which he spake first, and so forth. For this (as appeareth afore) was a praier which he had learned of Mercurie; from whom also procéeded the common misterie of the Poets, That Pallas was bred of Iupiters brayne. The same man sayth that the first Moother of things was wisdome, and afterward delightfull loue. And in his Argonawte hee calleth this loue, most auncient, most perfect in it selfe, and the bringer foorth and disposer of all things.

The auncient Greekes. Orpheus. φθέγζομαι οἰσθέμις ἐστὶ δύρας δὲ ἐπιθέσθε βρεβρήλοις. And agayne. εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βρλέφας, τουτῷ προσεδρεύε, &c. Clemens lib. 5 Strom. Orph. καὶ μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ ἔρως πολυτέρπης.

πρεσβρύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτέλη πολυμῆτιν ἔρωτα,
Θῶπατ' ἔφυσεν ἅπαντα διέκριθε τἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου.

Wherevpon Pherecydes also sayth, That God intending too make the worlde, chaunged himselfe into loue. And Iamblichus sayth that Pythagoras had the Philosophie of Orpheus alwayes before his eyes; and therefore it is not for vs to woonder, though he attributed the creation of al things to Wisdome, & (as Proclus reporteth) commended three Gods togither in one, as Plato doth. Howsoeuer the case stand, Aristotle sayeth, that they fathered all their perfection vpon thrée. And Parmenides did set downe Loue

Orph. in Argonaut. Pherecydes in Proclus. Aristotle in his first booke of Heauen.

as

as a first beginner; insomuch that in disputing in Plato, he leaueth vs there an euident marke of the thrée Inbéings or Persones as Plotine noteth; but we shall see it layd forth more playnly hereafter by Numenius the Pythagorist. Zeno the father of the Stoiks, acknowleaged the word to be God, and also the Spirit of Iupiter. And Alcinous reporteth that Socrates and Plato taught that God is a mynde, and that in the same there is a certaine Inshape, which Inshape as in respect of God, is the knowledge which God hath of himselfe; and in respect of the worlde, is the Patterne or Mould thereof; and in respect of it selfe, is very essence. This in fewe words conteyneth much matter, that is to wit, the one essence which God begetteth by the considering or knowing of himselfe, according to the patterne whereof he hath buylded the world. But yet Plato himselfe speaketh more playnly in his Epinomis. Euery Starre (sayth he) keepeth his course according to the order which (ho logos) the Word hath set, which word he calleth Most diuine. In his booke of Commonweale hee calleth him the begotten Sonne of the God, most lyke vnto him in all things, ꝧ Good (sayth he) being as the Sunne that shineth in the skye, and the begotten Sonne beeing as the power of the Sunne whereby we see [that is to say, as ꝧ light.] Also in his Epistle to Hermius, Erastus, and Coriscus, hee chargeth them with an othe to reade it often, and at the least, two of them togither, saying: Call vppon God the Ptince of al things, that are and shalbe, and the Lord the Father of that Prince and of that Cause; of whome if wee seeke the knowledge aright, we haue as much skill as can bee giuen to blessed men. Then is there a Lorde and Cause of all things, and moreouer a father of the same Lorde. But vnto King Dennis who had asked of him the nature of God, he setteth down al the thrée parsons. The nature of the first (saith he) is to be spoken of in Riddlewise, to the intent that if any mischaunce befall the Letter by Sea or by Land, the reading thereof may be as good as no reading at all. Thus then stands the case. All things are at commaundement of the King of the whole world, and all things are for his sake, and he is the cause of the beautie that is in them; And about the second are the secód things, and about the third are the third, and so foorth. Now these (as he himselfe sayth) are Riddles to Dennis the Tyrant vnto whome he wrote, and my expounding of them of the three Inbéings or Persones in the Godhead, is by the consent of all the

Platonists

Parmenides in his Cosmogonie alledged by Plutarke.

πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων.

Plotin. Ennead.4.lib.1. Chap.8.

Zeno the stoik

Alcinous concerning the Doctrine of Plato.

Plato in his Epinomis.

ὁ τῶν πάντων θειότατος λόγος.

Plato in his sixt booke of Commonweale.

τὸν ἔκγονον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

Plato in his Epistle to Hermias, Erastus, and Coriscus.

Plato vnto Dennis the Tyrant.

Δεύτερον περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα.

Platonists, who haue made long Commentaries vppon those woords, agreeing all in this poynt, that by these three Kings hee meaneth the Good, the vnderstanding, and the Soule of the World. And Origene against Celsus alledgeth certayne other places of Plato to the same purpose; the which I leaue, for auoyding of tediousnes. But this doctrine which beeing reuealed from aboue, came from hand to hand vnto Aristotle, (who liued about three hundred yeres afore the comming of Christ) seemeth to haue decayed in him; who intending to ouerthrowe al the Philosophers that went afore him, corrupted their doctrine diuers wayes. And therewithall he gaue him self more to the seeking and searching of Naturall things, than to the mynding of the Author of them. Yet notwithstanding, he fathereth the cause of all things vppon a certayne Understanding, which he calleth Noun, ý is to say Mynde, acknowledging the same to bee infinite in God; and also vppon a Free will whereby he disposeth all things; whereuppon in the last Chapter I concluded a second and a third persone. Insomuch that in a certayne place he sayeth playnly, that God is to be honored according to the nomber of three, and that the same is after a sort the Lawe of Nature.

Origen in his 6. booke against Celsus.

In his first booke of Philosophy. Also in his booke of the World. In his first booke of Heauen.

Now, for asmuch as this doctrine is not bred of mans brayne; if it bee demaunded whence all the Philosophers toke it; wee shall finde that the Greekes had it from out of Ægipt. Orpheus witnesseth in his Argonawts, that to seeke the Misteries (that is to say the Religion) of the Ægiptians, he went as farre as Memphis, visiting all the Cities vppon the Riuer Nyle.

Through out the land of Ægipt I haue gone
To Memphis and the Cities euerychone
That worship Apis or be seated by
The Riuer Nyle whose streame doth swell so hy.

Orpheus in his Argonawts.

Also Pythagoras visited the Ægiptians, Arabians and Chaldeans, yea, and went into Iewry also, and dwelt a long tyme at Mount Carmel (as Strabo sayth:) insomuch that the Priestes of that Countrey shewed Strabo still the iourneyes and walkes of him there. Now, in Ægipt he was the Disciple of one Sonchedie the chiefe Prophet of the Ægiptians, and of one Nazarie an Assyrian (as Alexander reporteth in his booke of Pythagoras disscourses) whom some (miscounting the tyme) thought to bee Ezechiel. And Hermippus a Pythagorist writeth that Pythagoras learned many things out of the lawe of Moyses. Also the sayd Ægiptian

Cicero. Iamblichus. Porphyrius. Clemens in the first booke of his Stromats. Out of Alexander & Hermippus.

giptian Priest vpbrayded Solon, that the Greekes were Babes, and knewe nothing of Antiquitie. And Solon (as sayth Proclus) was Disciple in Says a Citie of Ægipt, to one Patanit, or (as Plutarke sayth) to one Sonchis; in Heliople, to one Oeclapie; and in Sebenitie, to one Etimon. Plato was the Disciple of one Sechnuphis of Heliople in Ægipt; and Eudoxus the Guidian was the Disciple of one Conuphis; all which Maysterteachers issewed out of the Schoole of the great Trismegistus aforenamed. To be short, Plato confesseth in many places, that knowledge came to the Greekes by those whom they commonly called the barbarus people. As touching Zoroastres and Trismegistus, the one was an Hebrewe, and the other, an Ægiptian. And at the same tyme the Hebrewes were conuersant with the Ægiptians, as is to be séene euen in the Heathen Authors. Whereby it appeareth that the originall fountayne of this doctrine was to bee found among them; which is the thing that wee haue to proue as now. I meane not to gather hether a great sort of Texts of the Byble, wherein mention is made as well of the second person as of the third, of which sort are these, Thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. The Lord (sayth Wisedome) possessed me in the beginning of his wayes; afore the depths was I conceyued. &c. Also concerning the holy Ghost, The Spirit of the Lord walked vpon the waters. The Spirit of Wisedome is gentle: And it is an ordinary spéech among the Prophetes to say, The Spirit of the Lord was vpon me. And in this next saying are two of them together, or rather all three. The Heauens were spred out by the word of the Lord, and all the power of them by the Spirit of his mouth. For they be so alledged and expounded in infinite bookes, howbeit that the Iewes at this day do labour as much as they can, to turne them to another sence.

Plato in his Timæus.
Proclus vpon Timæus.
Plutarke in his Treatise of Isis and Osyris.
Plato in his Epinomis, Cratylus, and Phil.
Iustine & Manethon alledged by Iosephus against Appion.
Psalm. 2.
Prouerb. 8.
Gen. 1.
Esay. 53.
Esay. 61.
Psalm. 33.

But let vs sée what their owne Doctors haue left vs in expresse words, (for ẏ most part) culled by themselues out of writtē bookes, afore that ẏ cōming of our Lord Jesus Christ had made ẏ doctrine suspected. In their Zohar which is one of their Bookes of greatest authoritie, Rabbi Simeon, the sonne of Iohai, citeth Rabbi Ibba expoūding this text of Deuteronomie, Hearken ô Israel, The Euerlasting our God is one God. The Hebrewe standeth thus, *Iehouah Echad Iehouah Eloh enu*. By ẏ first *Iehouah* which is ẏ peculiar name of God not to bée communicated to any other, Rabbi Ibba saith he meaneth the Father the Prince of al. By *Eloh enu*

The Iewes themselues do proue the Trinitie.
Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in Zohar vpon the 6. of Deut.

that

that is to say our God, he meaneth the Sonne the Fountaine of all knowledge. And by the second *Iehouah* he meaneth the holy Ghost proceeding from them both, who is the measurer of the voyce. And he calleth him One, because he is vndiuidable; and this Secret (saith he) shall not be reuealed afore the coming of the Messias. The same Rabbi Simeon expounding these words of Esay, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hostes; sayth, Holy is the Father, Holy is the Sonne, & Holy also is the holy Ghost. In so much that this Author who is so mistical among them, doth in other places call them the Three Mirrours, Lights, and Souerein fathers, which haue neither beginning nor end, and are the name and substaunce to the Roote of all Rootes. And Rabbi Ionathas in many Copies of his Chaldey Paraphrase, sayth the same. And therefore no maruell though the Thalmudists of olde tyme commaunded men to say that Uerse twise a day, and that some obserue it still at this day. Upon these words of the 50. Psalme, *El elohim Iehouah dibber*, that is to say, The Lord of Lords the Euerlasting hath spoken: The ordinary Commentarie sayth also, that by the sayd repetition the Prophet meaneth the three *Middoth* Properties wherby God created the world. According whereunto Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan sayeth, that hee created by his word; And Rabbi Simeon sayeth he created by the breath of his mouth. And this saying of ꝑ Preacher, That a threefold Corde is not so soone broken, is expounded by the same glose, (I examine not whether filthy or no) that the misterie of the Trinitie in the one God is not easie to bee expressed. Nowe these three Properties, (which the Hebrewes call *Panim*, the Greekes πρόσωπα, and we & the Latins call Persons) are betokened by diuers names among the men of old tyme, but yet they iumpe all in one, according as they vnderstoode them, some more clearely than other some. Some name them the Beginning, the Wisdome, & the Feare or Loue of God: and they say that this Wisedome is *Meen sōph*, as the Cabalists tearme it, that is to saye, of the infinite and most inward vnderstanding of God, who beholdeth hymselfe in himself, for so doe they expound it. Which is the selfesame thing that I spake of in the former Chapter, namely that God begetteth his Sonne or Wisdome by his mynding of himselfe. Othersome call him Spirit, Word, and Voyce: as Rabbi Azariell doth in these words following. The Spirit bringeth foorth the Word and the Voyce, but not by opening the Lippes, or by speeche

R. Simeon ben Iohai expounding the 6. of Esay.

Psalm. 50. and the Midrasch vpō the same.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon the 42. of Gen. Midrasch Coheleth chap. 4.

Rabbi Isaac ben Schola vpon the last verses of the 111. and 112. Psalmes.

R. Azariel in his Commentarie or treatise of Holinesse.

of

of the tongue, or by breathing after the maner of man; And these three be one Spirit, to wit one God, as we reade (sayeth he) in the booke of the creating of man in these termes: One Spirit rightly liuing, blessed bee hee and his name, who liueth for euer and euer, Spirit, Word, and Voyce, that is to say, One holy Ghost and two Spirits of that Spirit. Now this booke of the Creation which he alledgeth, is one Rabbi Abrahams a very auncient Cabalist; Neuertheless it is of so great authoritie amõg them, that they father it euen vpon the Patriarke Abraham himselfe. And that which he sayth agreeth wholy to that which we say; for the mynd conceyueth the inward speech, and of the mynd and of breath proceedeth the voyce. These three (sayth Rabbi Hamay) beeing one, haue such a proportionable respect one towards another, as that the one, the Vniter, and the thiug Vnited are but one poynt, to wit, the Lord of the whole world. Rabbi Isaac vppon the booke of the Creation maketh three nomberings, (which he termeth the Loftie one) in the Ensoph, that is to say, in the Infinite, that is to wit Garlond, Wisdom, and vnderstanding. And to betoken them, Rabby Assee sayth that the custome was to marke them in all ages after this maner with three Iods *Iehouah*: which is as much to say as the Beeër, or He that is. To be short, what diuersitie soeuer there is in ỹ names, they al agree in the three Inbeeings or Persons. And it is no maruell though they could not so well expresse them as we can now. Rabbi Ioseph the Castilian, hauing learned it out of the auncientest writers, sayeth thus: The light of the Soule of the Messias, is the liuing God; and the liuing God is the fountaine of the liuing waters; and the Soule of the Messias is the Riuer or Streame of lyse. And in another place, None but the Messias (sayth he) knoweth God fully, becausse he is the light of God and the light of the Gentiles, and therefore he knoweth God, and God is knowen by him. Now when as they say that he knoweth G D D fully, they graunt him to be God; for who can comprehend God but G D D himselfe? And it is the selfesame thing which I spake of when I sayd light of light, and when in comparing the Sonne to the Father, I lykened him as a streame to the fountaine, and the Sunne beames to the Sunne. Also we shall see in place conuenient, that by the Soule of the Messias, they meant The Word: and it is a wonderfull thing that all the names of God in Hebrewe (sauing onely the name of his Essence or single beeing) haue the plurall termination,

Sepher haïet-sirah.

R. Hamay in his Treatise of Speculation.

Hagnÿ Gn. R. Isaac vpon the booke of the Creation.

Cether chochmah binah. Rabbi Assee.

In his booke intytled, *Schaaar orah*, that is to say, The Gate of Light.

mination, notwithstanding that they be ioyned with a verbe of the singular nomber, (whereof the auncient Iewes doe yéeld the same reason that we doe:) and that a great sort of the Texts of the olde Testament which we alledge for the proofe of the Trinitie, are expounded by them in the selfesame sence, howbeit that the Talumdists since the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ, haue taken great payne to wrest them to another meaning.

Rabbi Iudas Nagid whom they commonly called the Sainct and Prophet, speaketh most plainly of all. Whereupon it is to bée vnderstood, that men were forbidden to vtter the vncommunicable name of God, (that is to wit Iehoua,) saue only in the daies of atonementmaking; and in sted thereof they were commaunded to vse the name of Twelue letters, for the other afore mētioned hath but fower. And beeing asked what the name of Twelue letters was, he answered that it was Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost. Also being demaunded what the name of Two and fortie letters was; he answered, The Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the holy Ghost is God, three in one, and one in three.* Now then, it was a doctrine receiued from hand to hand in the Schooles of the Iewes, as wee see by the long continuance thereof in the succession of their Cabale. And therefore the contention of the Iewes and of the Rabbynes was not (to speake properly) in withstanding the doctrine of the thrée Persons in the Essence of God; but in the applying thereof, namely to the incarnation of the Word, which in their eye was very farre vnbeseeming the Maiestie of God.

The Epistle of the Secretes of R. Nehumia the Sonne of Hacana.

*This is to bee seene euen in Sainct Math. chap. 1. ver. 20. where the Angell sayth to Ioseph, that Mary was with child by the holy Ghost: for otherwise it had bin to no purpose to haue spoken of the holy Ghost, of whō they had not heard any speaking afore. The same is also in the Preaching of Iohn the Baptist, Chapter 3. verse 20. He shall baptise ye with the holy Ghost & with Fyre. And in diuers other places. And in very deede the

Let vs goe to Philo the Iew who wrate in Greeke, and we shall finde him like in all poynts from leafe to leafe. God (sayth he) is the souereine begetter, and next to him, is the Word of God. Also, There are two Firsts; the one is Gods word, & the other is God who is afore the Word; and the same Word is the beginning and the ende τῆς ἀρεσκείας of his good pleasure, intent, or will. And in another place, Like as a Citie (saith he) whereof the platforme is yet but set doune in the mynd of the Builder, hath no place elswhere than in the Builder: So this world had not any being elswhere than in the Word of God which ordeyned all things. For what other place could conteyne the operations of God, yea or euen the simplest of his conceiued patternes? Therefore to speake plainly, The World in vnderstanding, is the Word or Conceyt of God that made it.

And

And this is not the opinion of me onely, but alſo of Moyſes himſelfe. And to conclude, he calleth him the Patterne of all Paternes, and the Mould wherein all things were caſt. And in an other place, This World (ſayth he) is Gods yonger Sonne; but as for the elder Sonne, he cannot bee comprehended but in vnderſtanding. For he it is who by prerogatiue of elderſhip abydeth with the Father. Now, this is word for word the ſame thing that S. Iohn ſayth, And the Word was with God. And againe, The Word is the place, the Temple, and the dwelling houſe of God, becauſe the Word is the onely thing that can conteyne him. And that is the thing which I ſayd, namely, that GOD comprehending himſelfe by his vnderſtanding, begate the Sonne or the Word equall to himſelfe, becauſe he concepueth not any thing leſſe than himſelfe. And to ſhewe the greatneſſe of this Word, he could ſcarce tell what names to giue it. He calleth it the Booke wherein the eſſences of all things that are in ỹ whole world are written and printed; the perfect Patterne of the World; the Daylonne that is to be ſeene but only of the Mynd; the Prince of the Angelles; the Firſtborne of God; the Shepheard of his flocke; the chiefe Hyghpriеſt of the World; the Manna of mens Soules; the Wiſedome of God; the perfect Image of the Hyghеſt; and the Organe or Inſtrument whereby God (being moued thereto of his owne goodneſſe) created the World. And to be ſhort, he calleth him the Firſtbeginner, Lightfulneſſe, or altogether light, God, and the Béer that is of himſelf. All theſe are ſuch things as more cannot be attributed to God himſelfe: and he could not haue ſayd more expreſſely, that the Word is Coeternall and Coeſſentiall with the Father, that is to ſay, of one ſelfeſame ſubſtaunce and of one ſelfeſame euerlaſtingneſſe with the Father. Neuertheleſſe, he addeth yet further, That this Worde hath in it the ſeedes of all things; That he hath diſtributed to euery of them their ſeuerall natures; and that he is the inuincible bond of the whole world & of all things therein. So then, he is (if I may ſo terme him) the materiall, efficient, and formall cauſe of all things. And vnto whom can that bée attributed but vnto God? Againe, There are (ſaith he) Two Speeches or words; the one being as an Originall deede, is aboue vs; and the other being as an Exemplification or Copy thereof, is within vs. And Moyſes (ſayth he) calleth the ſame the Image of God; and this other which is our vnderſtanding, he calleth a later Copy thereof. And the ſayd firſt Speech (ſayeth

name of the holy Ghoſt is rife among all the Rabbines.

Philo in his Treatiſe vpon the ſixe Daies.

In his treatiſe, That Dreames are of God.

In his booke of the World.

In his booke of the remouings of Abraham.

Philo in the Allegories of the law, in his Bookes of of Dreames, of Tyllage, of the firy ſword, of the Heire of Heauēly thīgs, of the euil that layeth ſnares for the good, &c.

παναυγὶς

Philo in his bookes concerning the Heyre of Heauenly things, of the modeſty of Women, and of the word, &c.

Ἐκμαγεῖον, that is to say, as a print printed in Waxe,

he in his booke of the World) is the expresse print or stampe of God, and euerlasting as God him selfe is. And what more sayth S. Iohn, or the Apostle to the Hebrewes? And in all those places, (which are worthie to be read throughout,) he vseth S. Iohns own terme (namely Logos) to signifie the sayd Speech or Word.

Of the holy Ghost hee speaketh more darkly, because the Hebrewes (as we shal see hereafter) amed chiefly at the Word or second Person. But it is enough for vs to haue seene, that this fountayne abode sufficiently clere among the Hebrewes, till the comming of Christ (for Philo liued vnder the Emperours Tiberius and Caligula) though the streames thereof were as good as dryed vp among the Gentiles; verely because the Messias was to bee borne among the Hebrewes, of the belefe in whom, this doctrine was to be the groundworke. For as soone as Christ was come into the World, it toke light of him againe, as at the daysunne which inlighteneth not onely the halfe compasse whereon he shineth, but also euen a part of that which seeth him not. For this doctrine was not only receyued in the Church, but also imbraced of all the great Philosophers that came after, notwithstanding that in all other things, they were deadly enemies to the Christians.

The later Pythagorians & Academiks. Numenius in his booke of the Good. Looke Eusebius and Cyrillus. lib. 8.

Numenius, the excellentest of all the Pythagorians, (of whom Porphyrie reporteth Plotinus to haue made so great account, that he wrate a hundred bookes of Commentaries vpon him) saith these wordes. He that will knowe the first and second GOD, must well distinguish, and aboue all things he must well settle his mynd; and then hauing called vpon GOD, he may open the treasure of his thoughts. And therfore let vs begin thus. God (I meane the first who is in himself,) is single, throughout cōpacted, and one in himself, and in no part diuidable. Also the second and third God is one: but yet you must consider, that the First is the father of him that is the worker of all things. [Now ye must vnderstand, that] whereas wee say, the First, Second, & Third Person; it is their maner to say, the First, Second, and Third God, which thing you must marke here at once for all the residue following. And whereas he sayth that the first of them is the Father, and that he is single, and that they bee but one; it is not to bee doubted but that he maketh them all one Essence, so as the second holdeth of the first, as the Light holdeth of the Sunne. Againe, The first God (sayth he) is free from all worke, but the second is the maker which commaundeth Heauen: and therfore

The Reader must vnderstand, that by three gods thei meane three Inbeeings, as they themselues do declare it.

fore are there two lyues, the one from the first, and the other from the second; the one occupyed about things subiect to vnderstanding, and the other about things subiect both to vnderstanding & sence. And moreouer, by reason of the mouing which goeth afore in the second, there is also a sending which goeth afore in the first; and so there is a certeyne ioynt-mouing from whence the healthfull order of the World is spred foorth vniuersally. Now, whereas he speaketh of mouing, it is after the maner of the Platonists, who (metaphorically) doe meane, that to be vnderstood or knowne is to moue, and to vnderstand or knowe is to bee moued, because they wanted words to expresse these deepe matters. And in the same sence doe wee reade in the Scripture, that the Sonne is sent of the Father. And againe, God the worker or maker (sayth he) is the beginner of Begetting; and God the Good is the beginner of Beeing: and the Second is the liuely exppresser of the First, as Begetting is an Image of Beeing. And in another place he sayth, That this Worker beeing the Sonne, is knowne to all men by reason of the creating of the World; but as for the first Spirite, which is the Father, he is vnknowne vnto them. And surely (cõsidering their maner of speaking) he could not haue sayd more plainly, That the Sonne is the Image of the Father, that he hath his being in him, that he is one with him, & that by him the Father made all things. And it is agreeable to that which Proclus witnesseth of him, who reporteth of this Numenius, that he worshipped three Goddes; of whom he calleth the first the Father, the second the Maker, and the third the Worke proceeding from them both. Wherein wee ought not so much to seeke into the default, as to commend the good that is therein. Besides this, it is good to marke here once for all, that these men which speake vnto vs here of three Gods, are the same which confessed vnto vs hertofore, that there is but only one God. Wherevpon it followeth that those three be but three Inbeings or Persons, in one Essence.

σύμφυτος κίνησις.

ὁ δημιουργός.

Plotinus, who was very well studyed in the bookes of Numenius, steppeth yet further into the matter. And first of all, he hath made a Booke expressely & purposely of the three chiefe Inbeings, whereof I will set downe here a certeyne briefe Summe. There are (sayth he) three chiefe Inbeings, the One or the Good, the Vnderstanding or Witte, and the Soule of the World. And of these three it is not for any man to speake, without praying vnto

This Plotinus liued vnder the Emperour Galien about the yere of our Lord 250. Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 1. Of the three souereine or cheefe persons or Inbeings.

vnto God, & without settling his mynd afore vnto quietnes. And if it be demaunded how one of them begetteth another; it is to bee considered that wee speake of euerlasting things, and therfore we must not imagine any temporall begetting. For this begetting which wee speake of heere, importeth and betokeneth but onely cause and order. How commeth it to passe (sayth he) that this Vnderstnding is begottē of the One? Surely it obteyneth not his beeing by meanes of any assent, commaundment, or mouing of the One; but it is a light shed foorth euerywhere, streaming from the One as brightnesse from the Sunne, and begotten of the One, howbeit without any mouing of the One. For all things, as in respect of their continuing of their nature, doe necessarily yeeld out of their owne essence and present power, a cetteyne nature that dependeth vpon them, which is a very Image and countershape of the power from whence it proceedeth. As for example, Fyre yeeldeth heate, & Snowe cold: and Herbes yeeld chiefly sents or sauors. And al things whē they be in their perfection, ingender somewhat. That then which is euerlastingly perfect, doth euerlastingly beget, yea and it begetteth a perfect and euerlasting thing, howbeit that the thing begotten is lesse than the begetter. And what shall wee say then of the most perfect? That nothing proceedeth from him? Nay rather, that the greatest next him proceedeth of him. Now, the greatest and chiefest next vnto the One, is the Vnderstanding; the which hath neede alonly of the One, but the One hath no neede of it. Needes then must it bee, that that thing which is begotten of that which is better than Vnderstanding, must be the Vnderstanding it selfe. And this Vnderstanding, being the very Word of GOD and the Image of GOD, beholdeth God, and is vnseparably ioyned with God, and cannot be separated from him otherwise than respectiuely, for that the one of them is not the other. Verely after the same maner that wee affirme the Father to bee one person and the Sonne another, and yet neither of them both to be any other essence than the other. But let vs see how God begetteth this Understanding, this Wit, or this Word. It is (sayth he) by the super abundance of himselfe. And therfore this begotten Vnderstanding must needes reteyne much of the begetter in him, and haue almost like resemblance vnto him, as the light hath vnto the Sunne, howbeit

To the intent the Reader think not any obscuritie in this or other that follow, he must remember that to the first Inbeeing, (that is to say, Persone) the Philosophers giue the names of the One, The Mind, the Good, the Father, and the Begetter: vnto the second persone, the names of Beeër or he that is, wit or vnderstanding, the Beautifull, and sometimes Speech, word, Reason, wisdom, Sonne, and the begotten: and vnto the third persone, the names of Loue, Will, Power, and the Soule of the World: & sometimes, the second world, &c. In respect of this Third, thei call the First the Amiable, and in respect of the Second, they call him the Mynd, as shall be seene by examples.

it so as the begetter is not the very vnderstanding it self: that is to say, they must differ respectiuely and not essentially; which expresseth his former speech where hee sayd ἑτερότητι after another maner. And how then shall he (sayth he) beget him? Euen by a certeyne turning backe of the begotten to behold the begetter, and this beholding is nothing els but the mynding or vnderstanding of the good. And like as the One is but One, so the vnderstanding thereof is all things. For by being bred of the First Beginner, it knoweth all things, and bringeth foorth all things that are: namely, all Beautie of shapes, yea and al the Goddes that are to bee discerned by insight of Mynd. These words of his are repeated infinite tymes, and therefore I will forbeare to rehearse them here any more. Nouę. Another persone and not another thing.

As touching the third Inbeing, whom he calleth the Soule of the World, thus sayth he thereof. Like as the Vnderstanding is the begotten issew, Word and Image of God or of the one; so is the Soule of the World the issew, Word and Image of the Vnderstanding, and is as a certeyne Reason ingendred of the Vnderstanding, the substance whereof consisteth in contemplation; and the same Reason is as the light of the Vnderstanding and dependeth thereupon. And as there is no meane betweene the One, and the Vnderstanding; so is there no meane betweene the Vnderstanding & this Soule of the World: but the difference is only this, that the one of them is as the very heate which is in fyre it self, & the other is as the heate which Fyre communicateth or imparteth vnto other things [by heating them with his heate.] And that is the same thing which wee affirme when we say, That the holy Ghost procedeth from the father by the Sonne, calling him the Gift of God, because that by him (who is his Loue) he voutsafeth to impart himselfe to vs here beneath. But we shal discerne his meaning yet better by the effects which he attributeth vnto him. This Soule (sayth he) hath breathed life into all liuing things in the Ayre, in the Sea, and on the Land. It ruleth the Sunne, the Starres and the Heauen; It hath quickened the Matter which erst was nothing and vtterly full of darknesse; and all this hath it done by the onely will of it selfe. It is all throughout all, like to the Father, as well in that it is but one, as in that it extendeth it self into all places. And he concludeth thus: And thus farre extendeth the Godhead. In deede he speaketh not so distinctly thereof, as Gregorie Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 2. & lib. 3. Chap. 8 5. & Ennead. 3. lib. 9. Cap. vlt. The vnderstanding of the Good.

Nazianzene;but yet forasmuch as he sayth that they be all three eternall,of one selfesame substance, and differing onely in this,that the one of them is not the other;the same may well bee gathered of his sayings. In the residue of his booke he proueth that the same was the opinion of Plato, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras. And because the inward man (as he termeth it,) is the Image of God; he taketh proofe of the three Inbeings,from the cõsideration of our Soule,wherein there is a Mynd,a Reason and a Life;which three be(notwithstanding)all but one Soule. Neuertheless,he expresseth the maner of the sayd begetting in diuers other places. The One(saith he)begetteth the vnderstanding,of the abundance of himself.And the vnderstãding is the Beeër,yea and the very being of the Beeër,(marke those words for all that followeth) and turneth backe againe to him,and is filled with him. And his cõclusion is,that the Mynder, the Mynding and the Mynded, are in the Godhead all one thing;and that this Mynding,which is the first and most excellent act of the Godhead, is essentiall, that is to say,the very substance or beeing of the Godhead,because that all the actions of the Godhead are the very Godhead or God himselfe. Now, by the Mynder, he meaneth the One or the First person; and by the Mynded or Beeër, he meaneth the Second; and consequently that they be Coessentiall,[that is to say,both one selfsame thing,which is GOD.] Againe,* There is (sayth he) a dubble kynd of Mynding: For a man myndeth, eyther another, or himselfe. Now, he that myndeth himselfe,hath not a seuerall beeing from that thing which he myndeth;but being both in one,he beholdeth himself in himself, and so becommeth two parties,which yet notwithstãding be both but one thing still. Now therefore there remayneth no more but to conclude, that the Begetter and the Begotten,the Mynder and the Mynded are both together,and also both one selfsame thing;and that if they bee both one selfesame thing, the one of them is not better than the other. Wherupon it followeth,that whereas he said heretofore that The One is better than the Vnderstanding (which he calleth heere the Mynded,)he ment it but in way of relation,and not in way of beeing. For in another place he sayth againe, || He that is the very Liuing himself,is not the Mynded,but we cal him the Mynder. And although they differ one from another,yet notwithstanding it is not possible for them to bee disseuered. Onely they may be discerned in vnderstanding, the one from the other,

Plotinus Enn. 5.lib.2.& lib.3 Chap.5.6.7. 12.& lib4. Chap.2.

Plotin. Enn.5. lib.5. Ch.3. & lib.6.Ch.1.& lib.8.ch.12. & Enn.3.lib.8. cap.7.8.10.

ther, becauſe the one of them is not the other; which maner of diſcerning is no impediment but that they remayne both one thing ſtill. For only God is both the partie that is conceyued in Mynd or Vnderſtanding, and alſo the partie that conceyueth him. Inſomuch that when wee ſay, that the Mynder beholdeth the formes or Patternes of things; wee meane not that he looketh at them in another, but that he poſſeſſeth them in himſelfe, by hauing in himſelf the partie that is mynded. Or rather were it amiſſe to ſay, that the ſame which is mynded is the very Mynder himſelfe in his vnitie and ſettled ſtate; and that the nature of the Mynded which is behild, is an act that iſſeweth from him that Myndeth, which act conſiſteth in beholding or mynding him, and in beholding him becometh one ſelfeſame thing with him? Againe he ſayth in an other place; To bee and to vnderſtand, are both one thing [in God:] and if any thing proceede thereof inwardly, yet is it no whit diminiſhed thereby, becauſe the Mynder and the Mynded are both one ſame thing. For the beholding of ones ſelfe in his ſelfe, is nothing but himſelfe: But yet muſt there needes be alwaies both a ſelfeſameneſſe and alſo an otherneſſe. Now then, let vs conclude thus; that theſe two Inbeings or Perſons, namely, The Mynded and the Mynder, are both one thing; and therefore that they differ not but only in way of relation: And that foraſmuch as there muſt needes bee euer both a ſelfeſameneſſe and alſo an otherneſſe, (if I may ſo terme them) the ſelfeſameneſſe is in the Eſſence or beeing, becauſe that from God there proceedeth nothing but God; and the otherneſſe is in the Inbeings or Perſons, as in reſpect that the one is the begetter and the other is the begotten.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 9. Chap. 1.

Plotin. Enn. 6. lib. 7. ch. 39. & lib. 7. The ſame in one reſpect, & another in another reſpect: or, all one in one reſpect, & diuers in another reſpect.

Moreouer, this Plotinus calleth the begetter the Father, and the begotten the Sonne, after the ſame maner that we doe. Certeſſe (ſayth he) the vnderſtanding is beautifull, and the moſt beautifull of all, (and therefore in diuers other places he termeth him the Beautifull, (as he termed the Firſt the Good) and ſitteth in cleere light and brightneſſe, and conteyneth in him the nature of all things that are. As for this Worlde of ours, although it be beautifull, yet it is ſcarce an image or ſhadowe of him; but the world that is aboue, is ſet in the very light itſelf, where there is nothing that is voyd of vnderſtanding, nor nothing darke, but euery where is led a moſt bleſſed lyfe. Now,

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 5. cap. 12.

lyke as he that beholdeth the Skye and the Starres, falleth by and by to seeking the author of this World: So he that considereth aud commendeth the World that is not to be discerned but in vnderstanding, doth lykewise seeke the author thereof, namely who he is that begate that World, and where and how he begate that Sonne, that vnderstanding, that Child so bright and beautifull, euen that Sonne full of the Father. As for the souerein father hee is neither the vnderstanding, nor the Sonne, nor the Child, but a Mynd higher thā Vnderstanding and Child. And next vnto him is the Vnderstanding or Child, who needeth both vnderstanding and nourishment, and is next to him that hath neede of nothing. And yet for al this, the Sonne hath the very fulnesse of vnderstanding, because hee hath it immediatly and at the first hand. But as for him that is the higher (that is to wit the Father;) he hath no neede of him: for then should the Sonne be the very good it selfe. So say we also that the Sonne hath all fulnesse, howbeit of the Father, and that the Father hath all fulnesse, but of himselfe: and that the Father is not the Sonne or the Worde, but that the Sonne or the Worde is of the Father. And in another place hee sayth, What shall a man haue gayned by seeing or beholding God? That hee shall haue seene God begetting a Sonne, and in that Sonne al things, and yet holding him still in him without payne after his conceyuing of him, of whom this World (as beautifull as we see it to be) is but an Image: In which sort a painted Table is after a maner a portreyture of the mynd of him that made it. I sayd moreouer that this Sonne is the Wisedome of the Father; the like whereof Plotinus also sayth vnto vs. All things (sayth he) that are done eyther by Art or by Nature, are done by Wisedome. If they bee done by Arte, from Arte we come to Nature, and of Nature againe we demaund from whence she hath it: whereby wee finally come to a Mynd, and then are we to seeke whether the Mynd haue begotten Wisedome: And if that bee graunted, wee will inquire yet further, whereof? And if they say it begetteth it of it self: That cannot be, vnlesse the Mynd be the very Wisedome it selfe. Wisedome therfore shalbe the Essence, and the very Essence shalbe Wisedome, and the worthinesse of the Essence shalbe Wisedome. And therefore euery Essence that wanteth Wisedome, is in deede an Essence as in respect that Wisedome made it: but forasmuch

πρώτως ἔχει.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 8. Chap. 5.

Νοῦς.

foraſmuch as it hath no Wiſedome in it ſelfe, it is no true Eſſence in deede. Now, the ordinary teaching of Plotine is, to call the Underſtanding or ſecond Perſon the very Beeer in deed, or the very true Eſſence; and the firſt perſon a thing higher than Underſtanding or Eſſence. Whereupon it ſhould followe, that with him, Wiſedome and true Eſſence are both one: that is to ſay, that the ſecond perſon is Wiſedome. To the ſame purpoſe alſo he ſayth, that the ſayd Mynd poſſeſſeth all things in his homebred Wiſedome: That all ſhapes are but beames and effects thereof: and that the ſame is the trueth, yea and King of trueth; which is a name that the Scripture alſo attributeth to the ſecond perſon. τὸ ὄντως ὄν. Plotin in his booke of Inſhapes. Enn. 3. lib. 9. Chap. 2.

As touching the third perſon, whom he calleth the Soule of the World, he ſeemeth in his other bookes to lay vs a foundation of a better opinion. For, God (ſaith he) hath wrought, & he wrought not vnwillingly: and therefore there is a will in GOD. Now ſurely he whoſe power is anſwerable to his will, ſhould by and by become the better. God then who is the good it ſelf [than the which nothing can be better,] filleth his owne will to the full, ſo as he is the thing that he liſteth to be, and liſteth to be that which he is, and his will is his very Eſſence. This will againe, is his act or operatiõ, and that act is his very ſubſtance. And ſo God ſetteth downe himſelf in this act of Beeing. And this is in a maner all one with the things which I ſpake in the former Chapter: namely, that God by his will produceth a third perſon, that is to ſay, the loue of himſelf by delighting in himſelf. And in another place, This ſame GOD (ſayth he) is both the louely and loue: and this Loue is the loue of himſelfe: for of himſelfe and in himſelfe is he altogether beautifull. And whereas he is ſayd to be altogether with himſelfe; it could not be ſo, vn'eſſe that both the thing which is and alſo the perſon which is together therewith, were both one ſelfeſame thing. Now, if the togetherbeer, (for I muſt be fayne to vſe that word) & the thing together wherewith he is, be both one; and likewiſe the deſirer and the thing deſired be one alſo; Surely the deſire and the Eſſence muſt alſo needes be one ſelfeſame thing. And this deſire of the Mynd is the Loue it ſelf, whom we call the holy Ghoſt, which proceedeth by the Will, and ſo by the foreſayd reaſons is proued to bee Coeſſentiall. And this deſire (ſayth he in another place) is in the Mynd, which alwaies deſireth and alwaies poſſeth the firſt. This Loue then proceedeth not alonly from the firſt Plotin. Enn. 6. lib. 8. 8. Chap. 13. 15. 27. Plotin Enn. 3. lib. 8. Chap. 10 Plotin. Enn. 3. lib. 9. Chap. 1.

perſon,

person, but also from the second, according to his former teaching concerning the Soule of the World, which is, that it proceedeth from the first person by the second. And thus haue wee the three Persons or Iubeings acknowledged and layd forth by Plotinus, whom I haue alledged somewhat the more at length, because he auowweth it to be a very auncient doctrine, and that he had learned it of his predecessors Numenius, Seuerus, Cronius, Gaius, Atticus, Longinus, and Philarchæus, and did afterward teach it to his Disciples, (who estéemed him as a God,) as we shall see hereafter in their writings.

Cyril against Iulian lib. 8. Porphyrius in the lyfe of Plotinus. Plotinus against the Gnostiks. Enn. 2. lib. 9. Chap. 1.

Iamblichus sayth plainly that God made the World by his diuine Word, but he playeth the Philosopher more profoundly in this behalfe. The first God (sayth he) being afore the Beeër, and alone, is the father of a first God whom he begetteth, and yet neuertheless abydeth still in the soleneſſe of his vnitie: which thing farre exceedeth all abilitie of vnderstanding. This is the Originall patterne of him that is called both Father to him selfe and Sonne to himself, and is the Father of one alone, and God verely good in deede. Now, when he sayth that he is father to himselfe, and father to a second; therein he distinguisheth the persons. And whereas he sayth that notwithstanding this begetting, yet he abydeth one still: he sheweth that there is no separating of the essences. And he speaketh there after the opinion receyued among the Diuines of Ægipt.

Iamblichus of the sect of the Pythagoriſts, and in his booke of the Mysteries of the Egyptians. Chap. 37. and 39.

Porphirie in his 4. booke of the Philosophers. Cyrill. against Iulian. lib. 1.

But let vs heare Porphirie, (to whom Plotinus committed the ouerlooking of his bookes,) the best learned of all the Philosophers as sayth Saint Austin, and yet neuertheless the swoorne enemie of Christenfolke. In his Historie of the Philosophers, these are his words: Plato taught (sayth he) that of the Good, (that is to say of the first person) is begotten an vnderstãding, by a maner vnknowne to men; and that the same vnderstanding is all whole next vnto himselfe. In this vnderstanding are all things that truely are, and all the Essences of all things that haue beeing. It is the first beautifull, and beautifull of it selfe, and hath the grace of beautie of himselfe, and before all worlds proceeded from God as from his cause, selfeborne and father of himself. And this proceeding of his, was not as ye would say by Gods mouing of himselfe to the begetting of him; but by his owne proceeding of himselfe from God, and by his ſſewing of him selfe. I say by proceeding, howbeit not at any beginning of tyme:

Νοῦς.

tyme: (for there was not yet any tyme,) and tyme is nothing in comparison of him; But this Mynd is without time and only euerlasting. Yet notwithstanding, as the first God is alwaies one, and alone although he haue made all things, because nothing can match or compare with him: so also is this Vnderstanding or Mynd euerlasting, alone, without tyme, the tyme of things that are in tyme, and yet alwaies abyding in the vnitie of his own substance. Of a trueth he could not haue sayd more plainly, that the Sonne is the Sonne eternally, and of the fathers owne substance.

Againe, expounding that foresaid so greatly renowmed place of Platoes Epistle, The Essence of God (sayth he) extendeth euen vnto three Inbeeings; For there is the highest G O D or the good; and next him, the Second, who is the workmayster of all things; and lastly the third, who is Soule of the World: for the Godhead extendeth euen vnto the Soule. And that is the thing that Plato mēt in speaking of three Kings: for although all things depend vppon these three: yet is their depending, first vpon the first God, secondly vpon the God that issueth of him, and thirdly vpon the third that proceedeth from him. Now, in that he raungeth them in order thus one vnder another; he seemeth to play the Arrian. And yet is that very much in a Heathen man. But whereas he acknowledgeth one selfsame essence; he sheweth that the diuersitie is only in the functions, and in the order of causes, which is one steppe beyond the Arrians. Also S. Austin saith that he did put the third person as a meane betwene the other two, after which maner we also doe call him the band and vnion of them two, notwithstanding that Plotine doe put him vnder the Understanding. But in his booke of the chiefe Fathers or first Authors of things, Proclus setteth doune his opinion yet more plainly: saying, that there is an euerlasting or eternall Mynd, and yet notwithstanding, that afore the same there is a Foreeternall or former euerlasting, vnto whom the euerlasting sticketh, because the Foreeuerlasting is beyond all: and that in the euerlasting beeing, there is a second and a third: and that betwene the Foreeuerlasting and the Euerlasting, Eternitie resteth in the middest. Now, forasmuch as al Eternities are alike equall, this foreneesse and afterneesse which are attributed to the persons, is not in respect of tyme, but (as Plotine sayth) in respect of Nature, and (as ye would say) in consideration of cause.

Cyrill against Iulian. lib. 1.

Porphyrius in his booke of the chiefe fathers, alledged by Proclus.

προαιώνιον.

Proclus

Proclus the Disciple of Iamblichus sayeth that the auncient Platonists did set downe three Beginners (whome wee call Persons.) Of the which, the first, they called the One, The second (namely the sayd Understanding) they called the one many, and [the third, that is to wit] the Soule [of the world,] they called the One and many. But it is best for vs to heare what he himself saith. The Essence or vnderstanding (sayeth he) for among the Platonists both are one) is sayd first of all, to haue his being, of the Good, and to be about the same Good, and to be filled with the light of trueth which proceedeth from it, and to be partaker thereof by the vnion which it hath therewith, and is most diuine, because it dependeth originally vpon the Good. Here ye see now a second persone, Light of Light, hauing his fulnesse from the first. And whereas hee saieth of the first light that it is most diuine; it is because he knoweth not by what words to expresse the preheminence of the Father. In another place hee sayeth that this vnderstanding, (that is to say the Soule) is become One with the God, that is to say, with the Father. And also that by his myndly Inworking he is the very eternitie it selfe, sauing that hee dependeth vpon the Vnitie; and that he is like vnto the One: and that the Soule or third persone is like to the mynde, from whence it proceedeth. But here is yet a more euident thing. The most part (saith he) doe set downe three Beginnings, the Good, the Vnderstanding or the Beeër, & the Soule. The first principall and vncommunicable, is the One, who is before and beyond all things. Next vnto him is the one Vnitie, which hath his being about the sayd first substance, and aboundeth by participation of him that is the One first of all. And this Inbeing is more then Substantiall, and the first of all the Inbeeings in the Trinitie that is to be conceyued in vnderstanding. And seeing that these two namely the One and the Vnderstanding bee in the first rancke of the Trinitie, the first as the Begetter, the second as the Begotten, the first as the Perfecter, the secód as the Perfected: there must needes be a meane power betwixt them, whereby and wherewith the one may yeeld being and perfection to the vnderstãding or Beeër. For this proceeding of the Beeër from the One, and likewise the turning back of the Beeër vnto the One, is done by a certeyn power or might, and so there is a Trinitie; which is the full number of things belonging to a Mynd, so as this Trinitie is Vnitie

Proclus in Platoes Diuinitie.

σωκίνωται.

Ἑνοειδὴς.

τῆς πρωτισῆς τριάδος

ἱνωσατικὸν καὶ τελεωτικὸν τοῦ ὄντος.

Vnitie or Oneneſſe, Power or Might, and Vnderſtanding of Mynd. The One is the Producer or yeelderforth, the Vnderſtanding is the thing produced or yeeldedfoorth, and the Power or Might depending vppon the One, is alſo linked to the Vnderſtanding or Beeër. And this Trinitie is the Vnitie or Oneneſſe, the Beeër or Vnderſtanding, and the Behauiour of them both, wherby the Vnitie is the Vnitie of the Vnderſtanding, and the Vnderſtanding is the vnderſtanding of the Vnitie or One. Whereby Plato ſheweth that the Father is the Father of the Vnderſtanding, & the Vnderſtanding is the Sonne of the Father, and that the Might or Power is couertly compriſed betweene them both. Now ſothly, conſidering that he was a profeſſed enemie to vs Chriſtians, and therefore eſchewed to vſe our termes; he could not haue ſpoken better, nor haue ſayd more plainly that the three Inbeings or Perſones differ onely by way of relation, ſo as there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Behauiour of thē both, which we would haue called the Loue, the Union, or the kindneſſe of them, that is to wit the holy Ghoſt.

πρόοδος γὰρ ἐσὶ τὸ ἑνὸς καὶ ἕν= τασις εἰς τὸ ὄν, τὸ μὲν παράγον, τὸ δὲ πα= ραγόμενον.

Amelius the Diſciple of Plotine, (as Proclus reporteth) maketh alſo three kings or three Vnderſtandings: namely, the Beeër, the Hauer, and the Seeër: the firſt, the reall Vnderſtanding, the ſecond the Vnderſtanding from the firſt, and the third the Vnderſtāding in the ſecond. Whom Theodorus imitating, hath termed them, the ſubſtantiall Vnderſtanding, the Vnderſtandable ſubſtance, and the Fountayne of Soules. Neuertheleſſe, as great an enemie as Amelius was to the Chriſtians, yet notwithſtanding after many flouriſhes and fetches about, in the ende ſpeaking of the ſecond Perſon he yeeldeth to that which S. Iohn ſpeaketh of him in his Goſpell. Surely (ſayth he) this is the Word that was from euerlaſting, by whom all things that are, were made, as *Heraclitus* ſuppoſed. And before God (ſayth he) it is the very ſame Word which that barbarus fellow (for ſo did he terme S. Iohn) auoweth to haue bin with God at the beginning in the ordering and diſpoſing of things when they were confuſed, and to be God, by whom all things were abſolutely made, and in whom they bee liuing and of whom they haue their life and beeing; and that the ſame Word clothing it ſelfe with Mans fleſh, appeared a Man, and yet left not to ſhewe the Maieſtie of his natute. Inſomuch that after he had bin put to death, he tooke his Godhead to him againe, and was very GOD as he had

Amelius a Platoniſt.

καὶ πρὸς θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι. ὧν τὸ γενό= μενον ζῶν, καὶ ζωὴ καὶ οὐ πεφυκέ= ναι.

Cyril. againſt Iulian. lib. 8. Auſtin in the Citie of God. lib. 10.

had bin afore ere he came downe into Bodie, Flesh, and Man. Another Platonist speaking to the same effect, sayd that the beginning of S. Iohns Gospell was worthie to be graued euerywhere in letters of Gold. Thus ye see that the Græke Philosophie as wel afore as after the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, agreeth with our Diuinitie.

The Latin Philosophers.

As touching the Latins, they fell to Philosophie somewhat late; but yet as little as we haue of their writings, they digresse not from the others.

Chalcidius vpon Platoes Timæus.

Chalcidius who wrate vpon Platoes Timæus, hath these words: The Souereyne and vnutterable God, is the Originall of all things; next vnto whom is his Prouidence as a second God, who giueth the law aswell for the temporall as for the eternall life. And furthermore, there is a third substance as a second Vnderstanding, which is the keeper of the sayd eternall Lawe. The highest God commaundeth, the second ordereth, and the third vttereth or publisheth. Now the Soules doe the Lawe, and the Lawe is the very Destinie it selfe. And a little afore he sayth, that the sayd Prouidence, which he setteth in the second place, is the euerlasting Vnderstanding of God, which is an euerlasting act, and a resembler of his goodnesse, because he is alwaies turned towards him that is the very God it self.

Macrobius vppon the Dreame of Scipio.

Also Macrobius sayth, that Platoes opinion concerning the one chief God and the one Vnderstanding bred and borne of him, is no fable at all, but a thing certeyne, howbeit that he could not otherwise expresse it than by examples of the Daysonne and such other things.

God & Mynd begotten of God.

And surely if we had the bookes of Varro, and other great Clerks, it is possible that we should find much more to this purpose. Thus then ye see how the Platonists are all of one opinion and mynd in the doctrine of the Trinitie, wherein some of them sawe more and some lesse; some affirme the premisses whereof our conclusions ensewe, and othersome conclude the same expressely with vs.

The Aristotelians haue no voyce here, because they stand all in commenting vpon Aristotle, who gaue himselfe more to the liberall Artes and the searching of Nature, than to loking vp to God the maker of all things.

Auicen.

Yet notwithstanding, Auicen reiected it not: insomuch that he sayth that the first Mynd yeeldeth forth a second Mynd, and the second a third; but he waded no deeper into the matter.

The Oracles of Diuelles. Sybill.

Let vs adde here the confessions of the very Deuilles, who eyther by meanes of the reuelations therof which haue bin made vn-

to

to vs, or by reason of their falling frō aboue, haue had some knowledge thereof. Soothly it is alwaies a pleasure to heare them yéeld record to the trueth euen spight of their harts. Wee reade that one Thulis reigned in old tyme in Ægipt, who wexing proude, asked Serapis the chiefe Idoll of the Ægiptians, (adiuring him strongly that he should not deceiue him) who he was that had reigned afore him and who should reigne after him, and also who was mightier or greater than hee. To whom Serapis answered in these fower Verses.

πάτα τροφον κτισὴν ὅσις γλυκὺ πρεῦμα ἅπασι. Κάτθετο χ' ἡγητῆρα θεῶν πάντων ἐποιήσεν.

First God, and next the Word, and then their Spright;
Which three be one and ioyne in one all three.
Their force is endlesse; get thee hence fraile wight,
The man of life vnknowne excelleth thee.

Suidas in the lyfe of Thulis

Also Apollo being demaunded concerning the true Religion, answered in ten Verses thus.

Vnhappie Priest, demaund not me the last
And meanest Feend, concerning that diuine
Begetter, and the deere and only Sonne
Of that renowmed King, nor of his Spirit
Conteyning all things plenteously throughout,
Hilles, Brookes, Sea, Land, Hell, Ayre, and lightsome Fyre.
Now wo is me, for from this house of myne
That Spirit will me driue within a while,
So as this Temple where mens destynies
Are now foretold, shall stand all desolate.

Being asked another tyme (as sayth Porphirius,) whether was the better of the Word or the Lawe; he answered likewise in verse, That men ought to beléeue in God the begetter, and in the King that was afore all things, vnder whom quaketh both Heauen and Earth, Sea and Hell, yea and the very Gods themselues, whose Lawe is the Father that is honored by the Hebrewes. And these Oracles were wont to be sung in Verse, to the intent that all men should remember them the better as Plutarch reporteth. Now I haue bin the longer in this Chapter, because most men thinke this doctrine so repugnant to mans Reason, that Philosophie could neuer allowe of it; not considering that it is another matter to conceyue a thing, than to proue or allow it when it is conceyued. And therefore aswell for this Chapter as for that which went afore, let vs conclude, both by reason added to Gods reuealing, and by the traces thereof in the World, and by the Image thereof shining

Porphirius as he is alledged by S. Austin in his ninth book of the Citie of God. Cha. 23.

forth

forth in our selues, and by the Confession of all the auncient Diuines, and by the very depositions of the Deuilles themselues; that in the onely one Essence or substance of God, there is a Father, a Sonne, and a holy Ghost; the Father euerlastingly begetting the Sonne, and the Spirit euerlastingly proceeding from them both; the Sonne begotten by the Mynd, and the Spirit proceeding by the Will: which is the thing that we had here to declare. And let this handling of that matter concerning Gods essence bee taken as done by way of preuention, howbeit that it depend most properly vppon the reuelation of our Scriptures, which being proued will consequently yéeld proofe to this poynt also. There may bee some perchaunce which will desire yet more apparant proofes: but let them consider that wee speake of things which surmount both the arguments of Logike and also Demonstration. For, inasmuch as Demonstrations are made by the Causes, the Cause of all Causes can haue no Demonstration. But if any be so wilful as to stand in their owne opinion against the trueth which all the World proueth & al Ages acknowledge: let them take the payne to set doune their Reasons in writing; and men shall see how they be but eyther bare Denyalles, or Gesses, or simple distrusts or misbeleefs of the things which they vnderstand not, and that they be vnable to wey against so graue and large Reasons and Recordes, as I haue set downe heretofore. And therefore, the glorie thereof be vnto God. Amen.

The vij. Chapter.

That the World had a beginning.

LEt vs now retyre backe againe from this bottomlesse gulfe; for the thing that is vnpossible to be sounded is vnpossible to be knowen. And séeing that our eyesight cānot abyde the brightnesse of so great a light; let it content vs to beholde it in the shadowe. Now, this sensible world wherein we dwell, is (as the Platonists terme it) the shadow of the world that is subiect to vnderstanding: for certesse it cannot be called an Image thereof, no more than the buylding

buylding of a Maysternmason is the Image of his mynd. And yet for all the greatnesse, beautie, and light which wee see therein, I cannot tell whether the woord shadowe doe throughly fit it or no, considering that shadowes haue some measure in respect of their bodies, but betweene finite and infinite is no proportionable resemblance at all. We that are heere in the world, doe wonder at it, and we would thinke wee did amisse if we should beleeue that any thing is better or more beautifull than that. For our flesh and complexions are proportioned after the Elements thereof, and to the things which it bringeth forth, as our eyes vnto the light thereof, and all our sences to the sensible nature thereof: and those which are of the world seeke but onely to content the sensualitie that is in them. But as we haue a Mynd, so also let vs beleeue that the same is not without his obiect or matter to rest vpon. And as the sencelesse things serue the things that haue sence; so let vs make the sensible things to serue the Mynd, and the Mynd it selfe to serue him by whom it is and vnderstandeth. My meaning is, that wee should not wonder at the world for the worlds sake it selfe, but rather at the workemaister and author of the world. For it were to manifest a childishnes to wonder at a portraiture made by a Peinter, and not to wonder much more at the Peynter himselfe.

Now the first consideration that offereth it selfe to the beholder of this worke, is whether it hath had a beginning or no: a question which were perchaunce vnnecessarie in this behalfe, if euery man would consult with his owne Reason, whereunto nothing is more repugnant, than to thinke an eternitie to bee in things which wee not onely perceiue with our sences, but also doe see to perish. Howbeit forasmuch as the world speaketh (sayth the Psalmist) both in all Languages and to all Nations: let vs examine it, both whole together, and according to the seuerall parts thereof. For it may be that the worldlings (if they distrust their owne record) will at least-wise admit that which the world it selfe shall depose thereof. Let vs then examine the Elements all together: they passe from one into another; the Earth into Water, the Water into Ayre, and Ayre into Water againe, and so forth. Now this intercourse cannot be made but in tyme, and tyme is a measuring of mouing, and where measure is, there can be no eternitie. Let vs examine thē seuerally: The Earth hath his seasons; after Springtime commeth Sommer, after Sommer succeedeth Haruest, and after Haruest followeth Winter. The Sea hath his continual ebbing and flowing,

The world it selfe telleth vs that it had a beginning.

ing, which goeth increasing and decreasing by certeyne measures. Diuers Riuers, and especially Nyle, haue their increasings at certeyne seasons, and to a certeyne measure of Cubits. The Ayre also hath his Windes, which doe one while clære it and another while trubble it: and the same Windes doe reigne by turnes, blowing sometime from the East, and sometime from the West; sometime from the North and sometime from the South. And vppon them dependeth Rayne and faire wether, Stormes and Calmes. These interchaunges which are wrought by turnes cannot bee without beginning. For where order is, there is a formerneſſe and an afterneſſe, and all chaunge is a kind of mouing, insomuch that the alterations which are made successiuely one after another, must of necessitie haue had a beginning at some poynt or other; on the Land, by some one of the Seasons; on the Sea, by ebbing and flowing; and in the Ayre, by North or by South; and so forth. For if they began not at any one poynt, then could they not hold out vnto an other poynt. The Land then by his Seasons, the Ayre by his chaunges, and the Sea by his Tydes, ceaſſe not to crye out and to preach vnto all that haue eares to heare, that there is no euerlastingneſſe in them, but that they haue had a beginning all of them. Againe, when we consider that the Earth receyueth his Seasons from the Sunne, the Sea his Tydes from the Moone, & the Ayre his Windes from an outward power that is vnseene: ought wee not to seeke the beginning thereof aboue and not beneath, without them and not within them, seeing that nothing hære belowe hath mouing of it selfe? And if the Elements which are accounted for the very grounds and beginnings of things, acknowledge a beginning of their mouings; ought we not to acknowledge ꝑ same in all other things? Again, if we consider how this Moone which maketh the Tydes in the Sea, hath no light but from the Sunne which maketh the Seasons on the Earth; doe we not conclude by and by, that the Seasons of the Earth, and the Tydes of the Sea, and the continuall chaunges, mouings, and (as ye would say) backebyeathings of the Elements, haue one commō beginning? But it may bee that these mouings haue place but onely vnder the Moone, and not in that fifth Quintessence of the Heauen, the substantialneſſe and eternitie whereof Aristotle doth so highly commend. May, what if the higher wee mount vp, they proclayme their beginning still the lowder? What if the thing which we most chiefly wonder at in the Heauen, be most repugnant to eternitie? The Sunne maketh

keth there his naturall course in the Zodiacke betweene the two Tropicks or Turnepoynts, so as the Zodiacke is as it were his race, and the Tropicks are his vtmost lists, both the which are so distinguished by degrées and minutes, that hee cannot passe one hearebreadth beyond them. The poynts of his two stops are his vtmost bounds, the which so soone as he commeth at, by and by he turneth head back againe. Must he not thē nēdes haue had a place to set out from, seeing he hath a place whereat to stop? Euery fower and twentie howers hee is caryed from East to West by the mouing of the Skye: and like as by his natural mouing he maketh the Sommer and the Winter; so by this violent mouing he maketh Day and Night. Can such succession of tymes and Seasons be made otherwise than in tyme, or rather be any other thing than tyme? The Mone likewise finisheth her course euery Moneth: we see how she chaungeth, groweth, becommeth full, and waneth. Euery Planet hath his prefixed tyme and his ordinary course. To be short, men see the rising and the going downe of the Starres, and likewise their appearing and their tarying out of sight: and the very Heauen it selfe which with himselfe caryeth all the rest about, doth it not but by mouing. Now whatsoeuer is moued, is moued in tyme; and all goings or whēlings about, must nēdes begin at some one poynt; like as in the drawing of a Circle, the one shanke of the Compasses is set fast in some place, and the other shanke is caryed round about. What followeth then, but that the mouing of the Heauen and of al the things which the Heauen beareth and caryeth about, hath had a beginning? Then let vs not wonder at the brightnesse and light thereof as Aristotle did; for that bewrayeth the matter so much the more apparantly, in that it hath not that light but by distribution of mouing; nor at his perpetuall mouing, for that sheweth the more his streyt seruice whereto he is subiect; nor at his Constancie, for that is necessitie; nor at his huge greatnesse, for he is so much the more hugely bowed downe. Surely the Skye is as the great whēle of a Clocke, which sheweth the Planets, the Signes, the howers, and the Tydes, euery one in their tyme; and that which seemeth to be his chiefe wonder, proueth him to bee subiect to tyme, yea and to bee the very instrument of tyme. Now, seeing he is an instrument, there is a Worker that putteth him to vse, a Clockkeeper that ruleth him, a Mynd that was the first procurer of his mouing. For euery instrument, how mouable so euer it be, is but a dead thing so farre forth as it is but an instru-

ment, if it haue not life and mouing from some other thing than it
An obiection. is selfe. Yea, but (will some man say) the Heauen goeth about continually; and in so many worlds and ages as haue bin, we perceiue no alteration at all. Wretched man that thou art! Thy Hart and thy Lights also haue a continuall mouing, and neuer lye still; and thou, with all the witte thou hast, canst neither increase it nor restreine it. The Philitions themselues feele it, but can find no cause of it. The Philosophers ouertyre themselues in seeking it, and yet canst thou not tell the ende and the beginning thereof. Doest not thou thinke thy selfe which men as thou art doe deeme to be without end, as straunge Milles and Trindles, and such other kind of selfmouings, of whose beginnings not euen Children are ignorant? And yet vnder colour that the great wheele of Heauen hath now of long tyme turned about without ceassing, wilt thou be so childish or so blind, as to beleeue that it hath turned so from euerlasting? O man, the same workmaysster which hath set vp the Clock of thy hart for halfe a score yeares, hath also set vp this huge engine of the Skyes for certeyne thousands of yeares. Great are his Circuits and small are thyne; and yet when thou hast accounted them throughly, they come both to one.

Let vs come to the things that haue lyfe and sence. The Plãts shoote forth into branches, and beare both bud and fruite: but yet either the plant springeth of the kernell, or the kernell of the plant, and both of thẽ procéede of a maker. Of liuing wights, some bring forth their yong ones alyue, and some lay Egges, and we knowe which is ingendred of which: but whether the Egge come of the Hen, or the Hen of the Egge; it must néedes bée confessed that the one of them had a beginning. But I will leaue this vayne disputing whether of them was the first; which question the holy scripture will discusse in one word. Yea and nature it selfe also will discusse it, which requireth to haue the first things brought forth in their perfect being. For it is enough for our purpose, that they may find themselues conuicted of a beginning throughout all things. And I pray you, if they cannot tell whether the mouing of their Heart or of their Lungs, began first with shutting or with opening, at the thrusting of the breth forth, or at the drawing of it in; (whereof notwithstanding they cannot but knowe that there was a beginning:) ought they to be admitted to deny that things had a beginning, because it might be douted at which poynt they began?

Now if the Dumb and spéecheless things kry out so lowd, and the

the things that are voyd of reason conclude so reasonably; shall only man whom God hath indued both with speech and reason, be either so vnhonest as to hold his peace, or so shameless as to resist? Soothly as touching our bodyes, we know the beginning of them; and our so curious searching out of Pedegrees, maketh vs to confesse it whether wee will or no. And if any thing in the worlde might haue any true pretence or lykelyhod to boast of an eternitie; our Soules might doe it, which without mouing themselues doe doe cause a thousand things to remoue. They mount vp vnto Heauen, and go downe to the deepe, without shifting their place. They hould vp the whole worlde in the storehouse of their memorie, without combering of any rome there. They packe vp all tymes past present and to come together, without passing from one to another. To be short, they conceyue and conteyne all things, and after a sort euen themselues also. And yet shall we be so bold as too say they be eternal without beginning? May, how can that be, sith we see that they profit and learne, yea and oftentimes also appayre and forget, from age to age, and from day to day? How (I say) can that be, sith we see that they passe frō ignorance to knowledge, from darkenesse to light, from gladnesse to sadnesse, and from hope to despayre; and that not by peeres, but euen in minutes and moments? And (which more is) wee see them receyue great trouble and alteration by and for the things that are mutable and transitorie, which flourish in the morning, and are withered and parched as in an Ouen at night. Now, to be altered and chaunged, importeth a mouing, and he that graunteth a mouing, graunteth also a beginning; and to be moued by things mutable, sheweth an ouer great inconstancie of nature, which is a thing too too contrarie vnto eternitie. To be short, how can þ thing be eternall or euerlasting, which cannot so much as by any imagination resemble aught that this word eternitie betokeneth? And yet this soule of ours is the thing which in man ioyneth Heauen and Earth together, marketh the chaunges in things aboue, and for the most part worketh them in the things beneath, carying vp a handfull of dust aboue the skyes, and after a sort bringing downe Heauen vnto the Earth. Much more reason then is it that neither in the Heauen, nor in the Earth, nor in all the Harmonie of the whole worlde which wee so greatly wonder at, there should not be any approching at al vnto eternitie.

Man had a beginning.

Some man perchaunce will say vnto mee, that in the partes of the Worlde there is no eternitie, but yet there may be in the whole.

An obiection.

May, how can a Whole bee eternall, which is composed of brittle and temporall parts? And what call they the Whole, but the huge frame of Heauen, whose mouing proueth that it had a beginning? Againe, some other will perhaps say, there is a beginning of mouing in the world, as well in the whole as in the parts thereof; but yet it doth not therefore followe, that it had beginning of being. May, if the being thereof was euerlastingly afore the mouing thereof; how could it be called in Latine Mundus & in Greeke Cosmos, that is to say, A goodly or beautifull order, seeing that for the most part, Order dependeth vppon mouing? For, take from the Heauens their turning about, and from the Sunne his course, and set them fast in some place where you list; and you shall make the one halfe of the Earth blynd, and the whole Earth eyther scorched with his continuall presence, or desert and vninhabitable by his absence: and ye shall make the Sea for the most part vnsayleable, and the Ayre vnfruitfull or vntemperate. Therefore it will followe at the least, that the World hath not bin inhabited euerlastingly, nor the Plants thereof bin eternall, nor the liuing Creatures (no not euen Mankynd) bin without beginning. Surely I wote not what eyes these Philosophers had, who had leuer to eternise ẏ Stones, Rocks, and Mountaines, than themselues for whom those things were made. And againe, to what purpose serued the Sunne and the Mone at that tyme? Wherefore serued Ayre, wherefore serued Sea, when nothing did yet liue, see, and breathe? It remayneth then that afore mouing, it was but a confused heape, masse or lump of things without shape, and that in processe of tyme (as some say) a certeyne Soule wound it selfe into it, and gaue shape to that bodie, and afterward life, mouing and sence to the partes thereof, according as he had made euery of them capable to receiue: insomuch that the world is nothing els but that confused heape now orderly disposed, indewed with soule and life, so as of that soule and confused lumpe together, there is now made one perfect liuing wight. A proper imagination surely, and meete for a very Beast, to father his so orderly essence vppon the shapelessenesse of a Chaos, that is to say, of confusednesse remoued away; rather than vpon the wisedome & power of a quickning Spirit. But seeing that this Chaos could not receyue eyther shape or order, but by the sayd Soule; if they be both eternall, how met they together in one poynt, being of so contrary natures, the one to shape and the other to be shaped? If it were by aduenture, how did ẏ Soule by aduenture so set things

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in order, and how happeneth it that it hath not since that tyme put them out of order againe? Or if it were by aduise, of whom should that aduise be but of a Superiour? And who is that Superiour, but God? Againe, eyther this Soule was tyed really and in very deede to this bodie of the world from all eternitie; or els it did but onely pearce through it by his power, as seemed best of the owne freewill. If it were tyed, specially to such a confused masse, by who but by force of a higher power? And then what els could that confused Chaos be to him, but an euerlasting graue? And what els also were that to say, than that the sayd Chaos was as a shapeless Child yet newly begotten and scarce set together in the mothers wombe, which within a few daies after, by the infusion of a Soule beginneth to haue shape, mouing, and sence; and afterward in his due tyme is borne, and being growne vp decayeth agayne, and so endeth, as our bodies doe? Or if a Soule pearced into it and went through it by a freewil and power; (let vs not striue about termes; for a Soule is so named in respect of a bodie whereto it is tyed) the same is the liuing GOD, who at his pleasure gaue it both shape, life, and mouing. But I will shew hereafter, that he not only gaue the Worlde his shape, but also created the very matter stuffe and substance thereof. But it suffiseth mée at this tyme to wrest from them, that he is the maker and shaper thereof.

Let vs yet more clearely set forth the originall of the World. I aske what the world is of it selfe? If it moue not, it forgoeth both his order and his beautie, as I sayd afore. And if it moue, it sheweth it selfe vncapable of eternitie. But there is yet more. These lower spaces of the world are the harbrough of liuing creatures, and specially of man, who knoweth how to take benefite thereof. The temperateneſſe of the aire serueth for him; and yet the aire can not bee tempered nor the Earth lighted, without the Sonne and the Moone: Neither can the Sunne and the Moone giue light and temperatneſſe without mouing. The Moone hath no light but of the Sunne; neither can the Sunne yéeld it either to the Moone or to the Earth, but by the mouing of the Heauen: and the great Compaſſe of the Heauen going about, is the very thing which wée call the World, not estéeming these lower parts (as in respect of their matter) otherwise than as the dregges of the whole. And whereas the Elements serue man, and the Planets serue the Elements, yea and the Planets themselues serue one another: doe they not shew that they be one for another? And if they be one for another; is not

The linking of things together.

The inwoorking of the Mynd beginneth at the end.

one of them in consideration afore another; as the ende afore the things that tend vnto the end, according to this common rule, that the Mynd beginneth his work at the end thereof? Now then, if the turning about of the Heauen serue to shewe the Planets, and they to yeeld light to the Earth and to all things thereon: doth it not serue for the Earth? And if it serue the Earth; I pray you is that done by appoyntment of the Earth, or rather by appoyntment of some one that commaundeth both Heauen and Earth? Againe, seeing that the ende is in consideration afore the things that tend thereto: shall this consideration be in the things themselues, or rather in some Spirite that ordereth them? Soothly, in the things themselues it cannot be: for if they haue vnderstanding, they haue also will; and the will intendeth rather to commaund than to obey, and vnto freedome rather than bondage: and if they haue no vnderstanding, then knowe they neither end nor beginning. Moreouer, forasmuch as they bee diuers, and of contrary natures; they should ame at diuers ends, whereas now they ame all at one end. Nay, which more is, how should the Sunne and the Moone, the Heauen and the Earth haue met euerlastingly in matching their dealings so iumpe together, the one in giuing light, and the other in taking it? In what poynt, by what couenant, and vnder what date was this done, seeing it dependeth altogether vppon moving, which is not to be done but in tyme? It remayneth then, that the sayd consideration was done by a Spirit that commaundeth al things alike, and that he putteth them in subiection one to another as seemeth best to himselfe, forsomuch as he is mightie to keepe them in obedience, and wise to guyde them to their peculiar ends, and all their ends vnto his owne ende; and he that thinketh otherwise thinketh that a Lute is in tune of it owne accord. Or if he say that this Spirit is a Soule inclosed in the whole, he doth fondly incorporate the Spirit of the Luteplayer in the Lute it selfe, and likewise the builder in the building. In effect it is all one as if a Child that is borne and brought vp in a house, should thinke the house to be eternall or els made of it selfe, because he had not seene it made: or as if a man that had bin cast out newly borne in a desert Iland, and there nursed vp by a Wolfe as Romulus was; should imagine himself to be bred out of the Earth in one night like a Mushrom. For, to beleeue that the World is eternall, and that the race of Mankinde is bred of it selfe without a maker, is all one thing, and spring both of one error. Doe not the two Sexes of Male and Female in all liuing

things

things ouerthrowe the sayd eternitie: For how should they bee euerlastingly the one for the other, seeing they be so diuers: Againe, haue they bin euerlastinly but two, or euerlastingly mo than two: If but two, where are those two become, seeing that eternitie importeth immortalitie, and a beginninglesse forebeing from euerlasting inferreth an endlesse afterbeing or cõtinuance to euerlasting: And if they were many: see ye not still the selfesame absurdities? And if ye say they be made euerlasting by succession of tyme; what (I pray you is death) but a token that they were borne: What is life (I speake of this our life) but a continuance of death: and what is succession, but a prolonging of time: Thus then ye see how that aswell by the parts of the World, and by the whole World it self, as also by the agreement of the whole with his parts, and of the parts among themselues; we be euidently taught that the frame of the World had both a workmaysster and a beginning. But now some man wil aske vs when it began: And that is the poynt which we haue to treate of next.

The viij. Chapter.

When the World had his beginning.

SOothly, it is not for mée to stand here disprouing the doubtes of the Accounters of tymes; for ỹ ods of some yeres, yea or of some whole hundreds of yeres, is not to bee accounted of betwéene eternitie and a beginning. But if we haue an eye to the proceeding of this lower World: we shall euidently perceyue, that like a Childe it hath had his ages, his chaunges, and his full poynts, rests or stoppes; so as it hath by little and little growne, bin peopled, and replenished; and that (to be short) whereas the world supposeth that it shall indure for euer, it doth but resemble an old Dotarde, which (bee hee neuer so forworne and drooping for age,) yet thinkes himselfe still to haue one yere more to liue. But I haue alreadie sufficiently proued, that both Heauen and Earth haue had a beginning; and also that séeing the one of them is for the other, they had

had the same at one selfesame tyme, and both of them from one self same ground. And therfore loke what shalbe declared of the earth, shall also be declared of the heauen: and forasmuch as the earth serueth for the vse of liuing creatures, and specially of man; loke what beginning we shall proue of man, the like shall wee haue proued of the disposition of the earth. For to what purpose were the Heauen being imbowed about these lower parts like a Vault; or to what purpose were the earth being as a flowre or plancher to goe vpon; if there were no inhabiter at all vpon earth? Surely if the World were without beginning, it should also haue bin inhabited from without beginning, and no people should be of more antiquitie thã other: Or at leastwise how auncient so euer it were, yet should no new thing be found therein. But if euen the oldest and auncientest things of all, be but newe; ought it not to bee a sure argument vnto vs, of the newnesse thereof? What thing I pray you can we picke out in this world, for an example of antiquitie?

The Originall of Sciences. Lucr: Catus: This nature & reason of thigs was lately foũd out, and I my selfe was one of the first that did stumble vpon it, & am able to turne it into my natiue language. And Persius sayth, It came hither after the time that my Countrymen began to taste of Pepper and Dates. Austin. lib. 18. of the Citie of God, Cha. 37. Cicero: Iamblicus: Porphyrius. Orpheus in his Argonauts. Proclus vpon Timeus. Plutark in his Isis and Osiris. Iamblicus in his booke of Mysteries. Chap. 1.

Let vs begin at the Liberall Sciences; and we shall reade of the first commings vp of them all. Philosophie, which consisteth in the searching out of naturall things, is of so late continuance, that afore the tyme of Pythagoras, the very name thereof was not knowen. The Romanes counted it for folly long tyme after that. And Lucrece the Epicure singeth in his tyme, that the nature of things was found out but late afore. Also Seneca who came long after him, sayth that from the first comming vp of Philosophie to his tyme, there were not full a thousand yeres. Socrates is sayd to haue bin the first that brought it from studie to practise, drawing it (as they sayd) from Heauen to Earth, and from Cities to houses and persons: that is to say, by teaching men to knowe themselues and to gouerne both themselues and others. And that is not aboue two thousand yeres agoe at the most: For he was since the tyme of Esdras, who is ỳ last Historiographer of the Byble. And whatsoeuer knowledge they had thereof, they had it (as I sayd afore) from the Ægiptians, & the Ægiptians had it from the Hebrewes and Chaldeans. For Pythagoras learned his skill of Sonchedie, and of the Iewes; Plato, of Sechnuphis; Eudoxus, of Conuphis; and all they, of the Disciples of Trismegistus; and Trismegistus, (as appeareth by his bookes) learned of Moyses. To bee short, Clearchus the Peripatetick sayth, he sawe the Iew of whom Aristotle himselfe learned his Philosophie. Also Iamblichus maketh mention of Mercuries Pillars, wherein Pythagoras and Plato had

had read his Doctrine: And Porphyrius witnesseth that all the Philosophie of the Greekes which they boast of with so many woords, came vp at the least a thousand yeres after Moyses. Now if the studie of Wisdome be so late in the world; how late is Wisdome it self? And if Greece were so lateward therein; where shal the antiquitie thereof be found among the Gentiles?

Clemens Alexandrin. in his booke of Stromats alledging Alexander, Hermippus, & Clearchus, Porphyrius alledged by Eusebius. lib. 11.

Some man will say that in asmuch as Socrates drewe men frō Heauen to Earth; Astrologie ought to be of more antiquitie: and I willingly agree thereto: for when a man looketh vp to Heauen, he setteth his first thoughts vpon that place. But how many yeres shall we gaine by that? If Thales were the first that taught it to the Greekes, (as they themselues say:) we know both by the very Greeke authors & by Thales himself, ẏ he had it of the Ægiptians, & the Ægiptians of the Chaldeans, who are in very deede the Authors thereof, insomuch ẏ the word Chaldean is ordinarily put for an Astrologer. And if we say with Plinie, ẏ Iupiter Belus was the Author thereof; if the same Belus was the first of that name, then was it about the time of Abraham. And if the Phenicians were the founders thereof, as it is sayd in another place: what were they els but the Hebrewes? Againe, I pray you what was the Astrologie of those folke? By the report of Plinie, Thales was the first among the Greekes, and Sulpitius Gallus among the Romanes that obserued the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Insomuch that their Armyes (as Plutarche and Quintilian report) were dismayed at the sight of them; so as the one of them did let passe the next three daies, & the other did let passe all the rest of that Moone, ere they durst enterprise or go in hād with any thing. Nay: it was counted high Treason towards God to alledge any naturall cause thereof. Anaxagoras was put in Prison for it, and Pericles had much adoe to get him released. Protagoras was banished Athens for it; and the Mathematicals were vtterly condemned for it. And what more doe the sauagest people of the world our poore Americans? It was attributed vnto Thales, that hee was the first that obserued the North Starre; and to Pythagoras, that the morning starre and the euening starre be both one, and that the Zodiacke goes a Skiew, and girdeth the World about like a Girdle: and vnto Solon (as sayth Proclus) that the Moone finisheth her course in thirtie dayes. Afterward came Archimedes, who gathered the obseruations of many things, and thereof made the Sphere. Yet notwithstanding, all these are but licle entrauuces; for the greate

Laertius in the lyfe of Thales.

Thales in his Epistle to Pherecydes in Clemens Alexād: Plinie. lib. 5. 6.

Plinie. lib. 2. Plutark in the lyfe of Niceas. Quintilian. lib. 1.

Speculation

Speculation of the Planets came long time after. What shall we say to this, that the very account of the yeere was vncerteine and confuzed in the countrie of Europe, vntill the time of Iulius Cæsar, and so remaineth still vnto this day in the greater halfe of the world? Insomuch that vntill a three hundred yeres afore the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, the Greekes and Romanes had not yet any Quadrant, nor any Clocke, Dyall, or distinction of howres.

Censorius cõcerning Christes birthday. Cap. 9. Varro.

As touching Arithmetike and Geometrie, which were taught so precysely vnto children in Platoes tyme, it is well knowen that the authors of the notablest grounds of those artes, are Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and Euclides (who gathered them out of the writers of olde tyme) and certeyne others. And they which father the finding of them vpon Trismegistus, could not haue led vs more directly vnto Moyses.

Arithmetik & Geometry. Plato in his Epinomis.

But forasmuch as man is naturally more carefull of his health and commoditie, than curious of the Starres, it may bee that his Trades, Craftes and Artes, are of more antiquitie than his Sciences. Surely as touching handicrafts, Varro a greate searcher of antiquities witnesseth, that all the Handicraftes were inuented within the space of a thousand yeres reckened backe frõ his tyme. And let not the Grækes brag any more, For euen in their Histories we find the first inuention or finding out of Fyre, which is the ground and beginning (if I may so terme it) of the most part of Handicrafts. And forasmuch as there are which haue written particularly of the fynding out of euery of them: I send the Reader vnto them.

The Originall of Crafts, Trades and Artes. Varro in his fifth booke & first Chapter of Husbandry.

But let vs speake of Leachecraft which conteineth Phisik and Surgerie, the Arte which is so necessarie for all mankinde. Doe wee not see how it breedeth, and from day to day groweth and increaseth of sicknesses and Wounds, yea and euen of the death of men? Diodorus attributeth it to the Ægyptians, and Moyses in Genesis maketh some mention of Pharaos Phisitions. Others doe father it vppon Esculapius, and some vpon Arabus the sonne of Apollo: but what maner of Phisicke was that? If wee followe the woords of Moyses, they were rather Imbalmers of Dead bodyes, than Phisitions of sicke persons. And Esculapius (as sayth Cicero) was estæmed as a God for teaching to pull out Tæth, and to lozen the Belly. Also Podalirius and Machaon his successors, medled not but with outward Cures. To be short, Herodotus saith, that one was a Leache for the Eye, another for the Head,

Leachecraft which comprehendeth Phisik and Surgerie.

Cicero in his booke of the nature of the Gods. Herodotus. lib. 1.

Head, and a third for the Feete; and that when they were at their wits end, they layd the diseased person in a place of resorte, to trye there vpon him the receyt, of whosoeuer came first: and that was a kind of Lechecraft, which as yet had neither Head nor Tayle. Also the brute beasts taught men diuers Herbes and remedies by little and litle, and some men did put them in proofe vpon others, vnto the which Herbes they left their names; insomuch that in the end one Hippocrates and certeine others made a collection of all those things, and so of many mens experiences was made an arte, and that Arte hath bene inriched from time to time, and more peraduenture in our age than euer it was before. Howsoeuer the case stand, it is certeyne that the first Phisition that was seene in Rome was one Archagatus, who about a fiftie yeeres afore the comming of Christ, in the Consulship of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and Marcus Liuius, was made free of the Citie; after whom diuers other Greeke Phisitions came thither by heapes, but they were by and by driuen away againe by Cato the Censor, as Hangmen or Tormenters sent by the Greekes to murther the Barbarians (for so did the Greekes call all other Nations besides themselues) rather than Phisitions to heale the diseazed: and that was, bicause that in all cases without discretion, they vsed launcing and searing to all Sores. Now sith we see the Sciences and Artes growe after that maner from Obseruation to Obseruation, and from Principle to Principle, and to bee so newly come vp among the Nations of greatest renowne and learning; shall we doubt to conclude that it was so among the ruder nations likewise?

Let vs come to Lawes; for euen the barbarousest people had of them: and it may bee that seeing man is borne too societie and fellowship, thei had greater care to set an order among themselues by good Lawes, than to marke the order of the Skyes or the disposition of their owne bodyes. But doth not the Lawe written, leade vs foorthwith to the Lawe vnwritten? And doe not the greate volumes of Lawes which we turne ouer now adayes, leade vs to the peeces of Trebonian; and Trebonian, to the Scæuolaes and Africanes; and these againe to the Lawes of the Twelue Tables? And I pray you what els be the twelue Tables, but the infancy of the Romane Lawes, which being very simple rudiments of Ciuill gouernment, like those which are to bee found at this day among the most barborests Nations, wee though a fond shzeake of antiquitie doe wonder at in the auncient Romanes, and despyse them

The originall or gouernmēt.

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in the auntient Almanes, Thuringians, Burgonions, Salians, and Ripuaries, who notwithstanding had them farre better than the Romanes? But what antiquitie can be sayd to be in them, seeing their continuance hath not bin past a fower hundred yeeres afore the comming of Christ, as the Romane Histories themselues informe vs? Againe, doe not the twelue Tables send vs backe to the Grecians? And of whom had the Greekes them, but of Draco and Solon as in respect of the Athenians, who liued in the time of Cyrus King of Persia; and of Lycurgus as in respect of the Lacedemonians, who liued about the end of the Empyre of Asiria? And what els is all this bouge Depth of Antiquitie whereof the Greekes make so great boast, but late newnesse among ỹ Iewes? Moreouer Plutarke sayth that Solon and Lycurgus had beene in Ægypt to seeke Lawes, and that there for all their bragging of antiquitie, they were skorned as yong Children. The Ægiptians also had their Lawes of Mercury, & Mercury doubtlesse had them from the Paterne of Moyses, whom Diodorus witnesseth to haue bin the first Lawe maker of all. To be short, what shall we say, seeing that (as Iosephus noteth against Appion) the very name of Law was vnknowen amõg the Greekes in the time of Homere?

Aulus Gelius lib. 20. Cap. 1. & lib. 17. Cap. 21.

Pomponius of of the first cõming vp of the Lawe.

Plutark in the lyues of Solon and Lycurgus, and in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

Iustine the Martyr alledgeth Diodorus in his exhortation.

Iosephus against Appion

But it may be that there haue bene Kings tyme without mind: for they were as a liuing Law, and their determinations were turned into Lawes. Let vs marke then, that from the great Monarks we come to the Kings of seuerall Nations, and from them to vnderkings of Prouinces and of Shyres, and afterwards to Kings of Townes, Cities, and Villages, and finally to Kings of Households which were the Fathers and Maisters of houses, and were the eldest or auncientest of them; and these doe sende vs to the one comon stocke (that is to say, the one comon beginning) of them all. And whẽ was that? Surely Iustine the Historywriter witnesseth, that the Kings which were afore Ninus King of the Assyrians, were but particular Iudges of controuersies which rose betweene folke of any one Towne, or Citie, or Household, and that the sayd Ninus was the first King of whome any Historiographers haue written. And Herodotus sayth that the Ægyptians had the first Kings. And he that will mount vp any higher, must doe it by the holy Scripture, which teacheth vs that Nembrod was the first that brake the sayd fatherly order of Houshold gouernment, wherein euery father reigned ouer those that descended of him, without any other prerogatiue than of age, which sort of Gouerners Ma-

Iustine in his first booke.

Plini, lib. 7. Herodotus. lib. 2.

netho

netho calleth Shepherdkings, saying that they had beene a thousand peres afore the warres of Troy. For as for the Greekes and Romanes, either they were not as yet at all, or els surely they liued with Acornes lyke the People whome wee at this day call Sauages. Manetho cyted by Iosephus against Appian.

But let vs see if at least wise the Gods of the Heathen haue any antiquitie: for in asmuch as the essentiall shape of man is to acknowledge a certeine Godhead, it is lykely ỳ nothing should be of greater antiquitie than that. And in very deede Nations haue bene found both without Lawes and without Kings: but without Gods and without some sort of Religion, there was neuer any found. But what shall we say if men haue bene borne afore Gods, yea and also doe liue still after them? Let vs not buzie our braynes about the first comming vp of the petigods as well of the Romanes as of the Greekes, who had moe of them than they had of Shyres, Cities, Townes, and Houses; nor yet about their Pedegrees which are sufficiently described by their owne seruers and worshippers the Idolaters themselues: but let vs go to the very roote of them. What is to be sayd of the first Saturne, who is called the father of them all? Of what tyme is he? Soothly if wee beleeue the notablest Storywriters amõg the Greekes, & the Epitaphe of Osyris reported by Diodorus the Sicilian Saturne, (I meane not the Saturne of the Greekes, but ỳ auncientest of all ỳ Saturnes) is none other thã Cham the sonne of Noe, neither is Osyris any other thã Misraim the youngest sonne of Cham, And those which woulde make Saturne auncientest, say hee was but Noe himselfe. I forbeare to say what Berosus and others of the lyke stampe report of him, bicause I hold them for fabling and forged authors. As touching Iupiter, if ye meane him that was surnamed Belus, that is to say Ball or Mayster; hee was the Sonne of Nembrod, which Memrod was also called Saturne, which was a common name to the auncientest persons of great Houses. And if he were that Iupiter which was surnamed Chammon or Hammon; hee was the same Cham or Chamases the Sonne of Noe, which was worshipped in Lybya: for it is certeine that hee tooke his iorney thither. For as for Iupiter of Crete or Candy, and Saturne his Father, which were worshipped among the Greekes after the example of the other Iupiter and Saturne which were of farre more antiquitie: they were but a little whyle afore the warres of Troy, and long after the tyme of Moyses. What maner of antiquitie then is that, which The origsnall of the Heathē Goddes.

which passeth not the space of three thousand yeeres: And should the Greekes haue come by the knowledge thereof, if it had not bin written by others than themselues: But this poynt shall be handled more at large in another place.

Traffik of Merchandyse, and bargayning, buying and selling.

What shall we say of Trafficke betweene Nations, and of bargaynyng betweene man and man, seeing that from Coyne of gold wee must come to Coyne of siluer, from Coyne of siluer to Coyne of brasse, and from Coyne of brasse to Coyne of yron, yea euen among the Romanes themselues: And againe, from Money stamped and coyned, to Money by weight and measure without stamp, from weight to exchaunge of wares and of one thing for another, and from exchaunge to that blessed comonnesse of al things which was in the first ages of the world: Nay, the greater halfe of the world continueth still the sayd exchaunge, euen vnto this day; and some Nations had neuer had any skill thereof as yet, if the Nauigations of our tyme had not taught it them. And as for Nauigation it selfe, which is as the sinewes of Trafficke and Merchaundise; if we beleeue Plinie, the first Shippe that euer was set a flote, was vppon the red Sea; and the first Shippe that euer came into Greece, came from the Coast of Ægipt. And if we credit Strabo, the Tyrians were the first that excelled in Nauigation, insomuch that some men make them the first authors thereof. For, as touching the Nauigations of Vlysses, they passed not out of the Midland Sea. And what els was it (if it were a true Storie) but a floting of a Vessell at the pleasure of the winde, without keeping of any certeyne course or direction: For it is certeyne that the voyage which he had to make, is ordinarily done nowadayes in lesse than sire or seuen daies. And doth all this leade vs any further than to that little Countrey which on ꝑ one side is *bounded with Ægipt, and on the other side with the redd Sea: And doe not the Stories of that Countrie direct vs to the Arke of Noe? For what els was that Arke but a Shippe, as the true Berosus doth in deede call it: And wheras Moyses telleth vs that anon after the Flud, such and such of Noes offspring inhabited the Iles; is it not asmuch to say, as that the example of the Arke had imboldened them to venture vpon the Sea:

Nauigation. Plinie lib. 7.

Strabo. lib. 16.

Tibullus Elegia. 7.

*That is to say the Land of Canaan. Berosus alleged by Iosephus against Appion.

But forasmuch as Trafficke seemeth to serue for liuing wealthily, and simple liuing went afore liuing wealthily: I pray you how long is it agoe (may we thinke) since men liued by Acornes: From the delicates of Apitius, wee come to honest howshold fare; and

Feeding.

and from such howshold fare to poore labouringmans fare: that is to say, from deyntinesse to thriftinesse, & so forth from thriftinesse to brutishnesse, at such tyme as men wayted for the falling of Acornes and Mast from the Trees like Swine. To bee short, from Cities and Townes, we come to houses dispersed; from houses, to Sheds; from Sheds to Tents; and from Tents to the life of the people called the Nomads or Grazyers. I meane not here the Americanes, nor yet the barbarous people of old tyme; but euen the very Greekes and Romanes themselues: Wee knowe the first finding out of Corne, of Meale, and of Ploughes. If it were Triptolemus, who taught it to the Greekes; he was the sonne of Ceres: Or if it were Ceres; it was the Goddesse of Ægipt the wife of Osyris. And what was this Osyris (to speake of his most antiquitie,) but Misraim the graundchild of Noe? Plinie sayth that afore the Persian warres, there was no common Baker in Rome. The first Cherries that came in Rome, were brought thither by Lucullus. When the Galles came into Italy, there were no Vynes in all Gallia: insomuch that the worde which signifieth Wine aswell in Greeke as in Latin, is straunge to them both, and is borowed of the Hebrewe word *Iayn*. The Earth hath bin manured by little and little, & euen yet it is scarsly halfe inhabited. And at one word, our deifying of the first founders of Corne, of Wine, of Tillage, of Fewel, and of Baking, as of personages of great account aboue vs all; doth well conuince vs of our former rudenesse. And yet wee mocke at the sillie barbarous people [of the Newfound Lands,] for terming vs folke falne from Heauen, when they see our great Shippes: whereas notwithstanding it is not yet full two thousand yeares agoe, since we were worse than they. Plinie.lib.7. & Diodorus.lib. 1.2.6.

But wee should not haue knowne those things (will some man say) vnlesse they had bin put in writing; and therefore Histories are of more antiquitie than all the things that we haue spoken of. Bee it so. But yet let vs repayre from the Histories of the Romanes to the yeerely Registers of their Hyghpriests, and we shall finde that the Romane Writers are of much later tyme than the Greekes, and the Greekes of much later tyme than the Babylonians. For their greatest antiquitie is but from ỳ reigne of the Persians. And Phericydes the Assyrian, whom they report to haue bin the first that wrate in prose, was welnere eight hundred yeares after Moyses. The Romane Historie florished not, vntill such tyme as their Commonweale began to growe: and the beginning thereof is no- The first comming vp of Histories. Plinie.lib.7. Apuleius in his Florishes.

thing els but a Musterbooke of names, and a recoũting of Shéelds
falne from Heauen, and of Launces trimmed with flowers. The
Plutark in the life of Theseus. Greeke Histories began at the Empyre of the Persians: And Plu-
tarke (who was a diligent searcher thereof,) sayth expressely that
beyond Thebes, the Countrie was nothing but Sand, and a wast
Wildernesse vnapproachable, a frozen Seacoast, or scorched Coun-
tries, such as men paynt in the vttermost parts of Mappes, that is
to say, eyther vayne fables or darke ignorance. And yet for all this,
what els is the life of Theseus than a heape of fond fables, or what
euidentnesse or certeyntie is there in the Greeke Histories, afore
the fowerscore the Olympiade, that is to say, afore the reigne of
Censorimus. Darius, seeing there was not yet any skill vsed in marking out the
tyme eyther of the warres of the Medes, or of the warres of Pelo-
ponnesus? Varro the best learned of the Latins, intending to make
an Historie of the Worlde, could well skill to diuide it into three
parts. The first, concerning that age which was from the begin-
ning of the world vnto the Flud; the second, from the Flud vnto
the first Olimpiad, which falleth out about the tyme of the buil-
ding of Rome; and the third, from the first Olimpiad, vnto his
owne tyme. But as he calleth this later age Historicall; so calleth
he the second age fabulous, because he found not any certeyntie
thereof, neither in the Originall Registers and Recordes of the
Romanes, nor in the Histories of the Greekes. To be short, to be-
gin his Historie at the furthest end, he maketh his enterance at
the reigne of the Scyonians, which was the very selfesame tyme
that Ninus began his reigne, euen the same Ninus which made
warre against Zoroastres, which was about ỳ tyme of Abraham.
Varro in his third booke of Husbandry vnto Pto: The same Varro accounteth Thebes for the auncientest Cittie of
all Greece, as builded by Ogyges, wherevppon the Greekes cal-
led all auncient things Ogygians; and by his reckoning it was not
past two thousand and one hundred yéeres afore his owne tyme.
Trogus Pompeius beginneth his Historie at the bottome of al an-
tiquitie that remained in remembraunce; and that is but at Ninus,
Diodorus. lib. 3. who (by report of Diodorus) was the first that found any Histo-
riographer to write of his doings. The same Diodorus saith that
the greatest antiquitie of Greece is but from the time of Iuachus,
Clemens Alexandr. in his first booke of Strom: who liued in the tyme of Amoses King of Ægipt, that is to say (as
Appion confesseth) in the very tyme of Moyses. And intending to
haue begun his Storie at the beginning of the world, he beginneth
at the warres of Troy: and he saith in his Preface, that his Storie
conteyneth

conteyneth not aboue a thousande one hundred thirtie and eight yeares, which fell out (sayth he) in the reigne of Iulius Cæsar, in the tyme that he was making warre against the Galles; that is to say, lesse than twelue hundred yeares afore the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Also the goodly Historie of Atticus, whereof Cicero commendeth the diligence so greatly, conteineth but seuen hundred yeares. Which thing Macrobius obseruing, commeth to conclude with vs. Who doubteth (saith he) whether the World had a beginning or no, yea euen a fewe yeeres since, seeing that the very Histories of the Greekes do scarsly conteyne the doings of two thousand yeeres? For afore the reigne of Ninus, who is reported to haue bin the father of Semiramis, there is not any thing to be found in writing. Yea and Lucrece himselfe (as great an Epicure and despiser of God as he was) is constreined to yeeld thereunto, when he seeth that the vttermost bound which all Histories (bee they neuer so auncient) doe atteynt vnto, is but the destruction of Troy. For thus sayth he.

Now if that no beginning was of Heauen and Earth at all,
But that they euerlasting were, and so continue shall:
How haps it that of former things no Poets had delight
Afore the wofull warres of Troy and Thebes for to wright?

Lucretius the Romane Poet.

Yea, but the Registers of the Chaldees (will some man say) are of more antiquitie. For (as Cicero reporteth) they make their vaunt that they haue the natiuities of Children noted & set downe in writing (from natiuitie to natiuitie) for aboue the space of three and fortie thousand yeres afore the reigne of the great Alexander. And that is true. But (as it hath bin very well marked) when they speake after their Schoolemaner, they meane alwaies (as witnesseth Diodorus) the moneth yeare, that is to say, euery moneth to be a yeare: which account being reckoned backe from the tyme of Alexander, hitteth iust vppon the creation of the World, according to the account of the yeares set downe by Moyses. Likewise when the Iberians say they haue had the vse of Letters and of writing by the space of sixe thousand yeares agoe; they speake after the maner of their owne accounting of the yeare, which was but fower moneths to a yeare. And in good sooth Porphirius himselfe will serue for a good witnesse in that behalfe, who sayth that the obseruations of the Chaldees which Callisthenes sent frō Babylō into Greece in the tyme of Alexander, passed not aboue a thousand and nyne hundred yeares. As for the obseruations of Hipparchus, (which

Diodorus. lib. 2. 1.

Ptolomie vseth) they drawe much nérer vnto our tymes; for they reach not beyond the time of Nabugodonozer. To be short, from our Iudictions we mount vp to the Stories of the Romanes, and from them to the yérely Regísters of their Priestes, and so to the Calenders of their Feastes & Holidaies, and finally to the time of their driuing of the nayle into the wall of the Temple of Minerua, which was done alwaies yérely in the Moneth of September, to the intent that the number of the yéres should not bee forgotten. From thence we procéde to the Greeke Olimpiads, the one halfe of which tyme is altogether fabulous; and beyond the first Olimpiade, there is nothing but a thicke Cloude of ignorance, euen in the lightsomest places of all Greece. In which darknesse we haue nothing to direct vs, if we followe not Moyses, who citeth the booke of the Lords warres, and leadeth vs safely euen to our first originall beginning. And how should the Histories of the Gentiles be of any antiquitie, when there was not yet any reading or writing? From Printing, we step vp vnto bookes of written hand; from the Paper which we haue now, we come to Parchment; from Parchment, to the Paper of Ægipt, which was inuented in the tyme of Alexander; from that, vnto Tables of Lead and Waxe; and finally to the Leaues and Barkes of diuers Trées. From writing we goe consequently to reading, and so to the inuention of Letters: which Letters the Greekes taught vnto the Latines, and the Phenicians to the Greekes, (who had not any skill of them at the tyme of the warres at Troy, as the very names of them doe well bewray) and the Iewes taught them to the Phenicians. For in very déede what are the Phenicians, in account of all Cosmographers, but inhabiters of the Seacoast of Palestine or Iewrie? And so the saying of Ewpolemus a very auncient writer of Histories, is found true: namely, that Moyses was the first teacher of Grammer, that is to say, of the Arte of Reading; (notwithstanding that Philo doe father it vpon Abraham;) and that the Phenicians had it of the Iewes, and the Greekes of the Phenicians; in respect whereof Letters were in old tyme called Phenicians.

Plinie lib. 7. Herodotus. lib. 5. Varro in his first booke of Analogie. Crates the Greeke Philosopher demaūding why the Greekes declined not the names of their letters saying Αλφα, ἄλφατος, as wel as thei said γράμμα γράμματος was answered by the Greekes themselues, that it was bycause those names of their letters are not Greeke but barbarus. Lucane. lib. 3. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iuda alledged by Clemens of Alexandria in his fowrth booke.

Phenicians were the first (if trust bee giuen to Fame)
That durst expresse the voyce in shapes that might preserue the same.

Here I cannot forbeare to giue Plinie a little nippe. Letters (sayth he) haue bin from euerlasting. And why so? For (sayth he) the Letters of the Ægiptians had their first comming vp about a fiftéene yéres afore the reigne of Ninus. But Epigenes a graue Author

Author sayth, that in Babylone certeine obseruations of Starres were written in Tyles or Brickes a Seuenhundred and twentie yeeres afore: And Berosus and Critodemus (which speake with the least) doe say fowerhundred and fowerscore yeres. O extreame blockishnes! he concludeth the eternitie of letters, vpon that wherby they be proued to be but late come vp. Now then, seeing wee find the originall comming vp of Artes, of Lawes and Gouernement, of Traffik and Merchaundise, of foode and of very Letters; that is to say, both of liuing wel, and of liuing after any sort; should we rather graunt an euerlasting ignorance in man, than a kynd of youthfulnesse which hath learned things according to the growths thereof in ages? And seeing that the Sciences, Artes, Honors, and Deintics of the lyfe it selfe doe proue vs a beginning thereof: is there any man either skilfull or vnskilfull, greate or little, Philosopher or Handicrafts man, Laborer or Follower of the worldly vanities; that will any more bee so bolde as to stand in contention that the world is without beginning? What shall we then as now conclude of all this discourse? First that the inuention of all things is of so late tyme, that it is of sufficient force too make all men beleeue, (of what trade or profession so euer they bee) that it is but a whyle ago since the worlde began. And secondly that the sayd inuentions gathering together into one tyme, doe leade vs to some one certeine Countrie as to a Centre, where mankind hath first sprong vp, and afterward spred it selfe abroade as to the outermost partes of all the Circle. This time is the same space that was betwixt Moyses and the vniuersall Flud: And the Countrie is the same where mankind did first multiplie after their comming out of the Arke: that is to wit, all the Coast from Mount Taurus along by Mesopotamia, Syria and Phenice, vnto Ægypt; wherein wee comprehend the land of Palestine or Iewrie as the middle thereof, which by the auncient Greeke and Latin Historiographers, (who were vnskilfull in Geographie) is diuersly accounted and allotted to the greater Countries that lye round about it, accordingly as it bordereth vpon them; one while to Syria, another while to Ægipt; some time to Phenicia, and some time to Araby the desert. And therefore as touching tyme and antiquitie, it is good reason that wee should beleeue the Histories of those Nations, and not of the Greekes or of the Latins, who are but pong babes in respect of the others; especially seeing that wee would thinke it a thing worthy to be laughed at, if a man should stand to the iudgement of the sto-

ries of Iewrie in the matters of the Greekes. But nowe let vs heare their contradictions.

Obiections.

If the world be so new (say they) whereof commeth it that it is so well replenished and full of people? Nay rather, if it bee without beginning, or of so greate antiquitie as thou surmizest; how happeneth it that it hath not alway bene knowen? whereof commeth it that it is euen yet so slenderly peopled? how comes it too passe that it is not throughly inhabited in all places, or at least wise in the best places of the worlde, where euen in our tyme are found both Iles and mayne Lands well habitable, and yet vninhabited?

The World scarce knowen in old time.

It is not past a hundred yeres ago, since we knewe nothing at all of more then the better halfe of the world. Wee were but at the enterance of the earth, and wee thought our selues to haue bin come to the full knowledge of Geographie. We thought our selues to haue knowen the vttermost Coastes of the world, when as we had not yet passed the Southcircle which diuideth ꝑ world in twayne. And yet notwithstanding, he that had spoken otherwise, should haue bene counted of most men for a foole. Yea and euen yet still at this day, we know nothing of ꝑ mayne Land of the South, & but very little of the North. It is not past two hundred yeres ago, since the Swedians sent the first inhabiters into the country of Groneland: and both Scotland and Ireland (being in our part of the world) are yet still halfe barbarus.

Reade the Nauigations of the Portingales and Spaniards.

Ye shall reade in Cæsars Commentaries, that in his tyme Germanie was a continuall Forest, wherein a mã might haue gone 50. daies iourney ere he could see any end of it, and that the people thereof were sauage and beastly, sacrifysing their owne Children to their Goddes. He seemeth heere to speake of the Cannibals or the people of Brasilie. It was long time after ere the Romanes durst aduenture ouer farre in that Countrie. Whereby it appeareth that all the auncient Townes and Cities which stand vppon the Riuers of Rhyne and Danowe, towardes Fraunce and Italy, did serue rather for a Banke or a Iettie against the ouerflowing of the Germanes, than for Fortresses to assayle them withall. Euen in the tyme of Tacitus, what were the people on the Sea coast of Germanie? What were the Saxons in the time of Charles the greate? And a feawe hundred yeeres agoe, what were the Lowe Countryes of Germanie, which at this day be the flourishingest people of all Ewrope? The same is to be sayd of Ingland in Cæsars time; and likewise of Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, if we mount a little higher. For seeing that Roome is the

olde

oldest citie of the Latines; how happeneth it that Alexander (who sought newe worlds to conquer) knewe it not by the statelynesse thereof: how happeneth it þ he knewe as litle also of the Frenchmen and Spaniards, of whom all the auncient Histories speake either nothing at all, or els with wonderfull ignorance? And what shall we say of Ephorus, whom men account the diligentest Historiographer of them all: As great a Countrie as Spayne or Iberia is; he writeth thereof in such sort, as if it were but only one towne. Also what was Greece afore the tyme of Orpheus and Amphion, who (as Thucidides reporteth) drewe the Greekes out of their Forrests and Fennes, about the tyme of the warres at Troy? And where learned Orpheus to lay away his owne sauagenesse, but in Ægypt? The holy Bible it selfe when it speaketh of the Greekes and of the lesser Asia, speaketh of them as of Ilands, that is to say, as of Countries that were furthest of from the knowledge of that time. Thus doe yee see the latenesse of the Westerne Nations; whom I call so, as in respect of the rest of the whole world, and of the Centre and middle poynt thereof, which I haue taken too bee from Mount Taurus vnto Syria.

Thucidides in his first booke.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Now let vs see the Easterne Nations also. The Countrie of India beyond the River Ganges, was vnknowen in the tyme of Alexander, who notwithstanding had cast the platforme of his Conquest, on that side of the world. And his Pylots which went to seeke new Worlds, passed not beyond the Iland of Sumatra then called Taprobane, which is vnder the Equinoctiall and Easterly a great way of from the Molucques. And when it was tolde the Romanes that a Ship was found which by the commaundement of Necho King of Ægypt had sayled about all the Coast of Affrike, they tooke it for a fable: and therefore much lesse did they euer come at Iaua the lesse or Iaua the more, or at the firme Land which is next vnto them. To be short, they did not ordinarily passe the Streytes of Gibraltar; by reason whereof their greatest Philosophers could lesse skill of the nature and course of the Tydes, than the meanest Seamen or Sailer of our time. Now then what is to be said of Plinie with his Dogheaded men, his Oneeyed men, his Longeares, his Centaures, his Pygmees, and his Cyclopes, seeing that in all the Countrie where he planteth them, wee finde Men, Cities, and Kingdomes, no lesse whit flourishing than the same wherein hee himselfe was; and as for any lykelyhod of that which he writeth of those things, we find none at all: As touching

Herodotus, lib. 4.

the Southcountryes and the Northcountryes, that is to wit, beyond the Circles of the two Poles: The fower Empyres which haue bene so renowmed, neuer heard speaking of them but at random, and much lesse extended them selues so farre; in so much that euen we our selues know but a little of them, which Tempest and Shipwrecke hath taught vnto vs.

What win wee then by this discourse? Verely that the World was not knowne of all those great Empyres, and much lesse of them that liued vnder their subiection. And that it was not peopled all at once, but that as folke ouerswarmed in a place, and chaunced to hit vpon a man that was aduentrus, they spred themselues further and further vnder his guyding, into the Countries nert vnto them. And (to be short) that the nærer any Countries were to our foresayd Centre, the sooner were they inhabited, made ciuill, and manured: which thing appeareth more plainly euen by the very genealogie of the World. Therefore let vs take our Centre to be eyther the toppe of Mount Taurus where it is called Caucasus, and where Stories report the Arke of Noe to haue rested; or els the playne of Sennaar, where Moyses sayth that the Languages were confounded, and folke dispersed abroade; or els some place of Mesopotamia, (for it skilleth little in respect of the world) and by considering the auncientest Estates, we shall finde the States of Assyria, of Syria, of Ægipt, and of Persia to haue bin nerest to our Centre, and that the State of Assyria was the greatest of them all, and yet in very trueth but small in comparison of the States that succéded it. From þ Assyrians, the Monarchie came to the Persians; from the Persians, to the Greekes; frō the Greekes, to the Latins; from the Latins, to the Frenchmen; and from the Frenchmen to the Almanes, accordingly as Countries multiplyed their habitations, and that their people growing in Ciuilitie, matched their force with wisedome: And Spayne which heretofore was counted the vttermost part of þ World, is now become þ first discouerer of the newe World. But let vs goe on with the East parts: from the Persians wee goe to the Indians, and from the Eastindians to the Westindians, so long vntill wee come to their vttermost Coast, which is the selfesame place where the Spanyards found their first landing. And surely if two folke should kæpe on their way continually, the one on the one side and the other on the other (that is to say, the one Eastward and the other Westward:) in the ende they should mæte both together, if there were firme land all the way for them

The proceeding or growing foreward of the World.

them to go vpon. And in very deed, like as Ireland, a part of Scotland, Laplond, and Groneland, being the vttermost parts of our side of the World, are as good as sauage: so also be the vttermost inhabiters of the Westindies, namely Canada, Baccalea, Brasilie, and Petagon, which are descended of the Eastindies. And contrarywise like as in our Countries, the more they tend towards the Centre which I haue taken, the mo tokens haue they of their antiquitie; as, Fraunce mo than Germanie; Italy mo than Fraunce; Greece mo than Italy; Ægipt mo than Greece; and so forth of the rest: So the Spanyards, who in their first Conquestes found but Cotages and Bogges; did at their entering further into the Land, finde goodly Cities wel inhabited, orderly distinction of Commons and Nobilitie, Ministers of Justice and men of Warre, Trades and Handycraftes well gouerned, Histories of their doings, wonderfull antiquities, Towers passing the Pyramyds of Ægipt, and whatsoeuer els the world hath counted wonderfull. And out of doubt the nearer they come to the Centre of that part, the more shall they find still. For there is no man ignorant nowadayes what goodly great Cities and flourishing Kingdomes, haue within these fewe yeres bin discouered in the Westindies: And where it commeth to face the Eastindia with the Sea betwixt them both; there we see the great Empyre of China, so beautifull, so flourishing, and so well gouerned in al respects; that the ciuilest tyme of all the Romane Empyre, may well seeme vnto vs to haue bene barbarous in comparison of that. It is in effect all one as though the Westerne Indians making Conquests vpon vs as we haue done vpō them, should haue arriued at the first in Ireland, Scotland, or Groneland; for as little could they haue sayd of vs, as wee of them. And whereas it may be replyed, that although the people there be rude, yet notwithstanding it hath euermore bin peopled: Let it be added thereunto, that in following the Coastes, men haue found many Countries euen yet vnpeopled. And also that euen in the best peopled places of all their Conquestes, they haue not found the tenth part of so much people as the Countrie being manured were able to beare; whereas on the contrary part, in our Countries the Nations doe pester one another. And wheras our very vttermost borders are more frequented then theirs; the cause therof is, that ours be much nearer the Centre which I set downe, then theirs bee; as the Cosmographers doe easly perceyue. Whereupon it hath come to passe, that the people which haue bene spred abroade from our

An History of the Realme of China.

Centre

Centre vnto the vttermost Coasts of the frosen Sea, finding themselues more multiplyed than their Lands were able to maintayne, and being not able to go any further for the Sea that hemmed thē in; haue rebounded backe againe vppon the next Countries, as namely the Cymbrians vppon the Almanes and Romanes, and afterward the Gothes vpon Italy and Fraunce, the Humes vpon Pannoye, the Vandales vpon Spayne, and lastly the Turkes and Tartarians vpon all Europe. Which thing hath not happened vppon the other part of the Worlde, because of the large scope of their Countrey, which emptyeth the Easterne Indya into ẏ Westerne; The Westerne into newe Spayne; newe Spayne into Brasilie; and Brasilie into the Southerne land, wherof not so much as the Seacoast is yet knowne. Neither befell it so vnto vs in the first ages, because our part of the Worlde was not yet sufficiently peopled to ebbe backe againe: but it befell chiefly a little afore or a little after the comming of Jesus Christ, that is to wit, towards the perfect age of the Worlde. To bee short, were there neuer so much people, yet were it no wonder to him that would take the peynes to account what onely one offspring might amount vnto in one hundred yeares, and how many one man might see to come of himselfe in his owne lifetyme; which in another hundred yeare might increase into an infinite multitude. The Empyres haue alwaies extended their largenesse towards the North and the South, but yet more Northerly than Southerly, because the Centre which I take, is still afore towards the North, and in the temperatest Clymate of our halfe Globe, that is to wit, towards the 35. and 40. degrees (or thereabouts) of the Equinoctiall lyne, which diuideth ẏ Worlde euen in the middest; which thing I desire the Readers to mark aduisedly. And truely Iseland (which in old tyme was called Thule,) was knowne in the tyme of great Alexander, notwithstanding that it be situate about 68. degrees North; whereas yet for al that, the greatest part of Affrick was vnknowne to them, and the vttermost reach of their knowledge was the Ile of Taprobane, which neuertheless are but vnder the Equinoctiall: so farre of were they from attayning to ẏ Southpole. To be short, the Coast of Affrick or Barbarie & of Spayne, was peopled by the Phenecians, whom we reade to haue bin long tyme Lords of the Sea. And the Commonweale of Carthage, which was so highly renowmed and reached so farre of, was an ympe of Tyrus the chiefe Citie of Phenecia, which bordered vpon Iewrie. For Tyrus sent thether the one

halfe

halfe of their people; whereupon it was called Carthago, that is to say, the halfe towne. And the first people that dwelled there, went into that Countrey by a narrowe peece of drye land called Catabathmos, which is a falling ground that ioyneth Palestine vnto Ægipt, as remayned yet still to bee read in the tyme of the Hystoriographer Procopius, vpon a Piller in Tingie a Citie of Affrick, set there by the inhabitants of Chanaan which had fled away from the sight of Iosua. And in good sooth, as appeareth by many sententes of S. Austins, the Punicke tongue was but a kinde of seuerall proprietie of the Hebrew. Strabo. lib. 3. Plutark in the lyfe of Scipio.

Some perfit yet still in demaunding, from whence the Southland, the Countrie of Brasilie, the Land of Perow and such others could be peopled? And whence I pray you was Affricke peopled, for the replenishing whereof thou canst not but knowe that inhabitants were sent thether both by Sea and by Land? Affrick was peopled first by the foresayd narrow peece of drye Land called Catabathmos, and afterward refreshed agayne by the streyghts of Gibraltar. And the Southland was peopled on the one side by the Ile of Taprobane, & on the other side by the streyghts of Magellan which do butt there vpō Brasilie. And Perow likewise was peopled by the narrowe poynt of land called Darien, by the which way Brasilie also was peopled. At such tyme as the Spanyards entered first into that great Mesle which conteyneth both Brasilie and Perow, they thought it to haue bin an Iland. In like maner, if the Perouians had landed in Affrick by the Athlantick Sea, and had found so long a side as the side of Affrick is that stretcheth vnto the red Sea, so as they being wearied with following it as the Romanes were, had made the like question: we would then haue mocked at them because we knowe the passage whereby men came thether: and they haue like occasion to mock vs, because they know theirs. But yet agayne, from whence came the people which are spred abroade from the Land that is called newe Spayne by the streyght of Daryen? Procéede on yet a little further, and thou shalt finde Cathay and Indya ioyning to that Land; and Groneland facing it on the Northside; and the streyght of Anian on the West side, which is almost as nére within the viewe of it as Spayne is vnto Affrick by ỹ streyghts of Gibraltare. And I pray you what more maruell is it that they should haue passed by that streyght, than that the Latins passed into Sicilie by the Fare of Messana, or that the Vandales passed into Affrick and ỹ Sarzins into Spayne The Histories of Affricke.

by

by the sayd streyghts of Gibraltare? But the mischiefe is, that nothing can suffize vs for proofe of the trueth, but for witnesse against it, we admit both Ignorance, Heresay, and Doubts, and the very least suspitions or surmizes that cã come in our mynd. For I pray you what can bee more childish, (or rather as Varro sayth in his Eumenides) more worthie of Hell; than to say that men sprung vp in a Countrey as Bætes and Rapes doe? After that maner were the Athenians called Aborigenes, that is to say, Homebred or bred in that place: and in token thereof they wore a Grasshopper in their Cappe or Bonet: insomuch that Aristides to flatter them withal, told them that their Territorie was the first that euer bore men; and yet for all that, there had bin whole Realmes of men in Syria, afore there were any mẽ in Greece. The Latins also would vaunt themselues of the same: but Dennis of Halycarnassus and Porcius Cato acknowledge them to haue come out of Achaia. Aske the Sauages, and they will say the very same that these Sages say: for they knowe neither one thing nor other, further than their owne remembrance can reach.

Aristides in his Pantheuaik.

But goe to Moyses, and he will tell you the Originalles of the first Nations, and the Genealogie of the whole World. And the names of them remayning from thence vnto vs, will put the matter out of all doubt to a man of vnderstanding. For of Noe by his eldest Sonne Iaphet, issewed the Gomerians or Cymbryans, the Medes, the Ionians who were the first inhabiters of Greece, the Twiscons Duchmen or Almanes, the Italians, and the Dodoneans: namely of Gomer, Maday, Iauan, Aschenes, Elisa, and Dodanim. By Cham there issewed the Chananites, the Ægiptians, the Libyans, the Sabeans, and so forth; who retayned the names of his Children, that is to wit, of Chanaan, Misraim, Lud, Saba, and so forth: For Misraim in Hebrewe betokeneth Ægipt. By Sem there descended the Elamites & Persians, the Assyrians, the Chasdeans or Chaldees, ꝑ Lydians, the Aramites or Syrians, the people of Ophir & others; that is to wit, of Elam, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram, Ophir, and others. And these names were written and recorded by Moyses, afore those Nations were of any reputation, and they remayne yet still among the Hebrewes at this day. Now loke in what measure these fathers of houses increased their Children, so did euery of them spred out his braunches a farre of, insomuch that the ofspring of that stock did couer and ouershadow the whole earth, and the Arke of Noe did after a maner sayle ouer

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the whole world.

But here is an Obiection which seemeth stronger. These reasons (say they) do bring vs vp to the Flud; but as ꝑ Flud brought mankynd to that small number, whereby the World was by little and little renewed agayne: So may it be that there were other former Fluds, that had done the like afore; so as this latter Flud was rather a renewing of the World, than a first beginning therof. And to this purpose they will alledge this saying of Plato in his Timæus, that the ouerflowings of waters and the burnings by fire, doe from tyme to tyme refresh the World, and destroy the remembrance of the former ages, and also of all Artes, Sciences, and other Inuentions. This is worthie of some examination. Surely of Burnings eyther vniuersall or any thing great in respect of the whole world, there is no mention found in any Storie. Also of any other generall Flud, than that which wee take to bee the first, and last, there is as little to be found, vnlesse they will apply that name to the ouerflowings of Riuers in some smal quarter, or to the winning of the Sea by force of his breaking into some Countrey a League or twayne, which can nothing serue to this purpose. And if their alledging of it in that behalfe be vnfeinedly and in good earnest as I beleeue it is; well mought they fare for their confession. For then will I aske them whether this Flud were vniuersall, or particular but to some one Countrey. If it were particular; how commeth it to passe that all Nations confesse it to bee vniuersall? And how commeth it to passe also that the Countries which had no part thereof, haue no incling thereof eyther in memorie or in writing? Or if it were vniuersall; did any men escape from it, or no? If none escaped, how then come wee to the knowledge of it? And whence are we also, but of a new Creation? And he that was able to create vs agayne, why was he not able to create vs also afore? If some escaped, as all of vs do consent that there did: why beleeue we them not as well in the things that went afore the Flud, as we beleeue them concerning the Flud it selfe? And who bee those that escaped but Noe and his sonnes, who leade vs to the first beginning both of the World and of men? For in al the Histories of the Heathen, what finde wee thereof worth the alledging? Againe, I demaund whether this sayd Flud and others which they pretend to haue abolished the remembrance of the former tymes, befell by chaunce or by prouidence? If by chaunce; was it not possible, that of so many which may perchaūce haue bin eyther from euerlasting

An Obiection of Fluddes taken out of Plato.

or of very old tyme, perchaūce not so much as any one should haue escaped: Or if by Prouidence; by whose prouidence should it be but by Gods: or who could haue power to vndoe and confound this worke, but only he that made it: And what warrant hast thou that he destroyed it more than once, seeing thou art inforced to graunt that he made it but once: May, it may be that it befel through some Coniunction of the Starres. And who told them so: And if they knowe so much thereof, let them tell vs what Starres. I omit to tell them that such Coniunctions (as they themselues teach) threaten not the whole World, but some small part thereof. After this maner did the Astrologers say, that in the yere 1524. there should mete the like Coniunction as was at the generall Flud, by reason whereof the whole earth should be couered with water: and yet as (Viues sayth) a fayrer yere was neuer seene. To bee short, all things will goe for payment with these folke, sauing the trueth.

The obiection of Auerrhoes.

But see here their last Ankerhold. How happeneth it (sayth Auerrhois) that God forbore so long, and where had hee that newe deuice of making the world: Silly soule that thou art! which gloriest in asking Questions whereas skill consisteth in answering. Thou wilt needes proue the world by thy reasons to bee without beginning: and yet in thyne words which thou hast spoken, thou shewest ỳ thou knowest not what eternitie or euerlastingnes is. In eternitie (frend myne) there is neither length nor shortnes of time: the euerlasting prouidence is not tyed to new casualtie. Consider that thou art a man. The Plants cannot iudge of Sence; the Beastes cannot iudge of the drift of Reason; neither canst thou which art subiect to tyme, iudge of eternitie which is without time. For if euen thy litle Babe which is in time, cannot conceiue what tyme is: how shall hee that is but in tyme, vnderstand the euerlastingnes of the euerlasting: After that maner the brute beasts (if they had speech) would decipher the reache of thy wit according to their owne imagination. And thou wouldest mocke at them if they should goe about to describe what thy memorie is, which ioyneth past, present, and to come all in one. And how thinkest thou thy self able to iudge of eternitie, which altrest with the Winds, with the Mones, and with the seasons of the yere; euery day, euery howre, and euery minute: Askest thou why God forbore so long tyme: May rather, aske why God listed to make the tyme it selfe; for in one vndeuidable moment is eternitie ioyned both to ỳ beginning and to the ende of tyme. Learne this also, that where there is any

bound

bound or end, there is no long tyme. The long time of a Worme, is a moneth; of an Ant, a yere; of a Horse, thirtie yeres; of a man, a hundred yeeres; of all mankind, certeine thousands of yeres; of tyme it selfe, a certeine space of tyme; and the terming of any of all their times long, is in respect of the long continuance of their life in time; but vnto him that made tyme, nothing indureth lesse whyle than time. Put the case that the world haue lasted a hundred thousand yeres, or (if ye will) ten hundred thousand, what shall ye gaine by that? That the world shall haue bene of the greater antiquitie. But in respect of whom? of God, or of thy selfe? of a Worme, or of a Spirit? of eternitie, or of tyme? And what is all that in comparison of infiniteneſſe? Is not ỹ Question all one still? Whence is this deuice? whence is this chaunce? as well in a hundred, as in a thousand, and as well in a thousand as a thousand thousand? Yet was the deuice and purpose eternall, notwithstanding that the execution thereof be in tyme, insomuch that he hath brought forth tyme, and tyme is a measure of mouing, and mouing procueth a beginning, and the beginning which it taketh is euer newe. Thou then which by a mouing hast a beginning proued vnto thée, giue ouer thy surmised eternitie and confesse a newneſſe of tyme, for nothing is newer than tyme. With like reason mayst thou demaund why God made the World rather here than elsewhere. For these distinctions of time and place were created and brought forth together at one instant with the World, so as they be neither without it nor afore it. He that is without tyme and without place, made both tyme and place; and if he had bin subiect to tyme and place, as thou imagineſt; he could not haue made eyther place or tyme. Yea, but what did hee then (sayest thou) afore the worlde and out of the world? Once agayne amend thy plea. For in God there is neyther afore nor after, within nor without. But surely it is a goodly question, and welbeseeming a great wit. Afore thy Clocke or thy building was made, thou diddest not ceaſſe to liue and to delight thy selfe in the perfectneſſe of thyne Arte; and afterward thy building added nothing vnto thée, but thou vnto thy building. Thou wouldest haue bin ashamed to haue asked of Scipio what he did at home in his house in the Countrie, after he had giuen ouer the affayres of the Commonweale and the warres: and he would haue answered thée ỹ he was neuer lesse vnle than when he was vnle, nor lesse alone than when he was alone. And yet thou thinkest that it stode God greatly on hād to make this goodly palace of ỹ world for thée,

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and to harber such blasphemers as thou art therein, as if he could not haue forborne thée, or liued without thy compahie. God did the same thing without the world, which he doth still with the world: that is to wit, he is happie in himselfe. The world hath nothing at all augmented his felicitie or happinesse. But to the intent (as ye would say) to shed forth his happinesse out of himselfe, it liked him to create the world. Yea, but why did he it no sooner? What a number of faults are heere in one speech? Thou wilt nedes be priuie to the cause of Gods will in al things, and yet is Gods will the cause of the causes of all things. By eternitie thou haddest not bin able to haue knowne his power; for the Maiestie therof would haue made the darke; and it is so bright that thou couldest haue séene lesse, than thou couldest see now if thou wert lodged in ỹ body of the Sunne. Now he maketh thee to perceyue his power, by the creation of the world; his eternitie, by comparison of tyme; & his glorious brightnesse, by the shadowe thereof. By eternitie, thou couldest not haue knowne his wisedome; for thou wouldest haue deemed all things as wise as he, seeing they had bin as euerlasting as he. And what wisedome had remayned in him, if all things had bin of necessitie, and nothing at his owne choyce and libertie? But now thou seest his wisedome in the Stones, in the Herbs, in the dumb creatures, yea and euen in the workmanship of thy selfe. Thou seest it in the order, in the succession, and in the breeding of all things. Thou gasest at it in the greatest things, and thou wonderest at it in the smallest; as much in the Flye and the Ant, as in the whole Cope of heauen: wheras the eternitie of things would haue caused thée to haue attributed Godhead to the Skyes, the Starres, the Earth, the Rockes, the Mountaynes, and in effect to all things rather than thy selfe, as they did which were taught so to do. Also by this eternitie thou couldest not haue conceyued his goodnesse, because thou wouldest haue thought that GOD had had as much nede of the World, as the World had of him. Thou shouldest not haue knowen thy selfe to bee any more beholden to him, than to the fire for heating thée or to the Sunne for giuing thée light, because they should no more bee eyther fire or Sunne, if they forwent that nature. But he sheweth thée by the creation, both that he himselfe is euer, and that thou hast had thy being since the tyme that it pleased him to create thée: that he without thée is eternall; and that thou without his goodnesse haddest neuer bin that little which thou art: and to bee short, that he is not tyed to any nede or necessitie as Aristotles

ristotles God is, (which could not refuse to giue ỳ Will, but was tyed to it whether he would or no:) but that his doing of things is altogether of his owne infinite goodnesse, wherethrough he voutsafeth to impart himselfe vnto others, by making the thing to bee which was not; yea and by making the thing happie, which of it selfe could not so much as be. Now, had man any will or skill to acknowledge the power, wisedome, and goodnesse of his God: [I thinke not.] Then was it for thy benefite and not for his owne, that he made not the World eyther of greater antiquitie, or eternall. For had he made it eternall; (let vs so speake seeing ye will haue it so,) thou wouldest haue made a God of it, and thou canst not euen now forbeare the doing thereof. And had he made it of more antiquitie; thou wouldest haue made it an occasion to forget thy God; and for all the newnesse thereof, yet wilt thou not beare it in thy mynd. Then seeke not the cause thereof in his power. The cause thereof is in thyne owne infirmitie: Nay, the cause thereof is in his goodnesse, in that he intendeth to succour thyne ignorance. And so, notwithstãding al their obiections, we shall by this meanes hold still our conclusion, to wit, That the World is but of late continuance; That it had a beginning; and that concerning the tyme of the first beginning thereof, and concerning the continuance thereof vnto our daies, we ought to beléeue ỳ bookes of Moyses aboue all.

The ix. Chapter.

That the wisedome of the World hath acknowledged the Creation of the World.

SIth we haue seene with what consent ỳ whole harmonie of the World chaunteth the Creation therof and the praise of the Creator; now it followeth that we see what the wisedome of the world hath beléeued in that behalf: wherein we haue to cõsider the selfsame thing which we considered in the doctrine of the three Persons; that is to wit, that the nearer we come to the welhead thereof, the more cléerer we finde it: yea and it is also a schoolepoynt of Platoes teaching, That in these high matters of the Godhead, of the

Creation of the worlde, and of such other like, we must giue credite (as vnto a kynd of Demonstration,) to the sayings of men of most antiquitie, as folke that were better and nearer to God than wee. Here I should begin at Moyses, as the auncientest of all writers, and whom all the Heathen Authors doe honor and wonder at in their writings. And the very first worde of his booke simply set downe in these termes, In the beginning God created Heauen and Earth; ought to bee vnto vs as a maxime of Euclyde, which in those daies men were ashamed to call in question. But to the intent we confound not the word of God with the word of man, forasmuch as the folke with whom wee haue to deale, are such as refuse those whom they cannot accuse: let vs ouercome them rather by their owne Doctors. Certeynly whosoeuer will take the payne to cõferre Mercurius Trismegistus with Moyses, shall reape thereby most singular contentation. In Genesis Moyses describeth the Creation of the World; and so doth Mercurie likewise in his Pœmander. Moyses espyeth darknesse vpon the Waters: And Mercurie seeth a dreadfull shadowe houering on the moyst nature, and the same moyst nature as it were brooded by ỹ word of God. Moyses sayth that GOD spake, and forthwith things were made: and Mercurie acknowledgeth and bringeth in Gods worde shining, whereby he created the light and made the World and all that is therein. Moyses parteth the nature of moysture into twayne, the one mounting aloft which he calleth Heauen, and the other remayning beneath which he calleth Sea: And Mercurie seeth a light fire which he calleth Æther mounting vp as it were out of the bowelles of the moyst nature, and likewise an ayre casting it selfe betweene the water and the elementarie fire, which is nothing els but a more cleere and suttle ayre. The Sea and Land (sayth Moyses) were mingled together vntill God had spoken; and then by and by eyther of them toke his place by himselfe. After the same maner Mercurie sayth that those two Elements lying erst mingled together, seuered themselues asunder at the speaking of the spirituall worde which inuyroned them about. What more? God (say both of them) created the Starres and the Planets. At the voyce of his word, the Earth, the Ayre, and the Water, brought forth Beasts, Birdes, and Fishes. Last of all, God created man after his owne Image, and deliuered all his workes into his hand to vse them. Is not this a settingdowne not only of one selfsame sence, but also of the selfesame termes and words? But when as Mercurie addeth afterward,

The men of most antiquitie beleeued the Creation of the world.

Mercury in his Pœmander.

Mercury in his Pœmander, the. 1. & 3. cap.

afterward, that God cryeth out vnto his workes by his holy word, saying, Bring ye forth fruite, grow, and increase: may it not seeme vnto vs that we heare Moyses himselfe speaking? And as for the small differences which are in him concerning the seuen Circles, the Zones, and such other things; they serue greatly to the manifestation of the trueth; namely, that this maner of Mercuries writing, is not a bare borrowing or translating out of Moyses; but rather a tradition conueyed to the Ægiptians from the Father to the Sonne. In another place he sayth that God by his holy, spirituall and mightie working word, commaunded the daysonne to bee, and it was done: that the Sea and Land should bee seuered asunder; that the Starres should be created, and that Herbes should growe vp euery one with his seede, by force of the same worde. Also that the World is but an alteration, a mouing, a generating and a corrupting of things, and that it cannot be called good. These are conclusions cleane contrary to eternitie or euerlastingnesse. But forasmuch as [if I should set downe all his sayings which he hath to that purpose,] I should be fayne to copie him almost whole out: it is better for me to desire the Readers to go to the very place it self.

Mercurie alledged by Cyrillus in his second booke againſt Iulian the Renegate.

Mercurie in his holy Sermon.

Orpheus the auncientest of the Greekes, had bin in Ægipt as he himselfe sayth, and there he learned, That there is but one God, and that

Orpheus in his Argonawtes.

The Ayre, the Heauen, the Sea, the Earth, and Hell
With all the things that in them all doe dwell,

were harbered in his breast from all eternitie.
And also that

The running streames, the Ocean, Gods and Men,
Things present, things to come lay all at ease
In that wide lap of his: and that within
His belly large the bond lay lapped vp
Which holdeth all this great huge worke together.

And afterward he addeth further,

These things which yet lay hidden all
Within the treasure of his breast,
He into open light did call,
Creating as he deemed best
This stately stage, whereon to showe
His noble doings on a rowe.

And what els is this; than that God did euerlastingly hold the world hidden, (as the Apostle sayth) in the Treasurie of his infi-

nite wisedome: Or (as Dennis sayth) in the Closet of his purpose and will; and afterward brought it forth in tyme when it pleased him: And in another place, I sing (sayth he) of the darke confusion, I meane the confusion that was in the beginning, how it was disfigured in diuers natures, and how the Heauen, the Sea and the Land were made. And what more: I sing (sayth he) of Loue, euen of the Loue that is perfect of it selfe, of more antiquitie than all these things; and of all things which the same hath brought foorth, and set in order, yea of tyme it selfe. I haue alreadie heretofore declared what he meaneth by this Loue: namely, the goodwill of GOD; and that also doe euen some of the Hebrewes meane by the Spirit which Moyses speaketh of. To be short, he sayth that he himselfe made a booke of the Creation of the world, which was a common argument among the Poets of that tyme, as Empedocles, Hesiodus, Parmenides, and such others, which were all Philosophers. And in many places he reduceth all things to Water and to a certeyne Mud as to their original, which thing agreeth well enough to the deepe of Moyses. The like is done by Homer and Hesiodus, which came after him. For, Hesiodus maketh description, not only of the Creating of ỳ world and of the parts thereof; but also of the Chaos or confusion and of the Gods themselues. And whē Homer intendeth to curse a man, I would (sayth he) that thou mightest returne to Water and Earth: that is to say, I would thou wert not any more, as the time hath bene that thou wast not. To be short, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and the very Comedywriters speake after the same maner: and for proofe of them all, Ewripides shall suffize, who was the least religious of them all. The tyme hath bene (sayth he) that Heauen and Earth were but a lumpe: but after that they were separated, they ingendred all things, & brought to light the Trees, the Birds, the Beastes of the field, the Fishes, and Men themselues. For as for others, they speake more to the purpose, as Aratus, who sayth that God hath set the Starres in the Skye to distinguish the Seasons of the yeare: that he created all things: that men are his offspring: that by the signes of Heauen he ment to giue them warning of the chaunges of the Aire, and of Tempests. And the voyce of these Poets is to bee considered as the opinion of the people to whom they sung their Verses.

Now let vs go on with the auncient Philosophers. Pythagoras (by the report of Plutarke) saith ỳ the World was begotten of God,

τὸ ἀρχαῖον χάος. αὐτοτελὴς.

Orpheus in his Argonawtes.

Hesiodus in his booke of woorkes and Dayes, and in his Genealogie of the Goddes.

Plutark in his booke of the opiniõs of the Philosophers.

God, of it owne nature corruptible, because it was sensible and bodily; but yet that it is not corrupted, because it is vphild and maintayned by his prouidence. The same thing doth also Diogenes Laertius witnesse. And whereas Varro sayth that Pythagoras acknowledged not any beginning of liuing Wights: Architas his Disciple shall maintayne the contrary for his Maister: For his wordes are these: Of all liuing Wights man is bred most wise of capacitie to consider things, and to atteyne to knowledge, and to iudge of them all. For GOD hath printed in him the fulnesse of all Reason. And like as God hath made him the instrument of all Voyces, Sounds, Names and vtterances; so also hath he made him the instrument of all vnderstandings and conceyts, which is the workmanship of wisedome: And euen for that cause (saith he) doe I thinke that man is of Gods creating, and hath receyued his instruments and abilities at his hand. Thales one of the seuen Sages hild opinion, that all things had their beginning of Water, and that GOD created all things thereof, who is alonly vnbegotten, and hath not any end or any beginning. And againe, The World (sayth he) is most excellently beautiful, for it is the worke of God. Also being asked whether was first of the Day or the Night; he answered that the Night was sooner by one day: as if he had ment to say, that afore God had created the light, it must needes bee confessed that out of him there was nothing but darknesse. Now this Philosopher also as well as the rest had gone to Schoole in Ægipt.

Varro in his second booke of Husbandry.

Iamblichus one of the sect of Pythagoras, cyting Architas.

Laertius in the lyfe of Thales.

Plutark in his banket.

Timeus of Locres termeth Tyme the Image of eternitie, and sayth that it toke his beginning from the creating of Heauen and Earth, and that God created the very Soule of the World afore the World it selfe, both in possibilitie and in tyme. To bee short, Plutarke affirmeth that all the naturall Philosophers of old time, hild opinion that the begetting or creating of the World began at the Earth as at the Centre thereof: and that Empedocles sayth that the finest kynd of Aer which they cal Æther, was the first part thereof that was drawne vp on high. And Anaxagoras is reported by Simplicius, to affirme that God (whom he calleth Mynd or Vnderstanding) created the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne and the Starres; and scarsly is there any one to bee found, which teacheth that tyme is without beginning.

Some of Platoes latter Disciples, (as namely Proclus writing against the Christians) would needes beare their Mayster

Aristole in his eighth booke of naturall Philosophie.

downe, that he beléeued the world to haue had no beginning. But if wee may beléeue Aristotle, who was a scholler of his a two and twentie yéeres; he taught that the world was created; and it is one of the chief Principles wherein they most disagrée. Philo who was as another Plato, saith that Plato had learned it of Hesiodus. And Plutarch who sheweth himselfe to haue perused him throughly leafe by leafe, speaketh of him in these words. There are (sayth he) some studyers of Plato, which by racking his wordes, indeuer by all meanes to make him deny the creation of the World and of the Soule, and to confesse the euerlastingnesse of time, notwithstanding that in so doing they bereeue him of that most excellent treatise of his concerning the Goddes, against the despysers and skorners of whom in his tyme he wrate. And what needeth any thing to be alledged for proofe thereof, seeing that his whole booke of Timeus is nothing els but an expresse treatise of the Creation of the World? The same thing also doth Aphrodisius witnesse concerning Plato. In his booke intytled Athlantick, he termeth the world a thing Longago created. In his matters of State he sayth that the world was setled and founded by God, and that it cõteyneth store of good things, and that the troublesomenesse which it hath, is but a Remnant or Remaynder of the former confusion. Also Socrates in his booke of Commonweale, termeth it Θεὸν γενητὸν A Godhead begotten or created. And which of the auncient writers did euer doubt, that Plato taught not the Creation of the World, considering that he hath made descriptions, both of all the parts thereof, and of the Gods themselues? And also that he sayth that the world was created corruptible of it selfe, but yet abode immortall and uncorruptible through the grace of God which vpholdeth it? But let vs examin the racking which Proclus offereth vnto him. Plato (saith he) affirmeth in his Commonweale, that whatsoeuer hath a beginning hath also an ende: Now the World, as he sayth in his Timeus, shall haue no end: Therefore it followeth that it had no beginning. If another man should reason after that maner against Proclus, Proclus would laugh him to skorne: for he shifteth the termes: and yet our Soules which he concludeth to be without end, faile not to haue had a beginning. But though we were neuer so wel contented to let him passe: yet doth Plato assaple him in one word. The world (saith he) is corruptible of it selfe, for euery thing that is compounded, may also be dissolued: but it is not Gods will

Plutark in the Opinions of the Philosophers, and in the creation of the Soule.

Aphrodisius as he is alledged by Simplicius vpon the bookes of Heauen. τὸν παλαι γεγονότα.

that

that it should bee corrupted. And myne ordinance (sayth the euerlasting) is of more power to make thee to continue, than thine owne Nature is to make thee to perish. The which thing he speaketh yet more shortly in another place, saying that the world hath receyued an Immortalitie at the hand of the workmayster which made it. Now then, seeing that by Nature it may perish; surely by Nature it had a beginning: and the power that hath preserued it from perishing, is the very same that made it to bee. Proclus addeth: Plato propoundeth a Question (sayth he) whether the World was created after the patterne of a thing forecreated, or of a thing without beginning. Therefore he dowted whether it were eternall or no. What a conclusion was this for a great Philosopher? I aske whether men bee bred of themselues or created of another; therefore I vphold that they be bred of themselues: as who would say that in disputing, it were not an ordinary matter to set down both the Contraries, for the affirming of ye one and the denying of the other. Agayne, if it were begotten or created after ye example of a thing aforecreated, could it be beginninglesse, seeing that the patterne thereof had a beginning? And if it were created after the example of a thing vncreated, can it come to passe that it should be euerlasting, seeing that it is not the very patterne it selfe? No: but as I haue sayd afore, wee admit horned arguments against the trueth, whereas in defence of the trueth the perfectest demonstrations suffize vs not. Also in another booke intytled of a String he sayth thus: Plato in his booke of Lawes sayth that Commonweales and Artes haue infinite tymes bin vtterly destroyed by Waterfluds and Burnings, and therefore that men cannot certeinly say from what time men haue first growne into Commonweales: Ergo, he beleeued that the World had no beginning. Nay, he sayth these things in his Timeus, which is the booke whereof thou canst not dowt, but that he treateth there expressely of the Creation of the World. And he repeateth the same agayne in his booke of Commonwealematters, hauing sayd afore, that God created Heauen & Earth, the Starres and Gods. Now then, seeing it is one selfsame Author that speaketh these things, and in one selfesame place, and one immediatly after another: is it not certeyne that he ment not to match cleane contrary doctrines together? What is to be sayd then, but that he spake there after the maner of the common multitude, who (as Aristotle sayth) doe call the things infinite, which they be not able to

Plato in his commonweale.

αθανασίαν επικευάσθην πάρα τῶν δημιουργῶν.

number? Or as Moyses himselfe speaketh, who calleth the things eternall, euerlasting or endlesse, which are of very long cõtinuance, notwithstanding that he make a booke expressely of the Creation of all things? But in deede it was a surmize of the auncientnesse of the World, which Plato (as it should seeme) had brought home out of Ægipt, accordingly as the report of Solon sufficiently declareth, who telleth him that the Ægiptians had Registers of nyne thousand yeres, that is to say (as Plutarke interprets it) nine thousand Moones.

Against Aristotles Eternity.

But let vs come to Aristotle, to whom this opinion doth properly belong. For although some of his Schollers being ashamed on his behalfe, would fayne beare him on hand that he was of another opinion, or at leastwise that he held it as a doubtfull poynt; yet notwithstanding his sentences in that case are too certeine, too clere, and too manifest, for them to goe about to cloke his opinion. But seeing he was so bold as to remoue the former bound settled by the authoritie and beleefe of all that went afore him: needes must it bee that he had very expresse termes, and very certeyne Demonstrations. And I pray you let vs see what maner a ones they be? From the mouings that are here beneath, he leadeth vs to the mouings that are aboue, and from them to a first mouer. Hetherto he is wel. But afterward he will haue this first mouer to moue euerlastingly, and therefore that tyme should be euerlasting also. Neyther the ground nor ỹ consequence of this argument are aughtworth. How will ye proue that the first mouer moueth eternally? May contrariwise, mouing argueth a beginning. For in mouing there is a certeyne poynt from whence the mouing is made, vnto another poynt wherto it tendeth: and euen according to Aristotles owne doctrine, forenesse, afternesse, and continuance of tyme do followe forenesse, afternesse, and continuance of mouing: and that implyeth a manifest contrarietie to the definition of mouing from place to place. And that tyme should be beginninglesse, what els is it to say, than that tyme is not tyme, and (as ye would say) an implying of contradiction in the very word it self? For what els is tyme according to Aristotle himselfe, than the number of mouing by forenesse and afternesse, by past and to come. And if it be a number, where is the infiniteneſse thereof become? And if there be afore and after, where is the eternitie thereof? In another place he sayth, that mouing is eternall because tyme is eternall; and that the cause why time is so, is that it is alwaies ioyned to that which is past. I pray you what a childish-

Aristotle in his. 1. 3. & 8. bookes of naturall Philosophie: In his first booke of the Heauens. and in his first booke of the breede of liuing things.

a childishnesse is this? By the same reason I may say that the mouing of a Mill, or the stirring of any liuing wight is eternall: for in those cases euery instant followeth immediatly in the necke of that which is past, no lesse than in the mouing of tyme; and yet wee bee not ignorant that they haue a beginning. But like as there is a certeyne first forthsetting in those, so is there also in the mouing of the Heauen, who is the breeder of tyme. And Algazel answereth Auerrhois very well vpon this poynt; That loke what a poynt or pricke is in things that hold on whole vnbroken of; the same is an instant or moment in things that immediatly or continually succeede one after another: and that as a poynt or pricke is the beginning of a lyne, so an instant is the beginning of tyme: & Auerrhois could not disproue this reason, otherwise than by flowting him for it. He replyeth yet agayne, and sayth; Yea but if the World had a beginning, how shall the maker thereof be voyd of alteration? To such a question as this is, me thinkes he himselfe should answere thus: That the alledging of an inconuenience asswageth not the question. But good Sir Philosopher! By your seeking to bring vs to this inconuenience, you graunt at leastwise that God created Nature. And is it not a straunge ouersight in you, that you will needes tye him to the lawes of Nature, which is the maker of Nature? and measure the power and libertie of the Clockmaker, by the subiection of the Clocke vnto him? Art thou not ashamed to yeeld lesse preheminence to GOD, than to thy King whom thou exemptest from subiection to his lawes, because he is the maker of the lawes? I pray thee what a thing were it, if thou shouldest vndertake but only to measure Nature by thyne owne wit? What a number of tymes hast thou found thy wit to stumble at the least things? How often hast thou found it against thy selfe? Now, if Nature goe beyond the reach of thy wit, how farre shall the very maker of nature outgoe it? Thou canst not shift thy place without remouing; and therefore thou dreamest the like of God. But consider at leastwise that thy Soule or Mynd not being limited within any place, is the place of a thousand things, & that a thousand things are the place thereof. Againe, thy Soule cannot conceiue any thing, without passing from contemplation to action: no nor abyde in contemplation, without chaunge. Now thy desire is to haue GOD like thy selfe in this behalf. But if thou wilt not yeeld thy selfe to other mens reasons; at leastwise yeeld thy selfe to thyne owne reasons. For whereas thou sayst, that beyond the Heauen there is neither emptinesse

Algazel.

Aristotle in his first booke of Heauen, cap. 9.

nesse nor tyme; but that whatsoeuer is there, is exempted from all maner of tyme, mouing, chaunge, and passibilitie; and that in that vniuersall eternitie all things doe leade a most happie and welcontented life: darest thou say lesse of God, whom thou thy selfe doest place farre aboue all those things? The very brute Beastes would bable after that maner of the nature of thy Soule, yea and more to the purpose too. For wheras there is no comparison betweene God and thee; they yet haue a thing that doth somewhat resemble thee. For thou chaungest in doing, because thy doing is another thing than thy being; and the thing that thou amest at is out of thy selfe; which thing cannot chaunge for thee, and therefore thou art fayne to chaunge for it. Also thou chaungest in beholding; for the thing which thou beholdest, and thou which beholdest it, are two: and to bee short, in beholding, thou doest after a sort suffer at the thing which thou beholdest; & in doing, thou sufferest at the thing which thou doest: but vnto him which is the maker of al things, to be and to behold, to behold and to doe, to doe and to will are all one thing. For euen in willing a thing he hath done it, and his willing thereof is after a certeyne & determinate maner, (I vse humane wordes for the vttering of my meaning). To bee short, vnto him that beholdeth all things in himselfe, nothing can spring vp that shall bee new. Let vs now put the case, that the forealledged inconuenience be most to purpose; and let vs see at leastwise if thou canst skill to auoyde it in thyne owne opinion. If God (sayst thou) do make any thing new, he must needes chaunge his mynd. And yet thou sayest therewithall, that in all things which are done here beneath by naturall causes, there is a certeyne influence of God, at leastwise of the vniuersall influence vnder the which thou puttest all things. So speakest thou, so speaketh Auerrhois, so speaketh Proclus and the rest of you thereof. Now, seeing that GOD doth euery day a thousand newe things here beneath; I demaund of thee whether he doth them vpon new deuise, or vppon euerlasting forepurpose? If he doe them vppon newe deuise, thou stumblest at that which thou wouldest eschewe: for (by thy reckoning) God doth that which he did not afore, namely, in sheading forth his influence anewe, and in producing (by that influence) the thing that was not afore. Or if he do them vpon euerlasting forepurpose; then confessest thou that which thou meanest to denye: to wit, that God determined euerlastingly to make or doe things by his power, and that according to that determination, he giueth to euery thing in their tymes, whatsoeuer

Proclus concerning the Influence of the first cause.

soeuer hée had foreallotted them of his goodnesse. For what difference makest thou in the case betweéne one Plant, and all Plants: betweéne the Plant that is newe sprong vp to day, and the Plant that was withered a thousand yeeres agoe? betweéne the whole World, and the least thing conteyned therein; if thou be fayne to admit a new deuice, as well for the least thing as for the greatest: May thou hast deuised thée a God that is turned about vppon his Wheele, a God that hath but a little more wit than thy selfe, and a little more strength than thy selfe: and yet such are thy speeches of him sometime, that I cannot tell whither thou wouldest be contented to be likened to him or no.

Let vs see his other Reasons. All the auncient Philosophers (sayth he) sauing Plato, beleeued that tyme is without beginning. A strange case, that he which taketh so great pleasure in controlling all men that went afore him, will now needes shéld himselfe vnder them? But I haue alreadie proued that that saying of his is false. And againe what greater contraries can there be, than tyme and eternitie? Also, The Heauen (sayth he) is a diuine body, vncorruptible, the dwelling place of the Goddes, wherein there hath not any corruption bin seene that can be remembred: *Ergo* it is eternall. But how will he proue this Diuinitie, and this Quintessence of his? Whence will hée proue this vncorruptible nature? What wil he answere to this saying of his owne, that the Goddes and Godheads dwell aboue Heauen, and vtterly without the compasse or reache of tyme? Is not this a setting downe of that thing for a ground, which is the thing that resteth to be proued, and (to speake after his owne maner) a crauing of the principle? But if we beléeue Plutarke, who affirmeth that Aristotle helde opinion that the Heauen is a mingled nature of heate and moysture together; shall it not bee corruptible of it selfe as well as the grounds are whereof it is composed? hee addeth that the auncient Greekes called it Æther [as ye would say Ayrun] because it ronneth about continually. And what will hee answere to Plato, who saith that the Heauen or Skye is called Æther, of his brightnesse, in which respect also he calleth the Starre of Mars, Aithon. Also what will he answere to al the former Philosophers, who are of opinion that the Skye is as Christall composed of Water? And finally what is this Running about: but a departing frō one place to another? Soothly great reasons to maynteine eternitie; for if a man doe but breathe vpon them they vanish into smoke. And therfore

παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ θεῖν.

Plato in his Cratilus.

παρὰ τὸ ἀϊδῖον εἶναι.

Plotin in his booke of the world.
Damascius vppon the bookes of the Skye
Proclus in his second booke vpon Timeus.
Aristotle against Aristotle.

fore Plotin in his booke of the World, and Damascius in expounding Aristotles booke of the Skye, and Proclus in his second booke vpon Platoes Timeus, haue very well noted, that for the prouing of the eternitie, Aristotle hath set downe many things which neede none other disproofe than bare denyall, and which would be as hard for him to proue, as to proue the eternitie it selfe. What is to bee thought then, if euen by the propositions of Aristotle himselfe and of his Schollers, wee proue against him and his Schollers, that the World had a beginning? The World (say they) is eternall, and yet as eternall as it is, it dependeth vpon God. In that point they all agree. The disagreement among them is in this, that some of them make the depending thereof vpon God to bee as vpon an efficient cause, and some as vpon a finall cause, and euery of them draweth Aristotle to his side as much as he can. Now, if it depend vpon GOD, as an effect dependeth vpon his efficient cause; who seeth not that an effect is after his cause, and that there went a working power afore the effect distinguished essentially from the cause therof. And where is thē this goodly ground of theirs become, that the World is eternall because no foreworking power went afore it? Or if it depend vppon God as the finall cause thereof, that is to say, if it were for him and not from him; so as it was not a thing of his making, but a thing that he could not conueniently forbeare: whereseuer an ende is intended, is there not also a forecast? And where forecast is, can chaunce and necessitie beare there any sway? And if God had no neede of the World, was it not at his choyce whether it should be or no? And being at his choyce, can it bee beginninglesse, seeing that the being therof dependeth vpon another than it selfe? Againe, if the World depend vpon God as vpon the end thereof; the working power which they themselues require in the creation of all things, shall eyther haue gone afore it or not. If it must needes haue gone afore it; then was it not from euerlasting; for this word forego being a betokener of tyme, excludeth ỹ world from eternitie or euerlastingnesse. Or if there needed not any foreworking power to haue gone afore the world, but that it be simply an issewe proceeding from the force of the cause; why should it not proceede as well in tyme as from euerlasting, seeing that the sayd force or power is directed by Reason and by Will? And why then hold they this principle, That the World cannot be of creation, because that if it were so, some cause must needes haue gone afore it? Again, whence hath the Skye his beginning of mouing, but from

As in way of end.

an

an Instant: And whatsoeuer could be neuer so little a while without mouing, why might it not be without mouing a longer while, seeing that the respect is all one, both of eternitie vnto all tymes, and of infiniteneſſe vnto all places? Therefore whereas Aristotle sayth that the World (notwithstanding that it is eternall) dependeth vpon God; he graunteth consequently that it is not eternall. Secondly, contrary to the teaching of all that went afore him, he deliuereth vs three first grounds; namely, Matter, Substance, or Stuffe, forme, shape, or fashion, and Priuation, Want, or bereauing; and his Scholes are so greatly delighted therwith, that there is nothing els to bee heard spoken of in them. But if these be the first beginnings or grounds of things; where is then their eternitie? And if they keepe a circuit in going round about; how can it bee that they had not a beginning? Also how can a substance be imagined to be without forme, shape, or fashion; or forme, shape, or fashiō to be without a substance; seeing that euen misshapenneſſe it selfe is a kynd of shape, and also that a shape is nothing els than the forme or fashion of a substaunce? Moreouer, what greater absurditie can there be, than to make that a beginning of being, which hath by it selfe no being at all, nor can haue any being but in another thing, as if a man would make blindneſſe to bee the beginner of sight, or darkneſſe the beginner of light? Agayne, seeing that neither substance nor shape haue of themselues any being at all: how can they cause other things to bee? Or how comes it to passe ẏ two things which haue had no being at all, doe mēte together in one essence or being; but by vertue of the souereine Bēer, who hath willed and determined that it should be so? And if his willing or determining be the cause of the being of them; who is he that did set or appoynt him the terme wherein to doe them? But to excuse one vntrueth, a man telles a thousand; and to shift of one error, he falleth into ten thousand: and yet it cannot bee eschewed, but that the trueth will sparkle out of the Contrarietie of vntrueths, as fire sparkles out of the knocking of one Flintstone against another. In his booke of Problemes (which seeme notwithstanding to bee of many mens gathering,) he sayth concerning the ingendring of liuing things, that the small things, as Wormes, Cutfoules, and such other, are ingendred by the ordinarie alterations of the tyme, the greater by the greater alterations as things that haue nēde of greater beginnings or grounds; and that there hath in tyme past bin such an alteration, as of it selfe hath ingendred them, yea euen the notablest

Aristotle in his problemes Sect. 10. Probl. 64.

liuing

Sect. 10. Probl. 25.

liuing things and man himselfe, supplying therein both the roome of the efficient cause, and also of the materiall, both at once. And it may bee that that is the cause why Varro sayth that Aristotle beleeued that there was no beginning of liuing things, or that liuing things haue bene from euer without beginning. Also in another place he sayth, that there was such an alteration at the same tyme that liuing things were first brought forth; and that if it behoue Nature to bring forth any mo of them, there must be such another alteration going afore, namely, by a rare Coniunction of some Starres. And in another place he sayth further, that if Man and other liuing wights had a beginning; it was eyther in egge, in séede, or in wourme, and so forth. What a number of Monsters are heere for the stablishing of one Monstar, and yet he hath not alledged any thing which is not against himselfe. The lesser Coniunctions (sayth he) doe bréede the smaller liuing things, the meane bréede the meane, and the great ones bréede the great. Well, be it so. Yet these Coniunctions méet not but by the course of the Starres; and that course is a mouing, and euery mouing hath a beginning: and therefore it followeth that wights had a beginning. Againe, if the mouing of the Skye and of the Starres be euerlastingly; the Cõiunctions thereof are euerlastingly also, as Aristotle himselfe concludeth; and so on the contrary. For if it haue turned about from euerlasting, the Coniunctions haue likewise incountred from euerlasting. But euerlastingly they could not incounter: for the small ones, the meane ones, and the great ones are not all at once together, but they come seuerally one after another with the space of certeyne hundred yéeres, & with diuers reuolutions betwixt them: whereas if they were eternall, none of them could goe or come afore another. Therefore it followeth that there is a beginner of liuing wights, and a beginner of the goings about of the Skye and of all the whole order which we see: And that is euen God himself.

Aristotle in his third booke of the breeding of liuing wyghts.

Lucrece: The Wombes of the Earth grew fit for roots.

Aristotle in his xij. booke of Metaphisiks Chap. 7.

How much better had Aristotle done, if he had hild himselfe to that which he sayth well in other places; namely, that forasmuch as most things cannot haue a perpetuall continuance in the particular, that is to say in themselues, by reason of being too farre distant from their beginning: therefore God hath continued them by the spreading forth of their kind; and to that end hath made them male and female and ordeyned copulation betwixt them. For if we make the liuing things without beginning, doe we not make them to be euerlasting? And if we ground their beginnings vpon some reuo-

Aristotle in his second booke of Generation and Corruption. Cap. 10. and in his bookes of Comonweale.

lutions

lutions of the Skyes; can those Reuolutions be euerlasting? Also, how shall they haue bene brought forth, in full growth, or young, seeing that at the bringing forth of al things, the things are tender and vnperfect? And if the things be not euerlasting, where then is the euerlasting mouing of the Heauen: that is to say, where is Aristotles eternitie become? The same followeth also of that which he sayth in another place; namely that he which did first gather men together, was ỹ author of very great good. For in acknowledging that there was a tyme wherein folke liued like the men of Brasilie, or like the wandering Nomades; he acknowledgeth also an infancie of the World. For els what should let that men haue not bene either euerlastingly dispersed, or els euerlastingly vnited together? And how comes it to passe O Aristotle, that there haue not bene Aristotles from euerlasting? Agayne, who shall chose out the very instant in eternitie for the breeding and bringing forth of any thing particularly, but he that is the Lord of eternitie it selfe?

Aristotle in his Moralles commendeth godlinesse, and behighteth blessednesse to them that followe it; teaching vs that it consisteth in Contemplation. Now, seeing that this Contemplation or beholding is the meane to make vs blessed; it must needes bee the beholding of a thing that is right blessfull: but blessfull it cannot bee, if it consist in these inferiour things which are base and subiect to so many miseries and turmoyles: Therefore he meaneth the Contemplation which is the beholding of the only one God. Also in other places he sayth that our Soules are of a diuine nature, that they be immortal, that they come into vs from without, & that they be (after a sort) a kin to the Gods: and his Disciples would be offended at him that should say, that their Maister doubted of the immortalitie of the Soule. And whereto is all this, if the World bee eternall? If it be eternall; eyther our Soules also be eternall, that is to say without beginning, or els they be not eternall. If they be; how happeneth it that they haue imprisoned themselues in these our bodies? Or if they bee so imprisoned at the appoyntment of an other: who shall that other be but God? And if God appoynt or allot them to this newe state in tyme certeyne; who hath made one eternitie subiect to another? And what is then become of this Maxime of theirs, that the World is eternall because God maketh not any thing there a newe? Moreouer, if they be euerlasting; who hath made them proportionable to their bodies; that is to wit, infinite Soules to infinite Bodies? And thē what becomes againe of this

other

other Rule of theirs, that Nature cannot abyde any infiniteneſſe: Or if they bee euerlaſting and yet of ſome certeyne number, going and comming into newe bodies by courſe: is not that the opinion of Pythagoras, which Ariſtotle doth ſo greatly miſlike? And if our Soules at their departing out of our bodies, doe goe to the enioying of the bleſſed immortalitie; doth it not followe, that from after the paſſingouer of that reuolutiõ, men muſt moue without Soule, diſpute without reaſon, and iudge without mynd; yea and that euen Ariſtotle himſelfe ſpeaketh and reaſoneth without wit? To bee ſhort, what boteth it to bee godly or religious, if our Soules acknowledge no better thing than themſelues? What auayleth it to loke for the bleſſed Contemplation, if they bee perfectly bleſſed of themſelues? But perfectly bleſſed they be, if they be eternall. And whereto then ſerueth the rewarding of them with immortall life; if they haue the eternitie or immortalitie alreadie? What els then is his vpholding of the worlde to be eternal, than a turning of ꝑ whole worlde vpſide downe? But there are (ſayth Ariſtotle) Godlineſſe, Bleſſednes, & Immortalitie: then doth it follow that our Soules are not eternall. And if they be not eternall; then haue they a beginning; and that beginning haue they, either of God, or of the worlde. Of the worlde they haue it not: for (as I haue ſayd) were the worlde eternall, the Conuerſions or turnings about thereof ſhould bee eternal too, and conſequently ſo ſhould our Soules be alſo, as which ſhould be ayed of their power. But now are all things mortall that are ingendred by thoſe Conuerſions, as Ariſtotle himſelf graunteth. But we put the caſe that they haue an originall notwithſtanding that they be immortall. Therfore it remayneth that the ſame is from God. Now, they could not procéede from God as beames of his ſubſtance: for all of ꝑ Philoſophers vphold that he is a ſingle and vndiuided ſubſtance, vnited in it ſelfe and moſt perfectly one: but we be ſubiect to alteration, to ignorance, to euill affections and ſuch other things. It remayneth therefore (and otherwiſe it cannot bee) that our Soules are the worke of Gods power. Now, if our Soules (which after a ſort doe comprehend the Worlde and all things therein) bee the effects of Gods power, which through his goodneſſe vttereth it ſelfe when he liſteth: ſhall not the worlde it ſelfe and the ſenſleſſe and tranſitorie things which ſerue vs, yea and our bodies alſo which are but the Cotes or Inſtruments of our ſoules be ſo in likewiſe? Now then, let Ariſtotles Diſciples chooſe whether they will giue ouer the eternitie of the worlde, or the immorta-

litie

litie of their Soules: the euerlasting turning about of a wheele, or the immortal settlednesse of blessed state: for both of them together cannot stand.

But surely his Disciple Theophrastus seemeth to haue perceiued these inconueniences and contradictions well, when he proceedeth so farre as to say that God created the world, yea euen of nothing. And so doth Algazel the Saracen against Auerrhois, vnto whom he sayth, that God for the creating of the world needed neither stuffe nor newe aduisement, but that like a most perfect workman, hauing all things in a readinesse, he toke his owne leisure for the performance of his worke when it pleased him. And yet it seemeth that Aristotle towards the ende of his life repented him of that doctrine: insomuch that in his booke of the world, he sayth that GOD is the bredet and preseruer of all things in the world after what maner soeuer it be. And euen in his Metaphisicks, hauing reiected the opinions of many men concerning these things; he sayth thus, He that sayth that GOD or the souereyne Mynd is the Cause & Author not only of liuing things, but also of Nature it selfe and of the World, and of all the order therein; seemeth to speake discreetly and weladuisedly; and they that speake otherwise, speake vnaduisedly. And they that are of the former opinion, haue very well set downe that Cause for the ground of all things that are, as the which is such a beginning as giueth mouing to all things. And in his booke of Wonders, (if it be his) he speaketh yet more euidently: saying, that naturally the Sea should couer the Earth as higher than it; but that God hath caused the Sea to withdraw it self, that the Earth might be vncouered for the vse of man and of other liuing wights. And this is in effect a commingbacke to the opinion of his predecessors, from the which he would so fayne haue departed afore. Howsoeuer the case stand, all the auncient Philosophers doe eyther conclude the Creation of the world with vs, or els yeld vs arguments into our hands wherewith to conclude it against themselues. To bee short, whē Aristotle who was the first that stepped out of the high way, sayth that the world is without beginning, he seemeth to bee Aristotle no more; he doth so often gainsay himself and offend against his owne rules. And where he chanceth to say that the world was created, he seemeth to be minded to yeld himself to vs. And where the case concerneth not (at leastwise expressely) the one nor the other: he leaueth vs many Conclusions, which doe quite ouerthrow

Theophrast in his booke of Sents, Sauors, or Smelles.

Νῶς αἴτιος

and destroye the sayd opinion of his, and make him whether he wil or no, to conclude on our side.

The Latins.

The Latins fel to Philosophie somewhat later than þ Greekes; by reason wherof they had the more cause to ouershote themselues in the case of Eternitie: but yet wee see that the most part of them followed the opinion of Plato. That man (sayth Cicero) that first gathered together men aforedisperſed, was surely a great Personage. And (as sayth Pythagoras) so was he which did first giue names to things, and which first comprised within a certeyne number of letters, the sounds of mans voyce which seemed to bee infinite, and which marked the Courses and proceedings of the wandring Planets, and which first found out Corne, Cloth, building, defences against wilde Beasts, and the rest of the things that make our liues the more ciuill. What els is this than an acknowledging of a beginning? For if mē were from euerlasting, did they not from euerlasting speake? Did they not from euerlasting giue names to things? Could they not inuent euery thing from euerlasting. Yes: and therfore he concludeth, We be not created by haphazard; but surely there was a certeyne Might or Power which had a care of Mankynde, and which would not haue begotten him to fall into the mischiefe of endlesse death, after hee hath outworne the great and innumerable aduersities and toyles of this world. Now, if we were created, and that there bee a souereyne power which hath had care of Mankynd; surely then hath there bene a beginning, seeing that the sayd power had a care of vs, eyther when as yet wee were not at al, or after the tyme that we were. And in another place he sayth, That God created and furnished man, and that it was his wil that he should haue the souereyntie of all other things. That the world, the Sea, the Land, and all other things obey Gods tokens. And if at any tyme he bring in an Epicure alledging such worshipfull reasons as this, With what engines & edgetooles did your God buyld the World, and such other; eyther he sendeth him away with such answere as he deserueth; or els by holding his peace, sheweth sufficiently that he deserueth no answere at all.

Cicero in his first booke of Inuention, & in his first booke of the Orator.

Cicero in his second booke of the Nature of the Gods.

Cicero in his Lawes.

Varro.

Varro the best learned of the Latins, maketh an vniuersall Historie deuided into three tymes. The first (as I haue sayd alreadie) is from the Creation of the world, vnto the first Olimpiade. This man being a man of great reading, found the Creation of þ world to haue bene but late afore, yea and so late, that he ioyned it immediatly

diatly to the tyme of the first Olimpiade. Likewise Seneca found all things to be new, and acknowledgeth in many places that God created the whole world, and man peculyarly to serue him. And euer since the beginning of the World (sayth he) vnto this day wee be guyded by the intercourses of daies and nights, and so forth. Macrobius passeth yet further, and sayth that the world cannot be of any long antiquitie, cōsidering that the furthest knowledge that is to be had thereof, reacheth not beyond two thousand yéeres. As touching the Poets, whose spéeches do for the most part represent vnto vs the opinion that was admitted among the common people: Virgill is full of excellent sentences to that purpose; and Ouid hath made a booke expressely of that matter. And euen Lucrece also who professeth vngodlinesse, sayth that beyond the Warres of Troy and Thebes, there was not any iote remayning to rememberance; than by the which, he could not better haue declared the World to be but young, howbeit that (after the maner of his own sect,) he fathereth that thing vpon chaunce, which all the wise men ascribe to the euerlasting prouidence. Plinie is the only man whom I wonder at, that being so curious a searcher of Nature, he could not conceyue that which is printed in euery part of it, and which euery man might of himself learne by his owne reading therein. He maketh a long Calendar of the first inuenters of things, as of Letters, of Houses, of Apparell, and of very Bread. He reckoneth vp the Companies that haue fléeted from place to place for the peopling and replenishing of Countries. And can there bee a greater proofe of newnesse than that? Sometymes he sayth that the Earth is become weary, and sometymes that it is wexed barreine in yéelding of fruite and Mettalles, because it groweth olde. But in one place he sayth expressely, that mens bodies by little & little become of smaller stature by reason of the witherednesse of ẏ world which wexeth olde. And is not this a reporting of the Skye to bee like a whéele, which gathereth heate and chafeth with rowling and whirling about? And what importeth this wexing old, but that it had also (as ye would say) a birthtyme? What meaneth the wearing thereof away, but that it had erst bene newe? What is ment by the chafing of it, but that the temperature thereof is altered? For if the World be eternall; why is not the whéele thereof eternally in one heate, and men eternally of small stature? Or if at leastwise it be of very auncient continuance; why were not men become Pygmées long ago? And if the contrary bee to bee seene in Nature; what re-

Seneca in his first booke of the happy lyfe. Chap. 31 and 32. and in the first booke of his naturall Questions: and in his Epistles.

Macrobius lib. 1 Saturnalium.

Virgil.

Ouid.

Lucretius the Poet.

Pliny.

Plinie. lib. 7.

Plin. lib. 2.

The Stoiks. maynetly but to confesse that the World is but of late beginning: To bee short, the Stoikes (as Varro witnesseth of Zeno) taught that the world was created of God, and that it should perish. The Platonists affirme that it is created and mortall, but yet is susteyned from perishing, by God. The Epicures graunt that it had a beginning, howbeit by haphazard and not by prouidence. The Peripateticks say in their conclusions, that it is without beginning; and in their premisses they vtterly deny it. The greatest despisers of God, as Plinie and such other like, doe write in their Prefaces, That the world is an euerlasting God; and throughout the whole treatises of their bookes, they vnsay it agayne. Now then, after so many graue witnesses, and after the confessions of the parties themselues, is there yet any of these pretensed naturalistes to be found, which dareth thinke the contrarie still?

The Platonists. The Epicures. The Peripateticks. Pliny.

The opinions of the Platonistes.

But now since the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ into the earth, this doctrine hath bene receyued throughout the world, so as the thing which had aforetymes bene disputable among the Heathen, is now admitted as an article of faith, welnere among all nations and sects on the earth. It may bee that the myracles which were seene then in Heauen, in Earth, in the Sea, vppon men, and vpon the very Fiends, made the world to perceyue that there was a Creator of the world. For who could doubt that the creating of a newe Starre, the restoring of a deadman to life, or onely the making of a blindman to see, was not the worke of an infinite power, yea euen as well as the building of the world; considering that betweene beeing and not beeing, betweene life and death, betweene the hauing of a thing and the nothauing, the distance is infinite? And it may be that the signes which we haue seene from Heauen in our tyme, doe serue to make the blasphemers vpon earth vnexcusable. But wherof soeuer it came, the very Philosophers themselues began to make a grounded principle therof: insomuch that ỹ Greekes, Persians and Arabians, and likewise afterward the Turkes and Mahometists, did put it into their beleefe as a thing out of all controuersie. To be short, there is not at this day any ciuill or well ordered people, which haue not their Chronicles and Historyes of tymes, begun alwaies at the Creation of the world, wherein they doe all hold of Moyses, and agree all with vs Christians, sauing in the controuersie of some fewe yeeres.

Of all the Philosophers, only the Platonists continued in estimation: and all men reiected the newfound opinions of Aristotle, and

and they ſtood at defiance, rather with the Gnoſticks than with the Chriſtians. Saint Auſtin ſayth concerning the Philoſophers of his tyme, that their opinion was, that God was afore the World, howbeit not in time, but in order and by way of underſetting only: like as if a foote (ſayth he) were euer in one place, the print thereof ſhould alſo be euer there. Unto whom it may be anſwered in one word, that like as abilitie and intent of going went afore the going it ſelf, both in the man and in the foote; ſo in God alſo, the power and intent of creating, went afore the Creation. But it is beſt to heare their owne words. Plotin in his booke of the World, findeth himſelf not a little graueled in this caſe, and he maketh very little account of all Ariſtoties ſuppoſalles. If we ſay (ſayth he) that the Skye is euerlaſting as in reſpect of the whole bodie therof: how can that be, ſeeing that the liuing Creatures dye, and the Elements paſſe from one into another, and that (as Plato affirmeth) the Skye it ſelfe is in continuall wheeling? If we ſay that the Elements and the liuing wights cõtinue their perpetuities in their kynds: why doth the Heauen continue his perpetuitie rather in number and particularitie? If the cauſe thereof bee, that nothing can ſlippe out of it becauſe it cõteyneth all things: how can that reaſon agree to the Starres and Planets, which doe not conteyne al things as the Heauen or Skye doth, and yet we affirme them to be euerlaſting? And if nothing impeach it without; what ſhould let that ſomething may not impeach it within, ſeeing that all liuing wights doe naturally periſh through the diſtemperãce of their parts, notwithſtanding that they liue euen while they bee a diſſoluing? And what inſeweth hereof, but that both ſortes of bodies, as well Cœleſtiall as terreſtriall, doe periſh? yea and both Heauen and Earth likewiſe, ſauing that the Cœleſtiall indure a longer tyme, and periſh more ſlowly than the Earthly? Certeynly (ſayth he) if we tooke this word eternitie (as well in the whole world as in the parts thereof,) not to betoken an euerlaſtingneſſe [that is to ſay, a perpetuitie or continuance without beginning or end,] but only a difference of continuance; there would be the leſſe doubtfulneſſe in the matter. But all ſhall be out of doubt, if we father the ſame eternitie vpon the will of GOD, which of it ſelfe is able enough to vphold the World; for ſo ſhall things haue their continuance according to his pleaſure, ſome in their kyndes, and ſome particularly in them

Plotin. Ennead: 2. lib. 1. cap. 1. and. 2.

themselues. Now, if the World were eternall; were it not impossible that it should be otherwise than it is? But if it haue this being from the will of GOD; is it not discharged of that necessitie? And what shal then become of this saying of his, which he setteth doune in diuers other places, namely that the World is of necessitie, because it would behoue a second Nature to accompanie the first; vnlesse we vnderstand it to be spoken of the necessitie that is conditionall, and not of the necessitie that is absolute as they terme it. Againe, the same will which made the World to bee, and hath giuen continuance to the parts thereof, some after one sort and some after another, and hath disposed of them as it liked it selfe; shal it not also haue made them when it liked it selfe? Whosoeuer then saith, that the beeing of the world, as well in the whole as in the partes, dependeth vpon the will of God, taketh from the world all necessitie of beeing. And hee that sayeth that there is no necessitie that it should haue bin from euerlasting, (let vs vse those words for want of other,) sayth therewithall that it is not euerlasting.

Plotinus Ennead. 3. lib. 2. Chap. 2.

In his booke of Eternitie and of Tyme, he sayth that eternitie and tyme differ in this respect, that eternitie is verifyed but of the euerlasting nature, and tyme is to be verified of the things that are created: So as eternitie, is and abideth in God alone, whom he calleth the World that is to bee conceyued but in mynd or vnderstanding; and tyme abydeth in the worlde that is subiect to the sences: adding neuertheless, that the world (to speake properly) was not made in tyme; after which maner wee also doe say that it was not made in tyme but together with the tyme. But when he hath deliberatly scanned all the definitions of time made by the former Philosophers, and hath searched all the corners of his wit too find out the best; in the ende he concludeth thus. Wee must needes come backe (sayth hee) too the sayd first nature, which I affirmed heretofore to be in eternitie, I meane the vnmouable nature, which is wholly all at once the infinite and endlesse lyfe, and which consisteth whole in one, and tendeth vnto one. But as yet there was no tyme at all, or at leastwise it was not among the Natures that consist in vnderstāding, but was to come afterward, by a certeine maner and kynd of posterioritie. Now then if a man will vnderstand, how tyme proceeded first from the hygher Natures which rested in themselues; good cause shall he haue to call the Muses too his helpe, for the vttering therof: For it may be that the Muses also were as then. Therefore

ἓν ἐνι καὶ πρὸς ἕνα.

fore let vs say thus; Afore such time as Foreneſſe issued foorth and had neede of afterneſſe; Tyme, (which as then was not,) rested in God with the residew of all things that now are. But a certein nature bent to many doings, that is to wit the Soule of the world, beeing desirous to haue more than the present, began to moue it self, and so from thence immediatly issewed tyme, which passeth on continually and is neuer the selfsame. And we beholding the length therof, haue imagined tyme to be the image of eternitie. And what is ment by all this contemplation, but that a certeine Soule or mynd proceeding from God, that is to wit the Spirit of God, did moue and cary the worlde about. That with that mouing and of that mouing, tyme was bred and brought forth: That afore that mouing, there was a settled state or rest, as eternitie afore time: And that (as he himselfe saieth there) Tyme and Heauen were made both at once, and eternitie was afore them both.

As touching that it is demaunded what God did afore the World: doth not Plotinus himselfe furnish vs with sufficient answere, in that he sayth that God not woorking at all but resting in himself, doth and performeth very greate things: And is not the lyke concluded by the godly doctrine of Gods prouidence, whereof he treateth in bookes expressly bearing that tytle: for if it be possible for the World to be eternall as well as God: where then can there bee any prouidence: For what else is Prouidence, than the will of God vttered foorth with Reazon, and orderly dispozed by vnderstanding: And if Gods will bee required: where is then the necessitie of beeing, which in other places hee attributeth too the world: Also where is this saying of his become, that our Soules are immortall: and that some of them are eternall and afore all tyme: And lykewise this; that afore God had created the world and breathed a soule into it; it was but a dead corse, a mingle-mangle of earth and water, a darke matter; a thing of nothing, and (at a woorde) such a thing as euen the Goddes themselues were abashed at it: and that after that God had shed this Soule into the world, both lyfe & mouing were therby breathed into the Starres, Planets, and Liuing wyghts. For seeing that from notbeing, notliuing, and notmouing, there is an infinite distance to being liuing and mouing: Doth it not follow also that there is infinite odds betweene him that is, liueth, and moueth, that is to say God; and the thing that wanteth to haue being lyfe and mouing at his hand, that

is to wit the forementioned Chaos. And what is it that hath bounded or filled vp this distance, but only the will of him who only is? And if will were the doer thereof; then was it not of necessitie: And if it was not of necessitie; then where is the eternitie thereof?

Porphyrius disputing of the Mind or Understanding, the which hee termeth the beginning, ground, or welspring of the World; sayeth that it was bred of God from euerlasting, by a certeine eternall or beginningless breeding, euen such a one as was afore all eternitie. It was not bred in tyme (sayth he) for as yet there was no tyme at all: and after that tyme was made, the world can scarsly bee sayd in very dede to be, if it be compared with the foresayd Vnderstanding or Mynd. This is all one with the saying of Trismegistus in a certeine place, where he calleth this mind, the trew, euerlasting, and first borne Sonne of God; and this world Gods ponger Sonne: the one begotten of his verie nature, and the other of his will.

Porphyrius. Proclus and Simplicius keepe a greate coyle in maynteynance of the eternitie of the world, and haue made bookes therof ageinst Philoponus: but all their reasons are sufficiently refuted, by the things which I haue discoursed against Aristotle. But seeing they maynteyne Gods Prouidence and the immortalitie of the Soule, how they not reiect eternitie whither they will or no? And whereas Proclus wryting against such as vpheld that there bee infinite worlds without nomber, sayth that such infinitenes is ageinst reason and knowledge; and that the admitting therof excludeth God, and abandoneth all things to fortune: why should he rather admit infinitenesse of time in this one world than infinitenesse of nomber in many, specially seeing hee alloweth Gods prouidence? And wheras Simplicius condemneth those to Hell which beleeue not the Prouidence vppon the Reasons of Epictetus: dooth hee not consequently condemne the defenders of the eternitie of the world too the same punishment? And when Auerrhoes himselfe sayth that it is our dewtie to magnifie God by prayer and sacrifize, and that it is planted euen in nature to offer sacrifize; is he not contrarie to himself? for to what end reuerence we God, if we be nothing beholden to him? neuertheless my alledging of these things is not as though I knew not well that the Platonists, yea and euen these aforementioned philosophers also, do call the world euerlasting and vnbegotten: but to shew that the very surest of them haue wauered in this opinion: insomuch that they haue left vs principles contrarie

trarie to their conclusions: and after all their long skirmishes, they find no rest but in our Camp. And soothly the most part of them be driuen to acknowledge certeine Degrees of eternitie. Wherof the first should be, that which is measured by the continuance of that which is euermore of it selfe, and becometh neither the longer for aught that is to come, nor yet the shorter for aught that is past; and that is it which is to be ascribed alonly vnto God. The second as the measure of such things as haue a fixed and beeing stable, and yet haue also a certeine succession in their operations, of which sort are the vnderstanding spirits or Angells; and this is properly called Ayuesse. The third as the measuring of durableneſſe continued by foreneſſe and afterneſſe, hauing a beginning but not an end, and this they call Tyme, attributing it properly to the World. And what else is this than to speake that thing by circumstance, which we vtter in one word? For to what purpose cal they a thing eternall or euerlasting, if by the termes Eternall and Euerlasting, they meane temporall? After which maner the Emperour Iustinian speaking vnproperly of his owne Lawes, sayd he hoped that they should be eternall and euerlasting. Iustinian in the preface to his Digests.

As touching the opinion of Epictetus the Stoik & of Plutarke, no man can doubt except he quite and cleane disanull their bookes. GOD (sayth Epictetus) hath ordeined that there should bee Winter and Sommer, good seasons and bad: he hath giuen to the Earth both fruitfulnes and barrennes; and his disposing of things so by contraries, is to mainteyne the harmony of the whole. He hath brought vs into the world, giuen vs bodies and members, and assigned vs heritages & fellowheires. It is hee that hath made both the sight and the colours, and neither sight nor colours were aught worth, if it were not for the light; and therefore hath he also made the light. Thus from poynt to poynt he leadeth vs to this conclusion, that GOD made the World and all that is therein. Plutarke sayth thus: If God were not the maker of all things, then should he bee restreyned in some things, and so were he not Lord of all: But he is to be acknowledged for Lord of all, and therefore of cōsequence he is the maker of them all. And here might a great nomber of the forealledged sentences of the selfesame Authors be alledged againe. Plutark in his Pſychogonie. Galen in his third booke of the vse of the Partes of mens bodyes.

But what shall we say if Galien (who in comon account is the most heathenish of al writers,) after he hath throughly ript vp both man

man and the world it selfe, be in the end constreyned to come backe to the same poynt: I make here (sayth he in his booke of the vse of parts) a true Hymne in the honour of our Maker. Whose seruice I beleeue verily consisteth not in the sacrifising of hundreds of Oxen vnto him, or in burning great heapes of Frankincense before him; but in acknowledging the greatnesse of his wisdome, Powre, and goodnes, and in making the same knowen vnto others. For whereas of his owne free will hee hath voutsafed to garnish and beawtifie all things in the best maner that could be, and hath not enuied so great a benefite to any thing; I hould it for a proofe of perfect goodnes: and so farre praysed be his goodnes. Again, to haue found out the meanes how to adorne things so richly, sheweth a souereigne Wisdome, and to haue brought to passe and perfected al that euer he had forepurposed, betokeneth an incōparable might and power. And in his seauentēnth booke, who so considereth (sayth he) the composing & knitting togither of euery liuing thing, shall find that it caryeth in it a proofe of the Creators wisdom. And seeing that in the middes of that Puddle of humors eche liuing wight hath a Soule dwelling, indued with so great force and vertue: he ought of reason the more to wonder at the greatnes and excellencie of the Mind that dwelleth in heauen. And who is he (had he sayd afore) which looking but onely vpon the Skinne of a thing, woondereth not at the cunning of the Creator? Yet notwithstanding hee dissembleth not that he had tryed by all meanes to find some reason of the composing of liuing wights, and that hee would rather haue fathered the doing thereof vpon nature, then vppon the very author of nature. But yet for all that, in the end he concludeth thus. I confesse (saith he) that I knowe not what the Soule is, notwithstanding that I haue sought very narrowly for it, neither can I yeeld a reason how the Babe is formed in the Mothers Wombe. Well doe I see that in that case there is very greate Wisdome; and therefore I am of that opinion that it is not for any man too meddle with the searching out of it, but that it ought to suffice vs that our Creator hath willed it to be after that fashion. For shall wee presume to seeke a reason of the dooing of that thing, which (without making of an Anatomie) we should neuer knowe to haue bene done? It is all one as if he should say, that Nature whereat wee woonder so much, is nothing els but whatso-

Gal. lib. 11. & 17.

Galen in his booke of the breeding of Children.

Galen in his fifteenth book of the vse of Partes.

whatsoeuer it pleaseth God to commaund.

And now what remaineth more but to heare Apollo (that is to say, the very Diuell himselfe) who being prayed to say an Hymne to the great God, beginneth it with this verse.

Which made the first Man and called him Adam: which verse Iustine the Martyre affirmeth to haue bene commonly song in his tyme.

After the confession of wickednesse it self, if we list also to heare the confession of Ignorance, there is not at this day so brutish a Nation, which either by reading it in the great letters of the Heauens, or by tradition from their predecessors, reteine not the opinion that the worlde was created, howbeit that the case doth stand with them as it doth with the diuersitie of Portratures drawen out, the first from the lynely patterne it selfe, the second from that first, a third from the second, and so forthon vntill the last counterfet reteyne scarse any feature at all of the first originall paterne. Of the Nations which we call Sauage or Wyld, some affirme themselues to keepe and reuerence the places where they surmyse too haue bin the originall of the Sea, of the Sonne, of the Mone, of the first man and of the first woman, &c. Otherſome holde opinion that there came one frō the North into their country which heighthened the Valleyes and leueled the Hilles, and replenished their Country with Men and Women whom he had created, and that the same partie giueth them fruites of all sortes abundantly. Who (whensoeuer they prouoke him too wrath,) will chaunge their good soyle into barreine land, and take from them the fatnesse of the heauen. May ye not see clearly here the creation of the worlde, the sinne of man, and the curse which God hath giuen to the earth for mans sake? And as for the partie whom they speake of, it is a mingling of the storie of the Creation, with the story of some partie that first brought people from the North into those Countries too inhabite them euen long tyme after, ioyning the creation of the worlde with the peopling of Countries, as things not farre diuers, accordingly as is done in diuers Histories. And I pray you how many euen of our Neighbournations that inhabite the vttermost borders of the worlde, could euen at this day answere more fitly too that question?

Now seeing that the World and all the partes thereof do sing out the creation; seeing the wisdom of the worlde teacheth it, vngodlines (euen whither it will or no) auoweth it, Ignorance seeth it, and all togither in all ages both taught, auowed, and perceiued it:

may

may not wee with the allowance euen of the blockishest and of the wickedest, pronounce this definitiue sentence, That the World had a beginning, and that it had it at such tyme as it pleased God the Creator thereof: But there remayneth yet one poynt to be discussed, namely, wherof God created the World: and that is matter enough for another Chapter.

The 1. Chapter.

That GOD created the World of nothing; that is to say, without any matter or stuffe whereof to make it.

I Cannot tell whether I may wonder more at the good insight of the auncient Philosophers in the knowledge of many naturall things, or at their blindnesse in the knowledge of the author of them, in that they set it downe for a definitiue sentence, That nothing in al the world is made of nought, and therfore that the great workmaysster himselfe could not make any thing without matter or stuffe whereof. For in effect it is a measuring of the builder and his building both by one rule or skantling, and an abacing of the power which they themselues confesse to be infinite, vnto the state of our infirmitie. God (say they) cannot make any thing without matter whereof. And why? Because a Mason cannot make any buylding without stuffe whereof. As who would say there were a more absurd kynd of reasoning in Logicke, than to conclude from the finite to the infinite, from the mightlesse to the almightie, from the transitorie to the euerlasting. May rather thou shouldest reason thus. Man, who is lesse than a Worme in comparison of ỹ highest, draweth gold out of the Rocke, or out of the dust of the earth: Of the same earth or stone he maketh such cloath, wyre, and leaues of goldfoyle, as no mã would deeme to haue come of so grosse a matter. Of the greene Hearbe he draweth out white flower for his sustenance: of the stalkes of Flaxe and Hempe, he draweth out thrèd to make cloath of: of ragges he maketh Paper to write on: and of the excrements of the little Silkworme he draweth out a great deale of Silkecloath. Agayne, he turkyneth some one rude & rough

kynd

kynd of stuffe into a hundred thousand fashions: of the least things he maketh very great things, and by the excellencie of his wit draweth most excellent things out of that where the most part of men (notwithstanding that they be men as wel as he) found not ne perceyued not any thing at all: as for example, out of the Flint, fire to warme him: out of the barreyne Ferne and vyle Seawéede, glistering Glasse: out of a Shelfish that the Sea casteth vp, Purple to make Ornaments of. To bee short, after a certeyne maner, he maketh somewhat of nothing. Now, seeing that the weakenesse of mortall men can doe so much, shall not the mightie power of the euerlasting, bee able to doe much more? And seeing that a thing of nought is able to doe so much, shall any thing be impossible to the maker of all things? But although this which I haue sayd might suffize the discréete, yet notwithstanding let vs discusse more largely this matter concerning matter or stuffe.

Soothly if God néeded matter or stuffe to worke vpon; either he himselfe made it, or els it was eternally of it selfe as well as he. If he made it, he made it of nothing: for in seeking the matter of matter, ye shall procéede to infinite; and so haue I the thing I would haue. If it were from euerlasting, then were there two eternalles together; which is a thing repugnant to all reason and contrary to it selfe. For nothing can bee more contrary to eternitie, than to say that there is a matter or stuffe which attendeth or wayteth to haue his shape forme or fashion at some workmasters hand; or that there is an eternal thing which hath not any other like or being, than such as another eternall thing hath voutsafed to giue vnto it. For let vs see I pray you what maner of thing they imagine this matter to bée? They will haue it to be a thing without shape, but yet a receiuer of all shapes: and they will haue shape to be without matter wherein to bee, but yet as a mould wherein to fashion all matters; so as the matter should haue no beeing at all, but by reason of the shape or forme, as of the giuer of being thereto. But how can matter be without forme, seeing that euen deformitie it selfe is a kynd of forme? Or how can matter be alone by it selfe, seeing that forme is the thing that giueth being vnto it? Now then, to say that matter is without forme, is all one as to say that it is and is not; which were the saying of a madman.

He that graunteth God to be former, fashioner, or giuer of shape; doth therewith confesse him to be the Creator.

Yea (say they); but how is it possible for somewhat to be made of nothing, sith there is an infinite distance betwixt somewhat and nothing? May, I say rather, what is it which is not finite, in respect

spect of him that is infinite? I meane in respect of him whom thou thy selfe affirmest to haue bounded the selfesame matter which thou doest take and teach to be infinite? But if thou listest to consider it, thou shalt perceyue that thou confessest a thing no lesse vncredible to thyne owne sence, than is the same which thou reiectest by thy sence. For when thou imaginest a matter without forme, and a forme without matter, thou speakest things that destroy one another. But whereas I say that God created the World of nothing, that is to say without hauing any thing wherof to make it: in dede I say a thing that is wonderfull, howbeit which hath not any repugnancie in it selfe. Now, there is great difference betweene speaking aboue reason, and against reason. For truth and mans reason are not inclosed within the like and selfesame bounds. But forasmuch as thou hast graunted that God is the author and worker of Nature, I would fayne knowe how thou canst be so bold to denye, that he hath put life and mouing where none were afore, and that he hath made both sight and light, hearing and sounds, speech and vnderstanding, where erst was more than death, more than blindnesse, more than dumbnesse, and more than dulnesse; that is to say, more than the bare priuation or bereuing of those things, considering that neither to bee nor euer to haue bene, are much more wãts than simply not to be. Now, betweene liuing and not liuing, seeing and not seeing, and so forth, there is an infinite distance as well as there is betweene being and not being, which distance can not be filled vp but by an infinite power: and loke where an infinite power is, it is alike mightie towards all things. Therefore it followeth that sith thou attributest vnto him the making of thy sight, of thy life, and of thyne vnderstanding; thou canst not deny him the creation of the things that haue light, life, and vnderstanding in them. Which if thou graunt in one thing, needes must thou graunt it alike in all. For to giue life, and to giue being; to giue forme or shape, and to giue matter; and to giue them to one thing, and to giue them to all things; are all workes of one selfsame power, how diuers soeuer the degrees of them seeme vnto thee at the first sight. He therfore that confesseth God to be the former or giuer of shape, doth also confesse him to bee the creator of all things. Nay, I say more, that when thou termest God the souereine or highest being, (as Aristotle doth) or him that essentially and in very deede is, (as Plato doth): thou sayst (though vnwittingly) that he is the Creator, that is to say, the author of the being of all things.

Aristode in his second booke of things aboue nature.

If

If we looke into nature, the thing that holdeth the first place in things of order, is commonly the cause of al the things that fall vnder it. Among hot things, some bee hotter than some; but yet fire, which holdeth the highest degrée in heate, is the cause of heate in all things, and sheadeth it selfe into all without diminishing of it selfe, and by imparting it selfe to them is still increased: insomuch that the striking of a Flint inforceth the castingforth of a thousand sparkes, whereof euery one were enough to set the whole World on fire. In lightsome things, one light lighteth another, and by imparting maketh it selfe after a sort infinite: and the Sunne which is as the fountayne of light, extendeth and spreadeth it selfe out infinitely without disseuering, & after a maner createth light where was nothing but darknesse. Also in humaine affayres, Kings impart their dignities to Princes, Princes to their Vassalles, & Vassalles to their Subiects: and when they giue any man a qualitie which he had not afore, they terme him their Creature, as hauing made him somewhat of nothing, in respect of the qualitie wherewith he was indewed afore. To bee short, sents or sauors are shed foorth, and Sciences are taught from one to another, and from one to infinite: yea and euen diseases, which are nothing els but corruptions, ingēder one of another without diminishing themselues. Now, as for Heate, Light, Sauour, Science, and Dignitie; they be but qualities, termed by the degrées of first, second, and third qualities; yea and moreouer dead, senslesse, and liuelesse: and yet notwithstāding, looke which of these qualities holdeth ẏ first place, the same doth naturally bring forth al the rest, without diminishing it selfe. And shall we then thinke it straunge that God, (who is the Béeing, which euen by their owne confession holdeth the chiefe and first place of all Béeings, or rather alonly can in very déede be sayd to be) should by his being bring foith all other beings?

Yea say they; for wee see not any thing brought againe to nothing, and therefore néedes must they haue bene created of something. Nay, if worldly things should returne to nothing, considering how transitorie and fléeting they be alreadie, how short a time could the world indure; or rather how long agoe had it come to an end? But it was Gods will that it should continue. And therefore thou shouldest rather say thus: I see that the Trées, and the greatest Beastes, yea and men themselues doe spring as it were of nothing, and are resolued agayne into as good as nothing. I see them multiplye, liue, and do wonders. Of one selfsame seede I sée spring

both

both flowers, leaues, and fruite, and of another, the wonderfulnesse of eyes, the substantialnesse of bones, and the finesse of vitall spirites. Agayne, I see all these things vanish away I wote not how, so as there remayneth nothing of them but a handfull of dust. And shall I now be so blockish as to say, that he which of so little and in so little hath made so many wondrous things that were not afore, could not make the little it selfe? Or that he which created the life the sence and the mouing, could not create a drop of water, a blast of ayre, and a handfull of earth? May, I will reason thus rather: That if God were not able to create the very matter of matter it selfe, surely he could neither giue forme or shape to the matter, nor create such things of the matter. Yes will they say: for it appeareth that all things returne as it were into one commō matter, whether wee followe the auncient Philosophers which reduce them to the Elements, or that wee followe the late writers which reduce them into Oyle, Salt, Water, &c. Bee it so: and then oughtest thou to conclude thereupon, that seeing there is but one matter, there is also but one God, vnto whose power thou oughtest not to deeme any thing vnpossible, seeing that of that one thing he maketh so many things, not only diuers, but also contrary. For he that of one selfe-same thing maketh both fire and water, doth he lesse than he which maketh that one thing it selfe?

The particular Creation of all things.

What wilt thou say then if I make thee to see that there is not that thing which hath not in it self a peculiar creation, or a propertie created, which cannot be attributed to the matter wherof it consisteth, but is a greater thing than the matter it selfe, without the which, neither the matter, nor the elements, nor all the things that thou drawest out of them were any thing at all? And sith thou wilt needes play the Philosopher afore thou doest beleeue; I demaund of thee whether things in their nature haue their beeing from matter or from forme? If from matter: why is a Plant rather a Plant than a mettall, seeing that (by thyne own saying) matter being but one, is no more one thing than another, ne inclyned to one thing more than to another, nor bounded within any one particular substance otherwise than by forme or fashion? And forasmuch as thou hast taken so great paynes in resoluing or bringing things backe agayne into their first matter; whence commeth it that thy extractions or the things which thou drawest out of it, haue so diuers or contrary operations, if besides the matter it selfe there be not another substance which giueth them theirs?

If

If things haue their being from forme; I demaund againe whether forme bee a substance or no. If it bee not a substance, how can that which is not a substaunce make a substaunce, and how may an accident or income make an essentiall difference, & cause life, sence, and mouing to be where they were not afore? And if it bee a substance (as most Philosophers teach in expresse wordes) yea and a very perfect substance, as which perfecteth the matter and maketh it to be that which it is named to be: must it not nedes follow, that he which gaue this forme shape or fashion to the matter, created a substance which was not afore, yea and a much more excellent substance than the matter which thou surmisest to haue bene afore it? Now, why should not he that was able to create the better, be also able to create the lesser good? Rightly therefore doth Aphrodiseus in his booke of the Soule say, that the forme shape or fashiō which the Craftsman giueth to his worke, is no more a substance than the arte, craft, or cunning whereby he giueth it: but that ꝑ forme which Nature giueth, is no lesse a substance than Nature it selfe is. Let vs proceede further. Of the Mettalles, thou estemest Gold & Siluer: of the Hearbs, thou estemest some for foode, and some for Phisicke: of the Beastes, thou estemest some to eate, and some to serue thē: of men, (which yet notwithstanding make all but one kynde) thou admittest and acceptest some for one purpose and some for an other. Now, if thy esteming of them bee for the matter whereof they consist, how is that matter but one? Or if it bee for the forme, as in respect wherof Gold is not the same that Leade is, is not that forme a substance? And if it be a substance, shall it not followe that he which gaue that shape forme or fashion to the matter, is also the Creator of the matter it selfe? And seeing there is such difference of Mettalles, Hearbes, Beastes, and Men, doth it not followe that there are as many diuersities of Creation? And whereas he hath created all these diuersities of substances, wouldest thou make him to fayle in that one the basest of all? What shall I say to it, that some one thing shall haue diuers powers, vertues and operations in diuers parts thereof, so as it shalbe cold without and hot within, white in the outside and red in the substance, colde in the leafe and hot in the rote, lauatiue in the pith and costiue in the barke? As for example, the rynde of the Orenge is hot, and the meate within it is cold; the leaues of flowers of the wyld Vine doe cole, and the inner part of them doth burne. Phisitions report that the Lungs of a Hare healeth folke that are shortwinded; that the bloud of him

Aphrodiseus in his first booke of the Soule.

 heaketh

breaketh the Stone, and that the heare of him staunch eth blood. Haue not these diuers parts diuers formes, besides the vniuersall forme of the thing whereof they bee the parts? And are not these diuers formes as many diuers substaunces, and consequently as many Creations? The Adamant or Lodestone draweth yron to him, and sheweth cõtinually the Northpole, and yet is disappointed of his force by Garlicke. The Amber also draweth all light things vnto it; Hoarsdyes layed to a mans heele make blisters in his bladder; Agaricke purgeth Fleagme, Rhubarb Choler, and Elleborus Melancholie. If these operations come of the matter alone, tell me how that may bee. And why bee not the same operations common to all things? Or if (as thou sayst) they come of a secrete propertie; doth it not then come of the substantial forme, seeing that nothing can bée sayd to bee that which it is, or to haue any peculiar propertie, but by reason of the substantiall forme? Thou wilt perchaunce say, that it is the mingling of the Elements together that giueth forme or shape. Nay: for if it bee that mingling, where is then the foresayd common matter become? and what mingling together or what medley or mixture can bee made of one selfesame thing? And if thy meaning bee that the foresayd matter is a diuers compoũding of the Elements together; then is thy matter a forme compounded of diuers formes. For wherein do the Elements (being so contrary) differ one from another, but in their essentiall formes? And if it bee a mixture or Composition, where is then the eternitie thereof? Moreouer, wee see that in Plants, Beastes, and Men, the Compositiõ that is made of the mixture of the elements, abydeth euen when they be cut downe or killed. For put a blocke into the fire, and the moysture that was in it when it grewe a Trée boyleth out with the heate, the aire therof steameth vp into smoke, the firie matter thereof burneth out in an oylie substaunce, and the earthly parte thereof falleth downe into ashes. And in all liuing wights aswell as in man, the outward lump (which thou wilt haue to be composed of the mixture of the Elements,) remayneth whole after they be dead. But as for the Soule whereby the things haue their life, sence, and reason; which Soule is the peculiar forme both of Trées, Beastes and Men each after their kynd: that appeares no more when the thing is once dead. And therefore it followeth, that besides the matter (which is liueleſſe) and the mixture of the Elements, there is also a substantial forme, which maketh ỹ thing to be a Trée, a Beast, or a Man; and without the which it is not a

Trée

Tree but a blocke, nor a Beast or a Man, but a dead Carkesse or Carrion. Furthermore, when a Tree is dead, there remayne still certeine vertues both in the bark, and in the wood, and in the leaues thereof; which vertues are not only diuers, but also sometyme contraries, and those vertues proceed not of the matter, but of the substantiall forme. Whereof it followeth, that besides the forme of the Plant which fadeth by the death of the Plant it selfe, there are also other formes peculiar to euery part thereof, which abyde after that the forme of the whole Plant is perished. Now, if the mixture of the Elements cannot make the forme whereby the vpperkyndes differ one from another, as the senceleſſe things from the things that haue sence; and the things that haue but only sence, from the things that haue reason too; can it make the difference that is betweene the vnderkynds that are comprehended vnder euery of the vpperkynds; or betweene the particulars that belong to euery vnderkind; or betweene the seueral parts that are in euery particular? If the mixture of the Elements (say I) make not a Tree to liue, that is to say to bee a Tree; shall it make it to heale, both some certeyne diseases, and also some certeyne parts of it, some certeyne parts of man? And if it make not a Beast to haue sence, that is to say to bee a Beast: can it make it to bee a Lyon, an Elephant, or a Stagge? And if it make not a man to haue life, sence, and mouing; can it make him to speake, and to reason, one of one thing and another of another, each man according to his seuerall inclynation? But how should the Elements giue life, which they themselues haue not? or free mouing, they themselues being caried vp & doune whether they will or no? or also sence, being themselues but the obiects of our sences? Then must wee conclude that the difference of the vpperkynds from the vnderkynds, of the vnderkynds from the Particulars, and of their parts one from another, consisteth not in the matter whereof they bee made, but in their forme; and that the same forme is the peculiar substance of euery thing; and that loke how many sundrie sorts of formes there are, so many sundrie sorts of creations there haue bene, all proceeding from the power of the Former or giuer of them. And so, he that attributeth vnto God the forming or fashioning of the World, must whether hee will or no attribute vnto him the power of creating it also. For without creating of a new substance (what matter soeuer ye presuppose to haue bene afore) he had not created the World in such sort as it is. And he that was able to create any one of thē, was able to create them

all. For like might and power is requisite to the creating of an Emet as of an Elephant, of a Ponde as of the Sea, of a peece of the world as of the whole world.

The Peripatetiks.

They proceede on still with their Chimere. God (say they) draweth the forme out of the Abilitie of the matter. Let vs examine this doterie yet further. Abilitie (sayth Aristotle) is the beginning of mouing and of chaunge. Also there are (say his Disciples) two sorts of Abilitie: the one which worketh the sayd beginning in the other, and that is God; and the other which suffereth the mouing and chaunge at the others hand, and that is matter or stuffe, which by the mouing wrought into it by the other, receyueth his perfection which is termed Forme. Now, I demaund whether this passiue Abilitie of the matter, bee a qualitie or a substance. They dare not say it is a substance; for were it a substance, then euen by their owne doctrine it were a forme also: and whereseoeuer is a forme, there is also an act, and that is more than an abilitie: but matter (as they say) is a mere abilitie. And if they say it is a Qualitie, (as Aristotle himselfe affirmeth): then followeth it that God draweth a substance out of the qualitie of an accident. Now, he that draweth the very Essence or beeing of things out of the passiue abilitie of an other, can much more drawe it out of his owne actiue abilitie or workfull power. For shal he be barraine of himselfe, which maketh a qualitie (yea and lesse than a simple qualitie) fruitfull in bringing forth so many things? And seeing that Qualitie and Substaunce and all the highest kynds of Contraries bee (as they teach) further differing one from another than fire from water; and also that qualitie and accident are nothing of themselues: shall it not follow that God is able to create substances of nothing? Surely it is the saying of Trismegistus in many places, that God created the World and all that is therein; and man with al his parts by his most fruitfull word: and also that the will of God was the breeder of the Elements. Pythagoras and all the old Diuines affirme, that God or the only One is the beginner of al things, yea euen of the first matter, as Simplicius reporteth in alledging the record of Eudorus. And Syrian the Maister of Simplicius sayth, that in that behalfe Plato followed Archenetus and Brotinus, which agreed with Pythagoras. And in very deede he telleth vs, that to speake properly, Matter is no Essence at al, nor can be conceiued otherwise than by a bastard reason, that is to wit by imagining it voyd of al shape, and consequently also voyd of all being.

Simplicius vpon the naturals.

Syrian vppon the Supernaturals.

As

As touching Aristotle, he maketh matter to be the first beginning of all things. But if he beleeued the world to haue bin beginningles according to his owne teaching; where is this beginning become? Also he disproueth the Chaos with very lively reasons; and to escape that, he holdeth himself to the eternitie, which is quite and cleane against him. But howsoeuer the case stand, it is fully agreed vpon among his most approued interpreters, þ these names of Matter, Forme, and Priuation, serue not too betoken things truely beeing the same whereof they pretend the names; but onely are inuented to teache their schollers, after what maner things are bred & corrupted, by putting of one shape and putting on another? And whereas he saith that the power of all life seemeth to be partaker of some diuine thing, & better than the Elements; and that the Soule of man hath his beeing from without, and not from the elements or from matter as the bodye hath: And that all Soules are formes, and all formes are substances: Dooth hee not make God to bee the creater of substances, yea and of better substances than the elements? Against, when he sayth that the knitting parts that is to wit the bones, the skin, the Sinewes and such like may be made of the mixing togither of the elements, and that the vnknitting parts as the Head, the Leg, the Arme, and so forth cannot be so made, but are made by nature and heauenly skil; insomuch that the proper essence and forme of the knitters, proceedeth neither of heate nor of cold, of moysture nor of drythe: Dooth hee not acknowledge in euery seuerall part a seuerall forme and substance which commeth from some other where, than of the matter or of the mixture of the elements? And sith hee sayth in another place, that it were possible to haue such a coniunction of the heauenly bodyes, as myght produce not only an efficient cause, but also euen matter it self for the creating and bringing forth of liuing things, yea and of mankind also: why should he haue thought it vncredible, that GOD who dwelleth verye farre aboue such Coniunctions, should be able to do þ like? Also we see that Theophrast the greatest Clark of all his Disciples, findeth himself so graueled in his booke of Sauors or Sents, by reason of the particular natures of things, that hee bursteth out into expresse words, and sayeth that God created all things of nothing. And Algazel the Arabian disputing against Auerrhoes, sayeth that the cause of all things, did also make matter it selfe. Also Aphrodiseus declareth in his problemes, that the philosophers were layne to referre the effects and

Aristotle in his second booke of the breede of liuing things. chap. 3.

Aristotle in his 4 booke of Meteores, Chap. 10.

Aristotle in his second booke of the breede of liuing wights, towards the end.

Arist. in his probl. sect. 10. probl. 64.

Aphr. probl. 1.

vertues of many things, to some other thing than to ỹ Elements. And if they coulde not father them vppon the Elementes, howe could they father them vppon matter or stuffe, seeing that the Elements haue power and force to do, whereas matter hath abilitie but only to suffer or to be wrought vppon. And if they could not father them vppon matter; vppon what else should they father them than vppon God, who hath created both the propertie and the substance of them togither?

The Platonists

The Platonists that wate since the comming of Christ, haue giuen libertie too their owne brayues, to gad out into a thousand imaginations. But whereas Plotin telleth vs that Gods actions and effects, are contemplations which imprint in nature the seedes of all things: hee teacheth vs too thrust farre from vs such brutish questions as these; namely, Of what kind of stuffe did God frame the world? And with what tooles did hee it? which are further of from the nature of the Godhead, than our doings are from mere contemplations. For what else is contemplation (according to their owne doctrine) than to be wholy seuered from matter? He speaketh often of the first matter, but how doth he describe it? He sayeth that the very matter it selfe which is ioyned too the forme hath not any true beeing, and he termeth it The beeing of a Notbeeing, that is to say, a thing, that in deede is not; and that dooth hee too distinguish theis transitorie natures from the verye Beeing of God, which he termeth The Supersubstantiall Beeing. But as for the first matter, he calleth it The very Notbeeing that is too say an imaginatiue thing which hath not any beeing at all in deede; as if yee would say (as hee himselfe addeth) a certeine vnshapednesse, which is the cause of all mishapennesse, the cheef default or want; which is the cause of all the defaults or wants that are in particular things; the very euill, which is the originall of all euils; and to be short, a thing that can neither bee knowen nor imagined, otherwise than we imagine what Darknesse is by the knowledge of light; namely an vtter absence of all light.

Plotin in his book of Contemplation & of the One.

Plotin in his 1. book Enne. 2. Whence euill commeth.

Yea, but (will some man say) Although it be not an Essence, yet ought it at the least to bee a Qualitie; and by his terming of it an Euill he seemeth after a sort to make it a qualitie. Nay, like as (saith he) when we call the first of all Beeings by the name of Goodnesse, we meane not that that Goodnesse is in him a Qualitie, but a very substance, yea and more than a substance: So when wee call Matter by the name of Euill, our meaning is not that

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it is a Qualitie or hath any Qualitie in it; But that it is no Qualitie ne hath Qualitie in it: For had it any Qualitie in it, then should it bee a Substance, and consequently a shape or forme too; but it is not any forme at all. That in effect is the summe of his booke concerning euill and the originall thereof. In his booke of Matter, he declareth that there was a matter, (for he would not els haue made bookes thereof in vayne;) but yet he sayth that the same was neither essence, qualitie, nor quantitie, nor had any essence, qualitie or quantitie in it; ne differed any whit from priuation, sauing in this respect, that priuation is verifyed as in respect of some subiect or substaunce that is bereft of some thing that is peculiar or incident vnto it, whereas Matter is an vniuersall and vtter want of all things, that is to say a thing farre worse than priuation. And yet for all this, he will not haue it to be vtterly nothing at all, but as a waste or emptie space, a thing without bounds, a being without being. And what or where thē shall that be? At length he findeth it in the world that is to be conceyued but only in vnderstanding, that is to say in God, in whom he will haue it to abide as a forme or patterne of the vniuersall masse of all things. What a raunging is here abroade to fall alwaies into one selfesame path againe? Might he not with more ease haue confessed plainly, that God is both the formall and the materiall cause of all things, that is to say, the Creator former and shaper of all things by his wisedome and power? Agayne, whereas in other places he telleth vs, that Matter being it self no essence at all, cannot be the cause of the particular beings of so many sundrie things; nor hauing no life, bee the cause of life, but that both life and beeing are breathed into all things from without, euen from the souereyne mynd: doth he not iumpe with vs, which say that GOD created all substances of nothing? And if he could create that which was, and giue vnto it both being and life: could he not also forbeare the thing that was not, that is to say matter? Atticus and his adherents would needes beare Plato downe by reason of certeyne sentences of his Timeus and of his Commonwealematters misunderstood, that matter was eternall as well as God, howbeit that the same being voyd of reason, was brought vnto reason by him that is the very reason it self. With these fellowes wee our selues shall not neede to deale, but only heare Porphyrius disprouing them after this maner. If neither God (sayth he) be of Matter, nor Matter of God, but both of them be Beginnings alike; whereof then commeth it that

Ennea. 2. lib. 4.

Plotin in his booke of Prouidence, & Enned. 6. lib. 1. Chapt. 17.

Porphyrie vpon Timæus.

there is so great ods betwixt them, sith we hold opinion that God is Good and the very worker or Doer, and contrarywise that Matter is Euill, and but only a Sufferer? The cause of this difference cannot proceed from the one to the other, at least-wise if our saying be true: namely, that the one of them is not of the other. And much lesse proceedeth it of any third, considering that wee acknowledge not any higher cause: which beeing admitted, it followeth that these two so disagreeable Beginnings met and matched together by chaunce, and consequently that all things are tossed and tumbled together by Fortune. Agayne, If God (sayth he) bee apt to the beautifying and orderly disposing of Matter; and Matter be apt to receiue beautie and orderlines at Gods hand; I demaund frō whence this mutuall aptnesse and disposition commeth? For considering that they bee so disagreeing and so full contrary one to another; surely they could neuer haue agreed of themselues, but must of necessitie haue had a Third to make the attonemēt betwixt them. Now I am sure you will not say that there was any third to commaund them: Neither wil I beleeue that they fell to greement by aduenture. To bee short, seeing that Matter is not sufficient of it self to be in happie state, but needeth Gods helpe thereunto; but God is of himself abundantly sufficient, both to be, and to be happie: who seeth not that GOD is of more excellencie than Matter, and that Matter is not of it selfe so much as able to be? For were it able to bee, it were also able to be happie. And therefore it is not to be denyed, but that he whom wee confesse to haue perfected Matter, was also the very first maker and Creator of Matter. But how could he make it of nothing? Let vs heare once agayne what the sayd Porphyrie sayth vnto this poynt. Handycrafts (saith he) haue need of instruments or tooles. For their working is outward, and they haue not their mattet or stuffe at commaundment. But the naturall Powers as more perfect, & being within things, doo performe all their doings by their only being. After that sorte the Soule by his essentiall life, doth nourish, growe, ingender, breathe, feele, and so foorth. So likewise the Imagination, by the only one Inworking of it selfe, giueth diuers qualities and mouings to the bodie, all at one instant. So also the bodilesse Spirites themselues, (as the Diuines report) doe worke wonderous things by their imaginations, without instru-

instrument or action. Much rather therefore shall the worke-mayster of the whole world who is a Mynd, giue substance to the whole by his owne only being, that is to wit, to this diuidable world, himselfe being vndiuidable. For why should it be thought straũge, that a thing which is without a bodie, should produce things that haue bodies, considering that of a very smal seede there groweth so great a Beast, composed of so many, so great, and so differing parts? For though the seede bee little, the reason of the seede cannot bee small, seeing it worketh so great things: neither on the other side can it be great, forasmuch as it vttereth and sheweth it selfe euen in the smallest percelles. Now, this reason of the seede needeth matter to worke vppon, but so doth not the Reason of God; for he needeth not any thing, but maketh and frameth all things; and notwithstanding that he bring foorth and moueth all things, yet abydeth he still in his owne proper nature. Now, when as the sorest and learnedest enemie that euer Christiãs had, acknowledgeth this doctrine in good faith and in so expresse wordes; who dareth open his lippes any more against it? Dare the Epicures with their motes do it? How can they alledge any reason for them selues, being by their owne opinion made by haphazard at aduenture without reason? Or shal the naturall Philosophers do it, with their temperings and mixtures? First let them examine their Maister Galene, concerning the things which I haue alledged out of him in the former Chapter: and if that will not suffize them, they shall heare him yet agayne in this Chapter. Certesse as it cannot bee denyed, but that as he laboureth by all meanes possible, to father the causes of all things vppon the Elements, and vppon the mixture of them together: so is he driuen at euery turne, to acknowledge somewhat in them which he is ashamed to father vpõ them. In discoursing how the babe is formed in the mothers wombe, he findeth himselfe turmoyled with many opinions. But yet in the end, Soothly (concludeth he) I see so great a wisedome, and so mightie a Power, that I cannot thinke that the Soule which is in the child that is begotten, maketh the shape thereof, considering that it is altogether voyde of reason; but rather that it is formed by that which we call Nature. In his booke of the tempering of things, a place that serued best for the exalting of the powers of the Elements to the vttermost; he very sharply reproueth those which father the cause of the forming of the parts of the bodies

Galen in his booke of the fashioning of infants in their moothers wombe.

In his second book of Temperings.

bodies of liuing things, vpon the qualities of the Elements. Notwithstanding (saith he) that these Qualities be but instrumẽts, and that there bee another that is the framer or fashioner of things. In his booke of the opinions of Plato and Hippocrates, he maketh the vitall spirite to bee the excellentest of all things that haue a bodie: and yet for all that, he will not haue it to bee eyther the substance or the dwelling place, but only the instrument of the Soule. And in his booke of Flesshes he proceedeth further, & sayth that in treating of Leachcraft he spake often according to the common opinion: but that if it came to the poynt of vttering the opinõ that he himselfe held, he declared that both man and Beast haue their beginning from aboue, and that their Soules are from Heauen, and finally that the Soule proceedeth neither from the qualities of the Elements, nor from any of all the things that wee see here beneath. Now, if the Soule of man, or of the very Beastes, proceede not of the Elements: how should it possibly proceede of the Matter? And if it proceede not of the Matter, must it not needes proceed of the forme, or rather must it not needes be the very forme it selfe? And what els is so excellent a forme, than an excellent substance? And from whence is that (by his owne saying) but from a former fashioner or shaper? And what els shal that former be, than a Creator, seeing that euen shaping, is a creating of a substance?

Now therefore, let vs conclude for this Chapter, both by vnsoluble reasons, and by the testimonies aswell of our enemies as of our friends; that God both was able to create and also did in deede create the World of nothing, that is to say, by his owne onely power, without the helpe of any thing whereof to make it. And (to comprehend in fewe wordes whatsoeuer I haue treated of heretofore) that GOD of his owne goodnesse wisedome and power, did make, shape, and create the World: that is to say, That (if a man may so say) he is the efficient formall and materiall cause thereof, without that he needed eyther helpe, patterne, or stuffe to make it withall. And now let vs consequently see the finall cause: that is to wit, how and to what ende he guydeth it: which shall serue for the next Chapter following.

The xj. Chapter.

That God gouerneth the World and all things therein by his Prouidence.

ARistotle was wont to say, that the diuersitie of Questions ought also to haue diuersitie of Answers. Some (sayth he) doe aske whether Fire bee hot: & these must be made to perceiue it by touching it; for their sence is sufficient to shape thē an answer. Some demaund whether their father & mother be to be honored; & such are not worthie to be disputed with, but rather to be rebuked right sharply. And others desire to haue it proued to them by apparant reasons, that there is a Prouidence which ruleth the world. Such kynd of folke (sayth he) should be answered by a whippe or a hangman, and not by a Philosopher. His meaning was in fewe words, that there is not any thing so sensible and naturall, nor any thing whereof the feeling is so fresh in our sences, or so deepely printed in our nature, as Gods prouidence ouer the world: and that wee ought to thinke it more sure, than the things which wee feele with our hands, or than the things whereof our owne Conscience conicteth vs. For in that he ordeyneth a greater punishment for him that doubteth of Gods prouidence, than for him that resisteth sence and nature; he doth vs to vnderstand, that the fault is vntolerable, as ꝑ which is eyther a manifest guyle, or at leastwise an ouergrosse ignorance, which the Lawyers affirme to be next cowsen to guyle. And in very deede, if the denying that there is any God, bee a belying of a mans owne sences, and of his owne nature, and of all the whole world it self, as I haue sayd afore: I cannot say but that the graunting that there is a God, and yet notwithstanding to denye him the gouernment of things, is more vntolerable than the other; considering how great iniurie is offered vnto him in cōfessing him after such a sort, as to attribute vnto him eyes without sight, eares without hearing, might without mynd, mynd without reason, will without goodnesse, yea and a Godhead without properties peculiar to a Godhead: In respect whereof the auncient Philosophers cal-

Ignorance next cosin vnto Guyle.

led

led the Godhead it selfe θεόν or πρόνοιαν, that is to say God or Prouidence, because the one cannot bee imagined without the other. And therefore in their iudgement, as much an Atheist was he that denyed Gods prouidence, as he that denyed the Godhead it selfe. If demaund of any man which confesseth that there is GOD, I say euen of the sauagest of them all, whereby he knoweth it? Hee will answere, by the orderly conueyance of things which he seeth both aboue and beneath; by the order which they keepe without fayling, and by the tending of so innumerable contrarieties to one marke; the Heauen heating the Earth, the Ayre moystening it, the Earth bringing forth Herbes, the Beastes feeding vppon the same, and all seruing for the vse of man. It is all one therefore as if he should say, that he knoweth him by his Prouidence, and by the interlinking of all things together which he hath marked in them all. Againe, he will say he hath perceyued, in Mettalles, (as ye would say) certeyne wombes which nourish them and bring them forth; in Plants, a certeyne vertue which draweth their nourishment frō the earth, and with very good proportion distributeth the same abroade from braunch to braunch, and from leafe to leafe; and which (as though it had a kynd of vnderstanding of the owne mortalitie) bringeth forth a seede at such tyme as the decay therof approcheth: and in Beastes also, that one member doth for another, and euery of them for the whole; a desire to increase their kynd; Dogges to giue sucke; and a skilfull care to nourish and preserue their young ones: And he hath considered that none of all this could bee so layd for afore hand by it selfe, and therefore that there was some other thing aboue them. Thus must it needes be, that he is led againe by the consideration of the prouidence, to the knowing of God. Now, if the prouidence which wee haue marked, doe make vs to say that there is a GOD by mounting vp from the effects to the causes of them; doth it not followe that Prouidence is the peculiar effect of God, and that he which denyeth that, denyeth the Godhead it selfe, forasmuch as the Godhead is not to be knowne but by the Prouidence?

If God haue no care of the world, I aske of thée whether it bée for that he cannot, or for that he will not? If he cannot, how canst thou say he is almightie? Or how canst thou say he is infinite, seeing thou knowest the bounds of his power? Agayne, how canst thou call him wise, sith it is the propertie of wisedome to guyde things to some certeyne ende, and not to leaue any thing subiect to

fortune?

tune? And seeing that his power and wisdome haue extended all things for the creating of them, who shall keepe them from tending to al things for the ordering and mainteyning of them? Besides this, the Plant hath no reason to guyde it selfe, nor to preserue it selfe against that which is to come, and yet notwithstanding thou seest there a mynd which furnisheth out all the partes thereof, and a wisdome which watcheth ouer it against that which is to come. The Beast also hath no more reason than the Plant, though it both feele and mooue. Yet is there an Inwit in it which the Beast knoweth not of, which Inwit concocteth, digesteth, and distributeth that which the beast hath eaten, and disperseth it forth to his parts by iust proportion, watching for it when it sleepeth, and thinking vppon it when it thinketh not thereon. It perceiueth (I wote not how) that it hath need of Earth, of Ayre, or of Nest to lay the yong ones in: it prouideth afore hand for the tyme to come, and shifteth countries according to the seasons of the yeere, choosing them out naturally, without fayling at any time. In all these things there shineth forth a certeyne prouidence, which yet for all that, the beast neither knoweth nor conceiueth. Thou thy selfe which art indewed with reason, hast a forecast, and by that forecast doest the things which other wights doe by nature, or rather which nature (that is to say the foreordinance of the Creator dooth for them,) the more whereof thou hast, the more also doest thou prouide afore hand. For as little a worme as thou art, thou inuentest a thousand trades and artes, which are euerichone of them so many poynts of wisdome, and consequently as many prouidences. As much as thou canst, thou makest all things to stoope to thy lure, thou applyest the rayne and the drought, the heate and the cold, to thyne owne commoditie: thou turnest the doings of thy neighbors, of thy Cittie and of thy Commonweale to thine owne profite and honor: yea and if it were possible, thou wouldest apply the heauen, the earth, the sea, and oftentymes euen God himselfe to thine own benifite. Now then who prouideth for the Plants and for the brute beastes in whom thou seest so great prouidence though they themselues haue none at all, but onely he which made them? Or who directeth the Arrowe to the marke, the Arrowe (I say) which seeth not the marke, but the Archer who hath eyes for it? And cannot he prouide for all, which giueth prouidence to all? And he that giueth it thee in such sort as thou therby makest al things to stoope to thy Lure, whereas yet notwithstanding thou madest them not, and of whom

whom thou scarsly knowest the names: is not he able to gouerne euery one of them according to their nature, and too direct them, yea and thee too, vnto the end that he hath purposed, seeing he hath made them? Againe, if God be not able to prouide for things, and to direct them to their end, how say we that he surmounteth all that euer we can imagine, sith we cannot deny, but that hee which prouides afore hand is of more abilitie than he that cannot. And if wee can imagine any thing to be greater then hee, why should not wee our selues be that thing? And if euen in man, the abilitie of prouiding be better then the vnabilitie, seeing we vphold that whatsoeuer is excellent in our selues, (which yet notwithstanding is but in measure and by participation,) the same is infinitely and originally in God: Why doe we not graunt that God by his infinite wisdome can direct all things to his ende, as well as euery thing can by their particular wisdom which he hath printed therein, prouide for the things which the nature thereof requireth? Too bee shore, seeing that Prouidēce is nothing els but a wise guyding of things to their end, and that euery reasonable mynd that woorketh, beginneth his woorke for some end, and that God (as I haue said afore) the woorkemaister of all things, hath (or to say more truely) is the souereine mynd, equall to his owne power: doth it not follow that God in creating the woorlde, did purpose an end? And what other could that end bee, than himselfe and his owne glory, considering that the end whereunto a thing tendeth, cannot be lesse good than that which tendeth vnto it; and againe that as farre as his power extendeth in abilitie to create the woorld at the beginning, so farre doth his wisdome extend in abilitie to guyde and direct it to that end? And seeing that the beginner and the end of things (the Archer (I meane) and the marke that he shootes at) are both one, that is to wit God himselfe: can any thing crosse him or incounter him by the way, to hinder his attayning thereunto? Well then thou seest now, that thou canst not deny GOD the gouernment of the woorld, vnder pretence that he is vnable.

What Prouidence is.

All working of an vnderstanding mind is to some end.

But you will say, that he will not voutsafe to haue a care thereof. How come you I pray you to be so priuie to his will? Hath nature taught you? May, thou seest, in the Plants a certeine inclination to nourish all their parts; in beastes, a charishnesse to bring vp their yong; in men, a desire to prouide for their children and household; and in all folkes a regard to the mayntenaunce of the things which they haue either made or manured. And him that doth o-

therwise

therwise thou estéemest him not a barbarous persone or a wylde beast, but a very block or a stone. Now then shall not he which hath giuen such inclination to all things, yea euen to the very senceleſſe creatures by his touching of them, shall not he himself (I say) haue it for them all? Darest thou bereéue him of that which thou takest to bee a prayse to thy selfe? or darest thou father that vppon him, which thou takest to bee an iniurie to thy selfe? Nay, like as this care is a sparke of goodnes, so he that is the goodnes it selfe and the welspring of all that euer is good in all things, sheadeth forth this care into all things by his goodnes. We say I which hath voutsafed to create vs, will not disdeyne to preserue vs. But forasmuch as it was his will to create vs to some purpose, (for if nature doe not any thing in vayne, how much lesse doth he that created nature?) he will also guyde vs to that purposed end, by his wisdome.

Let vs sée what things wickednes can alledge against so manifest a doctrine. First of all steppes me forth Epicurus, and denyeth that he sees any prouidence at all in the world, but thinks to marke many things to the contrarie in the whole world; whereby he will néedes gather that there is no prouidence, no nor (if he durst say it) any God at al. For if there were a prouidence (saith he) why should Mountaynes occupie any part of the Earth? why should there bée any wyld beastes? why should there be any Sea? And of that little dry ground that is, why should two parts be vninhabitable, the one for ouer great heate, and the other for ouer great cold; and the third part be in daunger to be vnhabited also, were it not that men plucked vp the Byers and Thornes that woulde ouergrowe it? Why falleth the Snowe vpon the Corne, and the Frost vpon the Vines? Why blowe the winds both on Sea and Land? To bee short, why happen sicknesses and diseases according to the seasons of the yere, and finally death? And at a word, why is man borne in worse case than the least thing that creepeth on the earth, and hath néede of many things which all other wights may well forbeare?

Nay, he should rather haue sayd, I sée a thousand mouings in the Heauen, whereof euery one hath his peculier end, and yet tend all neuertheleſſe to one selfsame generall end. I see them all caryed by one vniuersall mouing, notwithstanding that euery of them inforce themselues to the contrarie by their owne proper courses; and that this vniuersal motion is moued by one Mouer, which mouer so ouerruling them, must néedes be of sufficient power to rule them all, considering that euen with one twinckling of an eye, hee ruleth euen

Obiections against Gods Prouidence.

Alphonse the tenth King of Spayne sayd that if he had bin with God at the creation of the world, it should haue bin much better ordered thā it is: and God punished him for so saying. Roderik of Toledo in the sixth chap. of his 4. booke.

euen the same Heauen that carryeth all the rest about. It followeth then that there is one principall mouer, which gouerneth the Heauen and all the diuersitie conteined therein. Agayne, I see that the Globe of the Earth and of Sea togither, is in respect of the Heauen but a litle point, or (as Pythagoras said) but as one of the least Starres: that the Mone ruleth the Tydes of the Sea, and the Sunne the seasons of the Earth, and they both are disposed by the course of the heauen. Whereupon I conclude, that he which ruleth the Heauen, ruleth both the Sunne and the Mone, and that hee which ruleth them, doth also rule both the Sea and the Earth. For how is it possible that he which ruleth the whole, should come short in ruling any part of the whole? Or howe should the force of hym be impeached by the Earth, which gouerneth those by whome the earth hath her force? Insomuch that if (to my seeming) his prouidence appere more lightsomly in the Heauen than in the Earth, (which yet notwithstanding is not so,) and I cannot yelde a reason of all the things which I see: I will consider with my selfe that I haue seene many instruments made by men as I my selfe am, whereof I see plainly the effectes, but I conceiue not the causes of them: Also that in other some I perceyue well the vse of some partes of them, namely of the greatest and notablest parts, but as for the smaller parts, as the Vices, Nailes, Pinnes, Riuets, Buttons and such like, I haue thought them to be but bywoorks, and yet without them the residue could not hold togither, nor performe that which they were made for: and although they were taken all a sunder, and shewed mee seuerally one by one; yet could I hardly conceiue them. Yea and moreouer that I my selfe haue made some, whereof my Seruants and Children haue not perceiued the reason at all, but would haue burned them in the fire as seruing to no vse. And therefore I will prayse GOD in the things which I knowe, wonder at him in the things which I conceiue not, and rather thinke my selfe (who am as nothing) to want wit and vnderstanding, than misdeeme him that is the maker of all things to bee faultie in his prouidence. But sith fooles must be answered to their follies, least they should thinke themselues wise; and that the wisdome of these folke consisteth all togither in putting forth questions, and in answering to nothing: let vs examine these goodly demaunds ouer from poynt to poynt. If there be a Prouidence (say they) whereto serue the Mountaines? May, say rather, if all were of one sort, where were then Prouidence? For what els is Prouidence,

The obiection of Mountaines.

ence, but a disposing of many sundrie things to some one ende: And how cã any such disposing be, where there is but one selfsame thing euerywhere throughout: Brute beast that thou art! So would an Asse speake of thée. It would aske whereto serued the rising of thy nose aboue thy face, or of thy browes aboue thyne eyes, or of thy ribbes aboue the rest of thy bodie; all which are higher aboue thy bodie, than the Mountaines are aboue the Plaines of the earth. Thou estéemest greatly of the beautie that is in thy face, and of the proportion that is in thy bodie; insomuch that thou fallest euen in loue with them in another: and yet thou wilt finde fault with it in the whole world, as a deformitie and want of order. But thou Lucrece, durst thou (I pray thée) bee so bolde as to speake so of a Painter: Or would it not offend thée if another man should speake so grossely of thy bookes: If a man should finde fault with the shadowing of a picture in a table; it would be answered that the Shoemaker ought not to presume aboue the Pantople. For without the blacke, the white could haue no grace; neither could the bright bée set out, without a dimming; nor difference and proportion of parts appeare, without a medley of contrary resemblance; nor finally the cunning of the Painter be perceiued, without diuersitie of colours. Also he that should finde fault with the art of thy booke, hauing red out some péeces of it here and there; should by and by bee answered by the Lawyer, That a man cannot iudge of the Lawe, without reading it wholly throughout. And if there happen any absurditie; by and by there starts me vp a whole world of Grãmarians, which inforce their wittes to the vttermost to excuse it, and to finde some elegancie in thyne vncongruities. Alledging that that which is vncomely in the part, beautifieth the whole worke, and the shadowe more than the perfect colour, and the dimme more than the bright, when they be fitly placed. All the commendation of these paynted things, consisteth in their diuersities. Insomuch that if thou see a Playne ouerhanged with a shadie Rocke, or a dankish denne at the head of a Riuer springing out of it; thou likest the better of the table for it, and praysest the Paynter the more for his skill. Surely it is not possible that the Playne should please thée more than the Hilles, or the Riuer more than the Rockes, but that neither without other could please thée at all. Now, if thou diddest consider the World as the worke of God, and the Mountaines and other parts which thou misliкest, not in themselues but as they be small péeces of that worke; doubtlesse thou wouldest say as much thereof. And

therefore sith thou canst not at one view behold all the whole world together, to iudge of the proportion of the whole masse and of the seuerall parts thereof at one instant; learne to commend the cunning of the workmaister in the things which thou thinkest thy selfe to vnderstande, rather than to call it into question, for the things which thou vnderstandest not.

But let vs see further what reason thou hast to complaine. Thou wouldest shunne both Rayne, Hayle, & Frost. Behold, the Mountaynes furnish thee with wood and Timber to house thee, to shelter thee, and to make thee warme. Thou followest the commoditie of Traffick; and behold, they serue thy turne with Riuers from East, West, North, and South, making way from the middest of the Land to the Sea, and ioyning the Coastes of Sea and Land together. The ambition of thy neighbours is suspected of thee, and thyne perchaunce is noysome vnto them: the high Mountaines are as bounds to separate Nations asunder, and to keepe them from incroching one vpon another. I omit the Wines and fruits which they yeeld forth, the clere waters which they shed out, the flockes and heards of Cattel which they feede, and the pleasant dwellings which they conuey in them. If thou couldest finde as many things in thy bare Playne alone, I would giue thee leaue to complayne of the Mountaynes. Nay, on the contrary parte, if thou haddest felt the discommodities of the Playnes of Lybie; or but onely of the Playnes of Beawse, or of the Desert of Champayne, thou wouldest by and by wish that all were Mountaynes; and yet notwithstanding, if all were playne, or al were hilground, thou couldest not tell how to commend or discommend eyther of them both. Now then, let this stand for an answere to all those Philosophers which take vppon them to controll the parts of a worke which they conceyue not whole. For, to blame the whole World for the Mountaynes sake, or the Mountayne for the Woods that grow thereon, is all one as if ye should finde fault with the whole man for lesse than a wert or a heare; when as yet notwithstanding, in an old man thou honorest the same heare which the Barber cutteth off and casteth into the fire, yea and thou honorest the olde man for the very same.

But let vs proceede with the rest of their arguments. Thou complaynest of the wilde Beastes; And who hath made them wild but thy selfe? Nay rather, thou shouldest wonder at the prouidence of God, who (as Apollonius hath well marked) hath printed such

Wyld Beastes.

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in awe of man in them, that they hurt him not vnlesse they bee assaulted or pinched with extreme hunger. And therein what do they more than man would do in like extremitie? But thou hast yet further cause to wonder at his prouidence, in that the Beastes which might hurt thee, go single alone by themselues, and haunt the Couerts and Caues of the earth, and make but small increase; whereas the Beasts which are for thy benefite, how huge and strong soeuer they be, come home familiarly to thee, submitting themselues in whole flockes and heards to a Childe, and increasing into thousands within small tyme. Tell me in good earnest, is it a worke of fortune, that the Beastes which may anoy thy life doe shunne thee, and that those with whose life thou maintenest thyne owne life, should come and offer themselues vnto thee?

But the Sea displeaseth thee for occupying so much of ỹ Earth. Wert thou a dweller in the Sea as thou art on ỹ Land, the Earth would displease thee for occupying so much of the Sea. And yet what a deale thereof is still emptie, which were fit to be inhabited? Know thou, that thou art beholden to it for the great number of liuing wights which it fostereth for thee, for the great number of Townes and Cities which it inricheth for thee; for the Nauigations whereby it shorteneth thy way and yeeldeth thee Trafficke; and for his vapors wherwith he mainteyneth the ayre and maketh the earth fat. For put the case that the Sea were dryed vp at an instant: what a number of Cities thinkest thou should be seene desolate and Nations desert, when men should bee in case with the drought, as Fishes are that be left on dry ground at the going away of the tyde? Why shouldest thou not rather commend the beneficialnes thereof the more, in that not thinking it enough to lend it selfe to thee to doe thee seruice otherwise: it also teacheth thee the mightie prouidence and prouident might of him that made it, whē thou seest it ouerdreepe the earth, and threaten it with drowning euery minute of an howre, and yet is not able to passe his bounds: or when thou seest it seeke to inuyron a great Countrey round about as though it were to imbrace it; and yet to stay at a very narrowe balke, or els to winde it selfe into the bowelles of the Land at a narrowe chanell; whereas notwithstanding an infinite sort of little Iles are settled in the middest of the deepe, like a sort of small motes in a Pond. For, seeing that thou seekest thy commoditie and profite thereby, thinkest thou not that he also seeketh his glorie? And though thou haddest none other profite by it, were it not

The Sea. Aristotle concluderth that there is a Prouidence, because the earth is vncouered, which the Sea as the hygher element wold else ouerwhelme. In his booke of Woonders.

very much for thée to haue had it as a ground and matter wherfore to magnifie him?

The wynd

The Windes perchaunce do make thée to hate it: for thou must néedes haue a saying to them too; and yet on the other side, if it hold calme, thou art weary of it. But couldest thou without them haue knowne the tenth part of the Earth? How couldest thou haue discouered the Land of Perow and the Iles of Moluckes? May, how couldest thou haue come to the nereſt Iles vnto thée, without thē? Now, if thou like of the Wind when it is fauourable to thée; why should not another man that hath to doe in a contrary Coaſt, like well of it when it is contrary to thée? And if both of you finde fault with the stormineſſe thereof, knowe ye that he which made it wilbe glorified thereby, in that he doth thée to vnderſtand, that he is able to meete with thée both on Sea and Land, and thou art taught to call vpon him, when the ſelfeſame winde which hath caryed thée at thy pleaſure, is readie to dash thée againſt the Land.

The Earth vnhabitable.

But of that little of the dyre ground which remaineth, two parts (ſayſt thou) be vnhabitable. Who tolde thee ſo? May rather, why doeſt thou not conclude thereupon, that there is a Creator; ſeeing that euen in thy tyme thoſe parts were not inhabited? Surely the Winds whom thou blameſt ſo much, haue taught vs that in thoſe Clymates are goodly Countries, people of better health and greater ſtrength than wee, more beautifull Cities, and more delicate fruites; and wee finde them ſo temperate, that we forſake the temperateſt Countries here, to goe thether. The daies and yéeres are meaſured otherwiſe in one Countrie than in another: but yet in this varietie there is a conſtancie: and the one ſelfeſame Sunne which maketh ſo many diuerſities, doth thée to vnderſtand, that he which made the Sunne could well make the other things. To bee ſhort, there is ſo great cunning in all theſe things, that thou haſt bene inforced to make an Arte for the learning of them. And what els is an Arte, but the ſetting of diuers Rules in order together? And if Arte bee ſo néedfull for the knowing of them; who will not ſay that there is much more Arte in the thing it ſelfe?

Thou blameſt the Thornes Bryers and Buſhes for couering the earth: but thou conſidereſt not into how many miſchiefes poſtnelle plungeth thée. Thou blameſt the Froſt and Snowe for hindering thy Huſbandrie, whereas in déede they twitch thée by the eare, to put thée in mynd that the fayzon of the earth commeth of God. Thou blameſt the Rayne for wetting thée; whereas yet notwithſtanding

withstanding it mopsteneth thy grounds and makes them fat. At a worde, thou playest the babe, who thinkes his Nurce does him wrong when she kembes his head or puts on his cloathes, or rather when sometymes she plucks a fireslicke from him, or takes a knife out of his hand: that is to say, thou misconstrewest al the good which the bountifull prouidence of God doth vnto thée.

But in the end (sayst thou) why be we not able to help our selues assone as we be borne? Why bee wee subiect to so many diseases, and in the end to death? I will not now presse thée with that which I will speake of hereafter: namely, that for all these things none is to blame but thy selfe: for euen in the same things which thou findest fault with, I will shewe thée still to thy face, the prouidence of God. The babe is borne without abilitie to helpe himselfe, and hath none other skill at all but to crye. Contrarywise the bruite Beast is no sooner come from his Damme, but he is able to goe. Be it so. Yet notwithstanding, of all these babes (which to thy seeming are but as forlorne things) none dyeth for want of nurce or nourishment, though there be nothing but payn and care in bringing them vp. Therfore it must néedes follow, that euen from the beginning, a certeyne prouidence hath watched ouer them, which hath ingrauen this kindly affection and carefulnesse in the mothers breast; and the lesse that babes can do for themselues, the more manifestly doth Gods power shine forth in prouyding for them. As for the bruite Beasts, it was not requisite for them to be brought into the world in that sort, forasmuch as being vnable to conceiue reason, they had no interest at all in the knowledge of those things. The birth of Man.

As touching diseases, if thou blame the seasons of the yeere for them; thou mayst aswell blame the fire for burning thée, which yet notwithstanding thou canst not forbeare: For the fault is in thyne owne vndiscrétnesse, and not in their nature; and in thyne own vnrulinesse, and not in their distemperance. The selfsame heate wherwith thou findest fault, ripeneth the Corne, Wine, and Fruites wherewith the most part of the world are fed. And if thou thinke that any man be therby cast into an Agew; he might haue forborne to haue gone into the Sunne, but he could not haue forborne the shining of the Sunne vpon the earth. But if fathers of households haue roddes at hand to correct their children withal, and that a part of their gouernment consist therein: thinkest thou it straunge that he which hath set vs in the World, should haue meanes to hold vs in awe, & to bring vs home to him? What wilt thou say to a num- Sikneses and Diseases.

ber of diseases, which are as certeine fruits of some vices & sinnes: as one of Drunkennesse, and another of Lecherie, and so forth: Or what wilt thou say to Hippocrates himselfe, who speaking of ordinarie sores and diseases, inioyneth the Phisition in any wise to consider well, whether there be any peculiar stroke of God in them or no? that is to say, whether the sickenesse or disease bee extraordinarie, so as the proper and nerest cause thereof, be the hand of God vpon the party: Now furthermore, if there be nothing but disorder and wretchednesse in this World; why blamest thou death, which maketh thée to depart out of it? If it bee because thou hast goodes which thou art loth to forgo: thou must consider that if thy parents had not giuen place to thée by order of Nature, those goodes had now bene none of thyne. If it be because Death maketh cleane riddance of most things; thinke also that in so doing it maketh place for other moe that are to spring vp in their place. But yet if thou wouldest consider how often men gse to seeke Death where it seemeth to be doluen most déepe, and yet finde it not; how many méete with it at Bankets, at Feastes, at Mariages, at Triumphes, and where they would most faynest forget it; how many there be which dye yong and in good health; and how many liue sore diseased euen to the depth of olde age; how many returne safe from most cruell Battels, to dye in their beddes; and how many dye in battell or in some fray, which haue shunned strife and tumult all their life long: thou shalt easely perceyue that our life and our death are not in our owne hand, ne yet depend vpon fortune, forasmuch as we scape so many places where fortune seemeth to reigne; and that much lesse doth our life and death depend vpon Nature, seeing it is not with vs as it is with Trées and other liuing things to whom there is set a certeyne terme, which for the most part they fulfill and ouerpasse it not: but that our life and death depend vpon a higher cause, whose onely will disposeth and boundeth them, accordingly as is expedient for his owne glorie, for the order of the whole, yea and for our selues to.

Had it not bene better then (sayst thou) that man had bene made immortall rather than mortall? And had it not bene much better also (I say) that the earth had rather bin fire than earth, or that the eare had rather bene eye than eare, seeing that the one is more excellent than the other, and in the opinion of the Philosophers it is better to haue qualities actiue than passiue? Had the earth bin fire, where couldest thou haue rested? And if thyne eares had bene eyes, what

what had become of thy ſpéech, yea & of thy reaſon too? Now therefore my friend, giue this worlde leaue to be a worlde, that is to wit a diſpoſing of diuers things, and an order of many degrées. Euery kinde of thing hath his bounds and buttelles, accordingly as God hath liſted to appoynt thereto. The Plant is a Plant becauſe it doth but liue and growe; if it had ſence alſo, thē ſhould it be a Beaſt. A Beaſt is a Beaſt, becauſe it liueth and hath ſence: if it proceéded ſo farre as to haue reaſon alſo, then were it a Man. Man reaſoneth and diſcourſeth becauſe he is Man; and were he therto vnchaungeable, he were a God. He therefore that demaundeth why the Plant hath no ſence, and why Man is not immortall in this Worlde; demaundeth why the Plant is a Plant, and why Man is Man. To be ſhort, the cauſe why it is ſo, is that it hath pleaſed God to ſet as it were the diuers ſtrings of the Worlde in tune to make one harmonie, inſomuch that whoſoeuer taketh away the diuerſitie of things, taketh away the Worlde it ſelfe.

But this is a poynt whereon they greatly ſtand. Well ſay they, Admit that the diuine Prouidence haue ſtabliſhed the Worlde, yea and that it haue an vniuerſall care thereof: Yet to toyle it ſelf in the carke and care of ſo many particular things, ſpecially in this ſinke here beneath, I meane in this elementall worlde which is ſubiect to ſo many chaunges; ſeemeth rather worthie of diſpraiſe than of praiſe. Nay ſay I, but if it be a praiſe vnto God to haue created all things as well beneath as aboue; what diſcommendation can it bee vnto him to preſerue them all? And ſeeing he made them all of nothing, whence proceédeth their worthineſſe or vnworthineſſe but of his will? Why ſhould the cloth of Gold be of more account than the cloth of Hempe, or the Silke of more account than the Linnen, to the Paynter that paynted them both? If God gouerne the Heauen, why ſhould he not alſo gouerne the Earth, whereon doe go ſo infinite ſorts of liuing things, in euery of the which, yea euen in the Flye and the Ant, the greatneſſe of the Creator ſhineth forth more than in the very Heauen: as namely in their ſo liuely like, ſo readie vſe of ſences, ſo nimble and free mouing, yea and in the very littleneſſe of them, which in ſo ſmall rome conteyneth ſo many great things together? For wee wonder more at the Clockmakers cunning in making a Clock which a Flye may couer with her wings, than in making a Clocke of great compaſſe, where the very greatneſſe it ſelfe diminiſheth the eſtimation thereof. If thou bee afrayd leaſt ỳ ſpirit of God ſhould ſoyle it ſelfe in theſe corruptible things;

Obiection of baſe and vyle things.

remember that looke with what mynd Cincinnatus commaunded his men of Warre and ruled the Commonweale, with the very same mynd did he both till and dung his ground, and yet thou coũtest him neuer the more defiled or imbaced thereby. The selfesame Sunne which giueth light in the Skye, pearceth through ẏ darke Cloudes and foggie Mistes, dryeth vp drawghts and Sinks, and sheadeth foorth his beames euen into the things which seeme most filthie and lothly; and yet he himselfe is not blemished or defiled therewith. Now then, art thou afrayd least God who careth for all things without care, moueth them without touching them, and atteyneth to them without putting himself foorth, is not able to wéeld these lower things without defyling himself by them? But it were more conuenient (sayth Aristotle) that God should deale with the great things himself, as the King of Persia doth in his priuie Chãber, and that he should leaue the care of the smaller things to his Princes. As who would say, that the Gardyner which hath sowed both the great Cabbage and the little Turnippe, both the Gourd and the Melone, should make more account of the one for ẏ greatnesse therof, than of the other for the smalnes therof. Or as though thou wouldest not also the more woonder at the King, if without stirring out of his priuie Chamber, he could appoynt all things to be done, or rather doe all the things himselfe which other men doe. What is the thing (I pray thée) which thou commendest in Mithridates, but that he could call all his Souldiers euery one by his owne name? Or in Phillip King of Macedonie, but that he himselfe made the prouision for all his whole Hoste, euen for their cariages and for fodder for their Beastes? Or in the great Captaynes of our tyme; but that they can skill, not onely to make Warre and to order their Battelles, but also to set downe what the dayly expences of their Armies will come vnto, euen to euery loafe of bread and euery bottle of Hay? and welnere within one or two shot, how many shot of the Cannon will make a breach in such a wall or such a Bulwarke, and so foorth? Or finally in this Captayne or that, sauing that this Captaine could skill to set the Sunne vpon the face of his enemies; and another to cast the winde, the dust or the smoke in their eyes; and another to serue his owne turne by a Marris; and some other to drawe his enemie into a myrie and dirtie Countrie? And what viler or baser things can there be than these aforerehearsed? Finally what is it that ye commend in the skilfullest Warriours of them al, but that they could skill to serue their own turne?

Or

ꝛ in the moſt glorious Conquerours, but that they gat the victo-
e in the ende? And ſo thou muſt nedes graunt that whereas the
ounterparties fayled to doe the like, it was not for want of cou-
ge or goodwill, but for want of power or ſkill. Now, whatſoeuer
in the whole World, is the Armie or Hoſte of God, an Armie or
oſte (I ſay) not which he hath gathered of his neighbours, but
hich he hath created with his owne hands: He knoweth all the
ſtarres by name; for he made them. He hath prouided foode for all
ing things, and one of them is no greater to him than another:
ꝛ they haue no being at all any longer than he liſteth. If he make
arre here beneath, all his Armies are readie to do him ſeruice and
wage battell vnder his Banner, yea euen the ambitiouſneſſe of
ꝛinces to puniſh themſelues one by another. If Nations were
oud; he armeth againſt them the Graſhoppers, and the Locuſts,
e Horſefroſtes and the Blaſtings, the Windes and the Vapors
the Earth. In euery of vs he hath his inlokers to chaſtize vs; in
r fleſh, our corruptions; in our mynde, our paſſions; and in our
oules, our ſinnes and diſorders. There is not ſo ſmall a thing,
hich ſerueth not him to very great purpoſe; nor thing ſo vyle,
hich ſerueth not to his glorie; nor thing ſo enemylike, which figh-
th not to get him the victorie; nor thing ſo wrongfull, which exe-
teth not his Juſtice; nor thing ſo much againſt him, which hitteth
ot the marke that he aimeth at. Therfore pleade not in this behalf
naduiſedly for Gods glorie. For, the more ſtirring, the more
aunge, the more diſorder there is here beneath; the more doth he
ewe the vanquiſhable decree of his euerlaſting Prouidence, which
will they or nill they) directeth all the vnconſtancies of this World
one certeyne end. And if perchaunce thou be afrayd leaſt GOD
ould bee tyred with the payne and trauell: (for he hath nede of
yne vngodlines to releeue him) conſider how thyne own Soule,
ithout any toyle to it ſelfe, and without thy priuitie, doth at one
lkeſame inſtant both prouide for the ſuſteyning of thee, and make
l thy parts to grow, euery of them according to his peculiar por-
on and proportion, giuing ſence euen to thy nailes and the heares
f thy head, which are but outgrowings and not parts of thy bo-
ie. And if thou wilt know how this Prouidence is occupied with-
ut toyle; conſider how that thy Soule (notwithſtanding all the
uſineſſe which thy Soule doth without thy thinking theron) for-
eareth not alſo in the meane while to mount vp euen vnto heauen,
nd by the diſcourſes thereof to turmoyle the whole Earth; to lay

for

for the maintenance and defence of innumerable howsholds, & likewise for the decay and ouerthrow of as many others; and to search into the dealings of the enemie, to make them to serue his owne turne; to treate both of Warre and Peace together at one tyme, and with the selfesame persons both at once. And darest thou now thinke that God is toyled in the things which thou thy selfe doest without toyle? Or that he is tyred with the gouernments wherein thou wouldest take pleasure? Or that he being a free and infinite Spirite, doth not that in a limited bodie, which thy Soule being finite in it selfe, doth in thy bodie where it is as in a prison? To bee short, seeing thou presumest to doe thy will with the things wherof thou canst not make one heare; shall GOD be vnable to doe his will with the things which he of his owne only will hath made and created? The vertue that is in a kernell or a Plant, sheadeth it selfe from the rote to the vttermost braunches, yelding nourishment seuerally to the stocke or stalke, to the pith, to the barke, to the flowers, to the leaues, and to the fruite, to euery of them according to the proportion and nature thereof. The Sunne it selfe in keping his course, and without mynding any such thing, yeldeth heate to innumerable Plants, and to innumerable people; and yet heateth not himself one whit the more. Now, if a creature doe so: what shal we say of the Creator? What shall we say of him which is not the Soule of the Plant, or of the Beast, or of Man; but the maker of al things, yea which made thē of nothing, who is not (as some Philosophers haue vphild) the Soule of the World; but rather (if he may be so termed) the very life and Soule of all life and Soule in the World? But as we see dayly, if the Counsell of a Realme can not ceasse one weeke, without confusion of the Commonweale; nor the Soule of a man or a Beast, forbeare woorking bee it neuer so little, without the death of the partie; nor the life that is in Plants stay without withering of the Plant; nor the Sunne goe downe without procuring darknesse, or suffer Eclips without some notable chaūge: much more reason haue we to beleeue, that if the world and al that is therein were not guyded, vphild, and cared for by the same power wisedome and goodnesse that created it and set in such order as it is: it would in one moment fall from order into confusion, and from confusion to nothing. For, to haue no care of it, is to mislike of it: and to mislike of it, is in God to vndoe it, forasmuch as Gods willing of it, was the very doing of it. Now, if Gods Prouidence extend it selfe throughout to all things, aswell in Heauen

nen as in Earth: wee cannot doubt but that it extendeth also vnto man. For what thing is there of so greate excellencie, either on Earth as mans body, or in Heauen as mans Soule? And in extending it selfe to man, it must needes extend it selfe equally to all men. For who is either greate or small, poore or riche, in respect of him which made both of nothing? Or what oddes is there betwixt them, sauing that whereas both of them bee but slaues to him that setteth foorth the tragedie, he appareleth the one in Cloth of Gold to play the King, and the other in a course Pilche to play the Begger, making them to chaunge their apparell when he listeth?

But behold, here commeth almost an vniuersall grudge. For if there be (say they) a Prouidence; how commeth it too passe that ill men haue so much prosperitie, and good men so much aduersitie? that some be so long vnpunished, and othersome so long vnrewarded? And to be short, that one for his wickednes commeth to the Gallowes, and another for the same cause obteineth a Diademe or Crowne? This question hath combred not onely the most vertuous among the Heathen, but also euen the most Religious of all ages. But it were best to take heere a little breth, and to put it ouer among diuers other things which remayne to bee treated of in the next Chapter following.

This fellowe for his leawdnes gat a Gibbet, He a Crowne.

The xij. Chapter.

That all the euill which is doone, or seemeth to be doone, in the world, is subiect to the prouidence of God.

I Sayd heeretofore concerning GOD, that all things teache vs that there is but one, and yet notwithstanding that all things togither cannot sufficiently teache vs what hee is. Also let vs say concerning Prouidence, That in all things wee see a manifest Prouidence; but yet to seeke out the cause thereof in euery thing, is as much as to sound a bottomlesse pit, if it be not much worse, seeing that the will of God is the cause of all causes. Surely if a man will blame Gods prouidence, because it agreeth not with his owne opinion

opinion; he is a thousandfold to bee more misliked, than hee that should find fault with the maister of an household for the order of his house, where hee hath not lodged aboue one night; or controll the Lawes & Counsell of a straunge countrie, wherof he hath had no further experience than by resorting to the Tauernes and common Innes: Or than the Babe that should take vpon him to giue sentence of his fathers doings, or than the Harlet that should presume to iudge of the determination of a Court of Parliament, vnder pretence that he had hild some mans Male at the Palace gate: or (I will say more) than the brute beast that should vndertake too deeme of the doings of men. For what are wee to be admitted to the Counsell of God, which cannot so much as abyde the brightnesse of his face? And what vnderstand we further of him, than he voutsafeth too reueale vnto vs? What Princis Counseller is so wyse, that he can giue his Lord god aduice, vnlesse his Lorde doe first make him priuie to his purpose as well present as past, and to all the other circumstances perteyning thereunto? Or what Husbandman comming from a farre, will presume to vnderstand better what tilth, what seede, what compost, and what time of rest such or such a peece of ground requireth; than he that hath bin acquainted with it all the dayes of his lyfe? And how farre greater thing is it to create, than to till? But forasmuch as God is reason it self, and we through his grace haue some sparke thereof: let vs see whether it bee not so euident in all his doings, that in this poynt it inlighteneth euen the darkenesse of our reason. And if wee perceiue it not so cleerly in all things, let vs acknowledge our selues to be but men, betweene whom and God there is no comparison, whereas in very deede there were no difference betwixt him and vs, if we could throughly conceiue all his deuices.

Now then whereas it is sayd, that if there be a prouidence, why haue good men so much euill, and euill men so much good, afore wee deale with the matter, let vs agree vpon the words. I aske of thee which men thou calleste good, and which thou calleste euill; and likewise what things thou meaneste to bee properly good or euill. If I should aske thee why healthy men haue so many diseases, and diseased men so much health, thou mightest with good reason laugh mee to scorne: for health maketh healthy, and sickenesse maketh sicke. But whereas thou askest mee why good men haue so much euill, and euill men so much good, pardon me though I cause thee to expound thy meaning: for naturally I cannot conceiue, that either

good

good men haue euill, or euill men haue good. For if by good men you meane rich men, men of honour, and men that are healthy; and that ye take riches, honour, and health to bee the good things: then is your question absurd. For it is al one as if ye should demaund, why bearded men haue heare on their chinnes, and beardlesse men haue none. But if (as I heare thée say) thou estéemest Solons pouertie to be better than the gold of Crassus; and Platoes honestie better than Dennysis tyrannie; and the Collick and the Stone of a wiseman with his wisedom, to be better than the health and soundnesse of bodie of the foole with his follie: then art thou deceyued with the fayre name of Good: for it is another thing than these goodes, which causeth thée to preferre them and to estéeme them the better. Therfore let vs say that the good are those which séeke after the true good things, and that the true good things are Godlinesse and Vertue: and contrarywise that the euill folkes are those which are wedded to the things that are euill in déede, that is to say, to sinne and vngodlinesse; and let vs not confound things together, the good with the bad and the bad with the good. For what goodes soeuer a man can haue, or (to speake after thyne owne maner) whatsoeuer euilles he can méete with; he cannot bee good though he haue all the goodes in the world, so long as he himselfe is not good; neither can he be in euill case, as long as he himself is not euill. As for the goods which goe about to beguyle vs vnder that attyre; let vs say they bee outward things, common to the one sort as wel as to the other, for the which a man can no more bee termed good or bad, blessfull or wretched; than he can bee called wise or learned for wearing a rich garment: And contrarywise that as all these false goodes are instruments to the wicked to make them woorse, (as riches to corrupt both themselues and other men; authoritie, to doe vyolence; health to make them the lustier and stouter to doe mischief, and so forth:) so the euilles which thou termest euilles, are helpes to good men to doe good, and furtherers of them in the exercise of vertue, as pouertie to bridle their lustes, bacenesse to humble them, sicknesse to méeken them, and all maner of comberances to driue them to flee vnto GOD, and to teach them to succour their neighbours in the like, when God shal haue drawne them out of them: euen after the same maner that a sickly bodie turneth all things that are ministred vnto it, into the vnsound humor which getteth the vpper hand; wheras on the other side, the sound & healthy bodie turneth to his nourishment, euen the meates that are worst of digestion.

Now

That the false goodes are comon both too good and bad.

Now then, let vs come to the poynt. Wilt thou knowe why riches and honour are common both to good and bad? It is because that God (euen in spight of the wicked) cannot but bee good; insomuch that he maketh the showers to rayne and the light to shine vpon the one as well as on the other, notwithstanding that the one sort doe curse him for wetting them or for making them to sweate, and the other sort doe blesse him for moystening and ripening the fruites of their labours. It is because God deemeth it not agreeable eyther to his owne honor, or to the greekes and trauelles of his seruants, to reward them with trifling things, least they should set their myndes vpon them; like as a father that kæpeth his heritage for his sonne, thinketh it not to bee for his behoofe, to apparell him in the liuerie of his seruants and slaues. To bee short, it is because he dealeth like a Prince, who maketh his pay common to all his Souldiers: but as for the Garlond of Oke, he giueth it only to such as are the first that in scaling doe enter the breach, or get vp vpon the wall of a Towne that is assaulted. Likewise Kings doe cast their largesse at aduenture among the people; but as for their honors and dignities, they bestow them vpon those whom they especially fauour. It misliketh thée that this man tilleth his ground with moe Ploughes than thou: but aduise thy selfe well, whether thou couldest find in thy hart to exchaunge ỹ inward gifts of grace which GOD hath bestowed vppon thée, with his Oxen and his Ploughes. Another is in greater reputation and authoritie with the Prince than thou art. But consider thou therewithall the hartbytings, the enuie, the hartburnings, and such other things which he indureth; and see whether the meanest degrée in Gods house where thou seruest, being free and exempted from all those things, be not much better than the best rome about any King. The King for his seruice done by him, rewardeth him with Lands, fees, and offices: but if thou be so bacempnded and wrongfull to thy selfe, as to foster thy body with the seruices and charges of thy Soule; consider that God being liberall and iust, intendeth to reward spirituall incounters with spirituall Garlonds, and to recompence thée according to his own honor, and not according to the baceneſſe of thy heart; and that so much the more, because that in very dæde, he rewardeth not thy workes, but his owne workes in thée. Moreouer, the reward is giuen, not according to thy desart, but according to the worthinesse of him that bestoweth it. The recompence of one selfesame seruice, is farre other at ỹ hand of a King, than of a meane Lord.

Lorde. If thou say thou couldest bee contented with a thousande French Crownes, Alexander would answere thée, that it might perchaunce be enough for thée to receyue, but not enough for Alexander to giue. And if thou wouldest haue GOD to giue thée no greater reward than plentie of Wine and Corne, if thou knewest him well, thou wouldest bee ashamed of thy selfe: for it is the foode that is common to all men, and not peculiar to those that are his. Neuertheless, if thou step not so farre, but art desirous to knowe what be the goodes which good men haue in this world, (I speake of them that seeme not to haue them) Seneca telles thée, that they make their life allowable to God who knoweth them; in him they repose themselues, they haue peace in their Consciences; if he increase not their present state, they also doe abate their desires; their enemies cõmend their vertue, all the world bemoaneth their want, and those that haue the distributing of goodes and honors, are blamed for leauing them vnconsidered. To bee short, the very asking of that Question (be thou a Christian or an Heathen man) is vnto them an inestimable reward; namely, that whereas concerning the most part of other men, it is wont to be demaunded wherfore they be aduaunced to riches, honor, and authoritie, and they themselues are oftentymes ashamed to tell how they came by them; euery man asketh how it happeneth that the good men are not rich, honorable, and in authoritie. Now, if thou haue the courage of a man, wouldest thou not chose as Cato did, that men should rather aske why thou haddest not an Image of thyne set vp in the open place, and why thou wast not admitted to that honour, than otherwise? Yes sayst thou: But if God listed not to giue mee them; why haue I at leastwise forgone those which I had? Why hath hee taken them from mée? It may be (sayth Seneca) that if thou haddest not forgone them, they would haue forgone thée. I tell thée that if hée had not taken them from thée; they would haue taken thée from him. I pray thée how often hast thou taken from thy Childe a puppet or some other toye that he played withall, to see whether he would be stubborne or no? How oft haste thou plucked the knife out of his hand, euen when he cryed to haue it still? And what euill meanest thou towardes him, when thou weanest him from his Dugge? Now then, thinkest thou it straunge that GOD should cast thy goodes into the Sea, which els would haue helped to drowne thée in destruction? O how greatly did Platoes Shipwracke aduauntage him, to make him wise? Or that he should plucke the Sword

of

of authoritie out of thy hand wherof thou art so desirous, which els (peraduenture) had slayne thyne owne Soule? Or that to prepare thée to another life better than this, he should serue thee with such fit meanes, as might make thée to bee in loue with it? Thou wilt say that thou wouldest haue vsed them well: but what a number of men haue bin seene, which vnder the chastisement of pouertie were good men, whom riches and honor did afterward marre & corrupt? Thou sufferest the Phisition to take frō thée some kynds of meates which thou louest well, and to abridge thée both of thy fare and of thyne exercises, and of thy pleasures, because he hath seene thy water or felt sometymes thy pulse; and wilt thou not suffer God (who hauing created thee and shaped thee, feeleth euerlastingly the pulse of thy Soule) wilt thou not suffer him I say, to bereue thée of some outward thing which he himselfe made, and which would worke thy destruction? Thou commendest the Captayne, who to make his iourney the speedier against his enemie, dispatcheth away all bag and baggage from his Armie, that his Souldiers may go the lighter, and that the breaking of a Chariot may not stay him by the way: and canst thou not finde in thyne heart that he which made thee and gouerneth thée, should dispose of thy baggages: that is to wit, of thy purchases or inheritances which thou hast gotten heere belowe, to make thée the nimbler against vice, and against the contynuall temptations of this world?

But Enuie pricketh thee. Why taketh he them not (sayst thou) aswell from this man and that man, as from mée? And why loueth he thée perchaunce better than them? Tell mée why the Phisition appoynteth thee a greater portion of Rhewbarbe, than him? Because such a one is more moued with one dramme, than another is with three. One is better purged with a single Cluster, than another is with a very strong Purgation. One man is sooner warned of God by the losse of his cropp of Grapes or Corne, than another is by the burning of his house, the losse of all his goodes, and the taking of his Children prisoners. So Iob sawe the losse of his Cattell, the burning of his houses, and the death of all his Children, and yet for all that, he prayed God still. That which was constancie in him, might haue seemed blockishnesse in another. But when God came once to the touching of his person, he could not then forbeare to dispute with him. Now then, seeing that the things which thou termest euilles and mischiefes, are in very déede both Medicines and Salues; wilt thou not haue them ministred according to

the

the complexion of the patient: And thinkest thou thy selfe wiser in discerning the disposition of thy Soule, thā he that created it, thou I say which darest not trust to thyne own knowledge in the curing of thy bodie: The same is to bee sayd of diuers Nations, whereof some one may happen to be afflicted a longer tyme & more sharply with the Plague or with Warre, than another, and oftentymes also euen for the selfesame causes. For God knoweth both the common nature of whole Nations, and the peculiar natures of euery seuerall person. Some nature, if it should not see the scurge alwaies at hand, would become too proude and presumptuous: Another, if it should see it continually, would be quite out of hart and fall into dispayre. If some were not kept occupyed with their owne aduersities, they could not refrayne from working mischief to others. Another agayne beeing more giuen to quietnesse, is contented to sweate in tilling his grounds, & in trimming his Gardynes, without coueting other mens goodes so he may keepe his owne. In like case is it with Plants: some require dunging, some rubbing to make them cleane, some propning, some new graffing againe with the same to take away the harshnesse of their fruite, and some to haue their head cropped quite and cleane off. One selfesame Gardyner doth all these things, and a Childe of his that stands by and sees it, wonders at it: but he that knoweth the natures of things, will count him the skilfuller in his arte.

The murthering of Innocents and giltlesse persons.

Yea sayst thou, but though these euilles may be Medicines and Salues, how may death be so: For what a number of Innocents doe wee see slayne in the world: What a number of good folke doe we see put to the slaughter, not onely good in the iudgement of vs, but also euen in the iudgement of those that put them to death: May rather, what is death but the common passage which it behoueth vs al to passe: And what great matter makes it, whether thou passe it by Sea or by Land: by the corruption of thyne owne humors, or by the corruptnesse of thy Commonweale: Agayne, how often haue Judges condemned some man for a cryme, whereof he hath bene giltlesse, and in the denyall whereof he hath stode euen vpon the Scaffold, and yet hath there confessed himselfe faultie in some other cryme, vnknowne both to the Judges and to the standers by: a manifest reproofe either of the ignorance or of the vniustice of the Judges, but a playne acknowledgement of the wisedome and iustice of the eternall God: And if God bring them to that poynt for one fault, and the Judge for another; what vniustice

is in God for suffering them to bee condemned wrongfully by the Iudge, yea and to be punished with death or otherwise, for a cryme whereof their owne conscience cleareth them as giltlesse, when as God and their owne conscience doo iustly condemne them for some other? As for example, The Iudge condemneth them for conspiracie against the commonweale, whereas God condemneth them (perchaunce) for behauing themselues loosely in defending the commonweale. The Iudge vnder colour of offence giuen to the Church, and God for not rebuking the Churchmen freely inough. For I speake as well concerning Heathenfolke, as Christians in this behalfe. And what a nomber doe wee see, which confesse of themselues, and witnesse of their familiar freends, that by thy punishing of them, wherewith thou being the Iudge mentest to haue put them in feare and too haue restrained them, they haue taken warning to amend, and bin the more quickened vp and incoraged? And what els is this, but that as in one selfesame deede, God had one intent and thou another, so also he guyded it to the end that he himselfe amed at, yea and to a contrarie end to that which thou didest purpose? But what a thing were it if thou saweſt the fruite that GOD draweth out of it? The Childe that beholds his Father treading of goodly Grapes, could find in his heart too blame him for so doing, for he thinketh that they should bee kept still, and cannot conceiue to what vse the treading of them should serue: but the Father knowing the goodnes of the Fruite better then the Child, (for he planted them, tended them, and proyned them) considereth also that within two moonethes or little more, they would wither and dry away, and therefore to preserue the vertue of them, he maketh no account of the eating of them, but treadeth them in a Fatte to make Wyne of them. And when the Child comes afterward to discretion, he muſeth at his owne folly, and acknowledgeth that at that tyme he played the very Child, notwithstanding that as then he thought himselfe wyser than his Father. And after the same maner doth he when he sees him make conserue of Roses, of Violets, or of other flowers. He is sory to see them mard (as hee thinketh) and is ready to weepe for it, and he cannot be quieted, because he would make Nosegapes of them, which anon after would wither, and he himself would cast them away by the next morrow. Now consider I pray thee, whither without any further inducement, thou find not thy selfe too resemble this Child. GOD who made the good men that which they be, hath no lesse consideration

and

and loue toward them, than those which bewaple them. Hee knoweth to what ende their lyfe serueth in this worlde, also hee knoweth when it is time to gather them, and to put to his Hooke or Sickle, to cut them downe, that they rotte not vppon the tree or vppon the ground, and how long they may be preserued in their kinde. And thinkest thou it straunge that hee should take some when they bee fresh and greene, too preserue them all the yeere long, or that hee should make Conserues of their flowers to bee kept a long time, or that hee should of their grapes make Wyne? Thinkest thou it straunge say I, that he should after a sort make their sauour, their sweete sent, and their strength, that is to say their godlines, their vprightnes, and their vertue too liue after them, which otherwise should bee buried with them? And that they which for themselues could not haue liued past three or fower yeres, should liue to the benefite of the Church and the commonweale, not yeres but worlds of yeeres? If thou bee a Christian take for mee example the Apostles and a great nomber of the Martyrs which haue suffered persecution: doest thou not euen yet still drink of that liquor of theirs? doth not their constant confession make thee also to confesse Christ, and their death helpe thee too the endlesse lyfe? Could Ignatius and Policarpus haue liued aboue fiue or sixe yeres more than they did? And yet what part of all their ages hath lasted so long or done so much good, as the last halfe howre wherein they dyed? Or if thou be a Heathen man, consider mee the death of Socrates or of Papinian? If Socrates had not dronke the iewce of Hemlocke without gilt, haddest thou had those goodly discourses of his concerning the immortalitie of the Soule? Or wouldest thou haue beleeued it so easely? and thereupon haue bene contented to forgo thy lyfe so freely for the defence of thy Countrie, or for the maynteNance of the trueth? And if Papinian had not shewed how honorable a thing it is to dye for doing right, and how farre the souereine magistrate is to be obeyed, should we not bee bereft of a singular goodly example of stoutnesse and rightfull dealing? What thing did they in all their whole lyfe, either so much to their owne honour, or so beneficiall to them that were to come after them, as their dying in such sort? Now therfore, let vs say we be but babes. And forasmuch as we perceiue the wisdome of our Father too bee so great, whereas wee condemne him of want of skill, and forasmuch as our owne ignorance is so grosse, whereas wee boasted of wisedome, let vs rather confesse our weakenesse in all cases, than

presume to doubt of his sage prouidence in any thing.

The Goddes allowed that cause which had the vpper hand.

But Cato with the vanquished, ageinst the Goddes did stand.

But Cato of Vtica would needes that God should yéld him a reason, why Cæsar ouercame Pompey: as who would say, that the veriest rascall in the Realme, should commaund the high Court of Parliament to yéld him account, why his cause was ouerthrowen. For all our great Quarels and Complaints are lesse before God, than the least case of a poore Villaine is afore the greatest Monark of the world. Nay, hee should rather haue considered that priuate States are punished by order of Lawe, and Commonweales and publik States by ciuill warres: And that the Commonweale of Rome was (euen by his owne confession) so corrupted in maners, in gouernment, and in the very Lawes themselues; that he might haue had much iuster cause to haue doubted of Gods prouidence, if after her punishing of others for the lyke things, she her selfe had scaped vnpunished: That the Greate men, what part so euer they mainteyned, were the members most infected, in so much that the wisest men of that age said, We see what part we ought to shun, but not what part wee ought to take: And that as Cæsar made warre openly against his Countrie, so Pompey couertly and vnder hand made his partakers to fight for the mayntenaunce of his owne ambition, which was paraduenture discountenanced to the common people, but could not be counterfetted before God, who seeth the very bottom of our hearts. Now then shall wee thinke it straunge, that to the intent to shewe the comom people how greatly they bée subiect to be deceyued vnder pretence of good fayth; and to teache great men how sore he misliketh that they should shrowd their leawde lustes vnder the Cloke of Justice; God should suffer Pompey to fall into the hands of his enemies? And that to punish the pryde of the Senate and the whole state; hée should cause their Army to bee vanquished, and let them fall into the hands of their owne Countryman their naturall Subiect? May how could God haue shewed his prouidence more manifestly, than by ouerthrowing that State by her owne force, which thought there was not any Power in the worlde able to punish her? and by making her a bondslaue to her owne Seruant, which had brought so many Cities, Commonweales & Kings in bondage vnto her? But it may be that Cæsar himselfe scapeth vnpunished. May: To shewe vnto Tyrannes that the highest step of their greatnesse is tyed to a halter, and that they be but Gods scourges which he will cast into the fyre when he hath done with them; within a whyle after, hée was slayne

slayne miserably in the Senate when it was full. And by whome? Euen by those in whome hee trusted, which had fought vnder his Standard against the Commonweale, and which presuming them selues to haue deserued more at his hand than they had in deede, meant to deserue also of the Commonweale in murthering hym. Were wee now as diligent in marking the proceedings of things done in Histories, as we be in noting the maner of speeches, the order of inuenting, or the antiquities which the writer reporteth: We should find the lyke prouidence of God in the chaunge of all States. But I content my selfe with this one afore mentioned, as the which is best knowen too all men, except I were myndeo to take some example of our present age to inlighten the matter withall. Now then, whereas Cato slewe himselfe through impatiencie, thinke ye not that if he had liued still, he would haue ceassed to contend with God, and haue commended his Iustice, and haue written bookes of his singular prouidence? Yes: But the mischief is, that whereas we would not iudge of a Song by one note, nor of a Comedie by one Scene, nor of an Oration by one full Sentence, we will presume to iudge of the Harmony and orderly direction of the whole world, and of all that is therein, by some one action alone. Againe, in Musik we beare with changes and breathes, with pauses and discordes; In Comedies, with the vnmeasurable barbarous cruelties of an Atreus, the wicked presumptions of an Ixion, and the lamentable outcryes of a Philoctetes: and all this is (if we will say the trueth) because we haue so good opinion of the Musician, that we think he will make al to fall into a good concord: and of the Comediemaker, that all his disagreements shall end in some mariage: and of the Tragediewryter, that ere hee leaue the Stage, he will tye the wicked Ixion to the Wheele, or make the fiends of Hell to torment the Atreus, or contrariwise cause GOD to heare the wofull voyce and pitifull cry of the poore Philoctetes. And if God seeme erewhyles to hold his peace, and to suffer men to play their partes; ought wee not to haue so good opinion of his wisdome, as to thinke that he can tell when it is tyme to pay them their hyre? And that although he let the wicked walk at large vpon the stage, and the godly to lye in prison: he can also prouide to end the braueries of the one sort with iust punishment, and the wofull complaintes of the other sort with ioyfull triumph? When a Tragedie is playd afore thee, thou art not offended at any thing which thou hearest. Why so? Because that in two howres space:

Seneca in his third booke of Anger.

Cæsar sawe Cimbrus Tullius, who had a litle afore bin very whote in his defence, & others of his owne confederates in Armes, stād now with their Swords drawē about his Chaire of Estate, and taking part with the Pompeies after Pōpeyes deceasse.

The cause why men find fault with Gods Prouidence.

thou haſt ſhewed vnto thee the doings of a ten or twelue yeres, as the rauiſhing of Helen, and the puniſhment of Paris, or the miſerable end of Herod vpon his murdering of Iohn Baptiſt. Inſomuch that although thou bee not acquainted with the ſtorie, yet the arte which thou perceiueſt, and the end which thou expecteſt, make thee both to beare with the matter, and to commend the thing which otherwiſe thou wouldeſt thinke to be both vniuſt, and alſo cruell in the gouerner of the Stage. How much more oughteſt thou to refreine thy miſlyking, if thou conſidereſt that the world is a kind of Stageplay, conueied to a certeine end by a moſt excellent maker? And what an excellent order wouldeſt thou ſee there, if thou mighteſt behold all the ages and alterations thereof as in a Comedie, all in one day? yea or but the ſucceſſe of ſome one onely Nation for an hundred yeres, which were leſſe than the interuiewe of two Seruaunts in a Comedie? Thou haſt ſeene Pompey ouercome. Loe here a diſcord that offendeth thine eares. Thou haſt ſeene Cæſar to bring home his Sword bathed in the bloud of the Senate. If thou be a Child, thou weepeſt at it: but if thou beeſt a man, thou pacifyeſt the Child and attendeſt for the knitting vp of the matter, and for the iudgement of the Poët. Hereupon the Chorus ſingeth, and then maketh a pawſe. All this whyle the Poet ſeemeth to haue forgotten Iuſtice, and if thou depart out of the company at that poynt, thou canſt not tell what to make of it. But tarry a whyle and hearken to the note that followeth. Cæſar is put to death by his owne men. See here how the diſcord is turned into a good concord. Thy Childe ſeeth that this proud Peacocke which vaunted himſelfe aboue all the world, is in one day ſtabbed in with infinite wounds. Whereby, how little a one ſoeuer thy Child be, he hath ſome perceiuerance of the forecaſt of the Poet. Doeſt thou not ſee then againe, that wee bee like Children, which would controll the Song of all ages by one Note, or a long Oration by one Letter, whereas notwithſtanding, our life as in reſpect of the whole world, is leſſe then a ſhort Minim in compariſon of a whole ſong? If thou be a Chriſtian, thou readeſt the Hiſtory of Ioſeph. When thou readeſt how he was ſould into Ægipt, thou canſt not be angry inough with his brothers, nor ſufficiently bewayle his poore olde Father. Againe, when he is caſt into the deepe Dungeon in recompence of his chaſtitie, thou couldeſt find in thy heart to blame, not only Pharao, but euen God himſelf. But when thou ſeeſt him taken out of Priſon to reade the Kings Dreames, and (within a fewe dayes after)

ter) as a King in Ægipt; a succour to his father in his old age; and the rayser vp agayne of his whole house, did also make him to bee solde into bondage afore by his brethren: and to bee short, that the discord which offended thee and the harmonie which delighteth thee agayne, proceede both from one selfesame Mustion. Howbeit, afore wee conclude this matter, see once agayne how much more vpright thou art towards thy Prince, than towards God. Thou seest a great number of his Armie come home wounded: if thou bee a man, it must needes greeue thee. Then one brings thee home thyne owne Sonne dead: if thou bee a Father, thou canst not forbeare teares. A neighbour of thyne assureth thee that he was slayne in doing his duetie, in getting victorie to his Countrie. Though thou take not comfort in it at the first brunt, yet at leastwise thou wilt not bee so mad as to lay the blame in thy Prince. Within a while after, when thou fallest to considering the fruite of the victorie; then as it hath greeued thee to forgoe thy sonne, so wilt thou thanke God that he dyed in defence of his Countrie, and that he did his part in so noble a seruice. Shall not God then haue as great preheminence in setting forth his glorie, as Kings for the obteining of their victories? God ouer his Creatures, as Kings ouer their Subiects? Or shall not we haue as much patience in the death of those whom we bring vp, when they dye for his seruice, as when they dye for the honour of our Prince? Or shall wee haue lesse trust in him as touching his imploying of them to good purpose, than wee haue in Kings Princes and Captaines, which knowe not the issue of their owne enterprises, or at leastwise for the most parte knowe it not, ne haue any care of the life or death of them that serue them? Let this suffize for answer to such as vexe themselues either for their owne afflictions, or for the sodayne death of those whom they loue and esteeme. And let vs now consequently see, if we can satisfie those which are greeued, at the prosperitie and slowe punishment of the wicked.

The slowe punishment of the wicked.

Thou saydst that the wicked haue welfare at will. King Cyrus was not of that opinion, when for a punishment to the people of the Citie of Sardis, he commaunded them to spend their tyme in gaming & feasting. Nay, thou shouldest rather say, that they haue miserie; for all the good things which thou termest good, and which wee count neither good nor euill, doe in the hands of the wicked

turne into euill. Well (sayst thou) howsoeuer they be termed, they haue great commodities in this world. What wilt thou say then, if their owne wicked disposition, and their owne sinne, do worke them more mischiefe than all the harmes and euilles which thou bewaylest in the good men? Sir, there is not a greater mischiefe than to be wicked, and that all the commodities which thou enuyest them, haue as little force against the euil which they harber within them, as Veluet Pantoples haue against the Gowte, or Dyademes against the Headach, or Purple Robes against the Collicke; Gesse (if thou canst) what feare, and what Agewits they sustayne in following their wicked lusts; as namely this mā in haunting of Harlots, that man in ryding to commit Robberie; one in poysoning his owne brother, that he may succede him in the Kingdome; another in ridding good Commonwealemen out of the way, that he may mainteyne himselfe still in his tyrannie. Consider what miserie they indure, afore they can come to the performance of their euill; what they abyde in the very doing therof, and what a turmoyle their owne Conscience maketh of it, after they haue performed it: and thou shalt see that it is a continuall Feuer, a straunge vnquietnesse, and a sharpe sorrowe; so much alway the more daungerous, because the shameleslest of them all, dareth not bewray his disease to the Phisition. Alexander ỹ Tyrant of Pherey, was wont euen in the chiefe of his prosperitie, to get himselfe within a Yate and to drawe vp the Bridge after him, when he went to lye with his Concubine. Dennis of Sicilie being afrayd to put any Barber in trust with the trimming of his Beard, made his owne Daughters to supplye that office: and growing afterward in iealozie of them, he singed it off himselfe with a burning firebrand. Another, as oft as he went to bed with his wife, searched her whether she had not a knife hidden in her bosome or about her. Thinke you not that the happiest of all these Tyrants, was more miserable than the person that was most oppressed vnder his tyrannie? With what sawce thinke you did Dennis eate his deynties, when he imagined himselfe to haue a naked Sword hanging continually by a heare with the poynt ouer his head, as he sate at his Table? And yet what a number were there at that tyme, which enuyed the Purple Robes the Dyademes and the deyntie fare of those Tyrants, and which found fault with God for the ease and prosperitie which he gaue them? Babes that we be! We would chaunge our state with a kaitife, that in playing the King in a Tragedie sweepeth the scaffold

with

with a long gowne of cloath of Gold, which within a fewe howers after, hee must bee fayne to deliuer home againe to the Vpholster with payment for the hyre of it: and in the meane tyme we consider not what ragged clowtes, what scabbes, what vermin, and what itch and skurfe lyes hid vnderneath it, nor how that oftentymes in counterfetting the Maiestie of the King, he was fayne to scrub, and in manacing others, to grinde his teeth in his head. But were we clothed but one howre with ỳ which he beareth about him, and whereof he cannot rid himselfe; we would rather go naked than be so clothed. And whereas it suyteth thee to see Tyrants reigne, and to stout it out, and to triumph, yea and that some of them come to their Crownes by doing the same things for which othersome come to the Gallowes: doth it not greatly skill (thinke you) whether a man be tormented in a coate of Velvet or in a coate of Canuas: whether he be manacled and fettered in gyues of gold or of yron: or whether in so short a showe, he play the great Lord or the poore Begger: How often hast thou seene the Cutpurse hanged with the purse about his necke, and the theefe hanged in the same apparell that he had stolne: Be thou of high or low degree, be thou rich or poore, be thou Prince or Peazant; assone as thou hast giuen ouer thy selfe to vyce and wickednesse, by and by thou art become their prisoner and slaue. And if it be so, what skilles it who thou be, if thou bee not thyne owne man: Or whereto serues thee all that thou art, but to be the more wicked, which is in deed to be the more wretched: But although vyce bee a punishment to it selfe, and that (as sayth Hesiodus) it spring vp with the very misdeede it self: yet notwithstanding, many men cannot content themselues with Gods Iustice, vnlesse they see the offender led by and by to the Gibbet: that is to say, vnlesse the punishment be speedie, an open example and visible, as who would say, ỳ the Gibbet were but ỳ beginning of punishment and not rather the ende of it; or that they which are cast in prison for stealing, had not the halter about their neckes alreadie, from the very instant that they bee taken, notwithstanding that sometymes forgetting their owne miserie, they play together at Cardes and Dyce.

Wickednes is a punishment to it selfe. Seneca in his Thebais. Feare not: for he shalbe punished, & that right sore. He shall reigne: That is a punishment. And if thou dout thereof, beleeue his father and his graundfather.

May contrarywise, whereas Epicurus doth ground his greatest argument thereupon; let vs learne thereby to haue Gods prouidence in the greater admiration. I demaund therefore what is the ende of all Iudges in punishing, whether it bee not the amendment of the transgresser, if hee bee not put to death; or els that hee should

shoulde be an example and warning to others by his death? If it be the amendment of the partie, why findest thou fault with it, for that he is not put to death? God is a Physition and not an Executioner. He knoweth better than thou, what hope of recouerie there is in the disease. The partie (sayst thou) was vnruly in his youth. The Wine that is now milde and good, was a two moneths agoe both hard and sharpe, and it will growe riper yet in tyme. Moreouer, let the offender flee as farre as he list, yet is he in safe prison and vnder sure garde. God stands in no such doubt as thou doest: The offender can neuer scape his hands. No: but thou wouldest that God should at leastwise hyond him with the hoade arrowe. Where? In the forehead. Why, art thou afrayd that God could not knowe him agayne, if he had once shifted his apparell in some other priuie place? And doubtest thou that his hyonding yron can not pearce euen to the heart, which thou seest not? May rather, the selfesame Land which for want of tillage and husbanding hyought forth Bryers and Thistles, that is to say, vyces and enormities, may by good husbanding beare good Wine and good Corne, that is to say, Godlinesse and Vertue. And haddest thou once shamed him by ỹ Pillorie or by Carting; might it not greeue thee to haue made him past grace? If the Athenians (sayth Plutarke) had killed or disfamed Themistocles for the outrage of his youth, or Miltiades for his rebelling in Chersonesus; where had the goodly Victories become, which they obteyned in the Playnes of Marathon, on the Coast of Artemisia, and at the Riuer Eurymedon? Or had Constantine also bene rigorously punished, for the crueltie wherewith his former yeares were disteyned, and that thou haddest then knowen aforehand, what things he was to doe afterward for the aduauncement of Christianitie; thou wouldest haue bewayled him. And why sauest thou some from punishment for great crymes, in respect that one is a good huylder, another an excellent Musition, and a third a man of learning; wheras thou knowest not what they will proue afterward; & yet thinkest not that in so doing thou doest any hurt, but rather good seruice to thy Commonweale? But as for God, he knoweth which ground is euill of it selfe, and which it is that beareth Brambles and Thistles for want of husbanding. He knoweth what is in euery of our mynds afore wee our selues knowe it. The things which we are to doe in tyme to come, bee as present in his sight, as the things that we haue done alreadie. Neither Nero with his fiue yeares good behauiour, nor Constentine,

with

with the wicked disorder of his yonger tyme, could begyple God, though thou which seest but the outwarde man, callest the one the Father of his Countrie, and the other an vnkindly Murtherer. He knoweth when the tamed Wolfe will turne agayne to his kynd, and when the churlish Dogge wil put off his churlishnes. He foreknoweth mens natures in the very seede, whereas we scarce know them in the flower. Whereas wee play the blinde Barbers of the Countrie, in hauing recourse at euery instant to searing, cutting, launcing, and sawing for euery sore; he hath a thousand receyts to heale vyces withall, and a thousand kynds of scurges to correct offenders withall, according to euery of their complexions. And thinkest thou then that he neglecteth his cure, because thou seest not the searing yron in his hand? Or that his potentials (as the Surgions terme them) are not stronger than thyne actuals? And when thou seest the sinfull person cured after that maner without launcing, yea and without scarre; oughtest thou not to commend the curing thereof so much the more?

But there are which amend not a whit the more for the delay of their punishment. Admit it be so: Yet what a number also are there which doe amend? Nay, consider yet further, whether they bée not suffered to liue to punish thée; thée I say which hast bene scurged by them alreadie, and yet art neuer a whit amended. Thou wouldest haue thy father to throwe his rodde into the fire, and thou hast still a curst heart that cannot yéld and aske forgiuenesse. Blame thyne owne stubbornnesse that he burneth not the rodde. Consider also whether it bee not a greater punishment to them to liue after they haue done amisse, than to haue dyed in the déede doing, forsomuch as they see that their slaughters haue not successe according to their willes, but that all the mischiefe which they haue wrought is in vayne, so as they haue but prouoked God & the whole world against themselues to no purpose, and haue gotten nothing therby but shame and reproach and torment of mynd; And whether God doe not by that meane compell them to crye out, Wee haue wearyed our selues in the way of wickednesse, vntill wee can no more? If God (say I) by his seeming to be slowe, doe both amend thee and punish the other both at once; doest thou not perceyue a wonderfull worke of Prouidence? Moreouer, what is the whole continuance of all a mans life in respect of God, but one moment? shorter than the tyme betwéene the drinking of the Hemlocke, and the death of him that drinkes it? and much shorter than betwéene

the

the killing of a man in the morning, and the being hanged for it in the afternoone: if thou haue an eye to the chiefe end of punishmēts, namely the example of thē that liue still, to the benefite of the commonweale. I aske of thée whether thou thinkest not, that they were better warned by Neros killing of himselfe a good whyle after his committing of so many slaughters & his setting of Rome on fyre, hauing neither Frend that could saue him, nor foe that would slea him; than if he had bene burned in the forefront fire which hee caused to be kindled: May, consider whether it ought not to bée yet a better warning to thée, when thou seest that the wicked man is euen then hild fastest by the necke, when he thinketh himselfe to haue escaped the hand of God; séeing there cannot bee a playner proofe, That no man can prescribe time for his wickednesse ageinst Gods Iustice: Ageiu, when Maximian after the committing of so many cruelties, languisheth and pyneth away by peecepeale in infinite miseries; I referre it to thine owne iudgement, whether he do not more apparantly preache Gods Iustice ageinst Tyrans and wicked Courtiers, than if he had bene slayne when hee was young, as Domitian and Commodus were? And whether he séeme not to thée, to haue bin as a cryer hyred for the nonce, to make this Proclamation publikly with lamentable and languishing voyce all his life long, Take warning by mee to doe Iustice, and not too despize God? Or whether, when Dennis the Tyran of Sicilie became a Schoolemaister at Corinth, and fell too beating of Childrens Buttocks; it was not a better beating too him, than if the people had caused his shoulders to haue bin rent from him vpon a Scaffold: and whether all the youth in the Citie were not better taught what the ende of Tyrannie is, by beholding him with his Roddes in his hand in the Schole; than they should haue bene by séeing him put to death incontinently in the place:

And if thou think it not ynough that Lyciscus doe rotte aboue the ground, yea and that he crye out that he rotteth for his treason; vnlesse the same Orchomenians whom he betraied, doe come to the beholding of it: or if thou think it not enough that Nero make a mizerable end; except Agrippina whom hee vnnaturally murthered, do feede her eyes with the sight of it: or that Herod become a forlorne creature, vnlesse the Innocents whom he slew, be called to looke vpon him: besides that thou requirest a thing ageinst reason, thou must also vnderstand, that God punisheth not after the maner of worldly Iudges, namely to content them ẏ haue suffered wrong,

wrong, or to satisfie thy mynd desirous of reuenge, or too purchace himself the report and estimation of a good Iudge at thy hand: but bycause he hateth the euill, which he intendeth to correct, and will also drawe good out thereof. And lyke as a discreete father, when his Child complayneth to him of some wrong doone vnto him by one of his Seruants, doth not by and by ronne vpon his Seruant with a cudgell, (for so should he make his Child cockish, and cause him not onely to doo the lyke for euery tryfle, but also to take the staffe in his owne hand to lay about him, whereas he would haue him to bridle his passions, and to referre the redresse of his wrongs to him being his father;) but rather taketh his seruant aside, and chastyzeth him eyther before his fellowes, or before others of his children which beare him not so much grudge or ill mynd: euen so it is not to be thought straunge, if God do oftentimes chastyze the wicked farre from the view of the world, yea and sometymes also euen after the decease of them that made complaynt against them. His intent is to punish their passions, but not to gratifie thine. He will teache me his Iustice, but he will not haue thee too think that thou shalt haue him at thy commaundement, to strike whensoeuer thou wouldest haue him. If he should stryke at thy appoyntment, then should he bee but thy Executioner, and thou shouldest bee the Iudge. But knowe thou that he executeth his owne Iustice and not thyne.

Yea (sayest thou) but what Iustice is it, that Children should be punished for their fathers? And (say I) what vniustice is it, if the Children be not considered for the good seruice of their fathers? A Prince giueth priuiledges too some Citie, for the faythfull seruice which it hath done vnto him: and who will not blame his Successor for which shall take them away againe a hundred yeeres after? Another Prince bereueth a Citie of their Liberties and fraunchizes, for rebelling against him: who will think it any rigor, that their Children which come after them should be in the same state? The Prince dooth it for feare least the Children hauing the same territory, should rebell as their fathers did. God standeth not in feare of men, but he seeth what they bee: and his knowing of them is not as we knowe the Aspwoorme by his stinging of vs, or the Viper by his byting of vs; but he knoweth them afore they bee eyther Aspwoorme or Viper; and may he not then by that reason sometymes punish the Children, in the same respect that hee punished their fathers? As for example, by taking away their authority if they committed

mitted tyranny, least they myght abuse their authoritie still: Or by taking away their goods which they spent in ryot and excesse, least they should set their myndes vpon these vices still: and so forth of other things: But why doo I terme it punishing: I should rather terme it curing. For what more is all this, than wee see dayly done by Phisitions, who in cases where the fathers were diseased with the Stone, the Gout, or the Dropsie, doe forbid the Children the same things which they forbade their fathers, although the Children be not yet troubled with the same diseases? And what els are sinnes and vices, but diseases and sikenesses of the Soule? And what straungenesse is there in Gods dooing, sith that thou thy self doonest the very same? Thou Disinheritest the Children of them that haue attempted treason ageinst the Prince: and if the Prince may do it for the defence of his state; how much more cõmendable is the doing therof, for the preseruation of the parties themselues? But yet in this appeareth the mercifulnes of God, that if the Child of the wickeddest man in the world, refuse to be heire of his fathers sinne, and wickednes, and follow goodlynes and vertue; God doth not only release him the debte due to such succession, that is to wit, the peyne and penaltie which is an vnseparable appurtenance of sinne; but also adopt him into the nomber of his owne Children, to make him partaker of his heauenly heritage. Nowthen, what cause haue we to complayne, eyther of the prosperitie of the wicked, or of the aduersitie of those whom wee account to be good men, seeing that all these things tend, not onely to Gods glorie and the benefite of the Comonweale, but also to the welfare and soulehealth of those whom we bewayle? And if we did consider yet further, how many there be whose miseries we bewayle, which foster a festered sore in their bosom; how many there be whose prosperitie we enuy, which haue much cleaner hearts than the other, and doe spit out all their venome outwardly; how many there bee which haue their nayles whole, and yet doo but little harme with scratching; how many there be which wold teare al things in peeces, if their nayles were not pared verye short; who for want of powre (I meane) or for want of corage to execute their naughtynes, seeme for the present time good men, and a thousand other such circumstances which are to be marked in euery particular persone: surely they which do so lightly charge Gods prouidence, would chaunge their opinion; and where it seemeth to them most worthy of blame, there would they the more woonder thereat and commend it.

But

But this is yet the greatest poynt of all: That although God punish euill neuer so much; yet it can not bee denyed, but that hee lauieth euill still in the World, seeing wee agree all in this, that sinne or vyce is euill. Now if hee be altogither good, how can he forbeare to hate it? And if hee bee Almightie, how can hee suffer it? And if hee order and dispose all things, how dooth hee permit it? This Question shall bee the clearelyer discussed, where wee prooue how euill came first into the World; namely by the fall of man. And then shall wee haue wherefore too woonder at Gods Prouidence, who hauing punished vs by our owne naughtynes, coulde skill too turne the same both to his owne glorie, and too the welfare of mankynde. To glaunce at it in feawe woords; by the way, It was requisite (and otherwyse it could not bee) that there shoulde bee some difference betweene the Creatour and the Creature, to the intent that the Creature should acknowledge it selfe to be a Creature, and yeeld honor to his Creator who had made him of nothing. Now the Creator is the good that is infinite and vnchaungeable: and therefore the goodnesse that is in any Creature, could not but be finite and chaungeable, sauing so farre foorth as it consented to depend vppon him alone. God therefore created man good, howbeit chaungeably good; free from euill, howbeit so as he myght chose the euill; and he Created him rightly mynded, howbeit in such sort as he myght also go a stray. And this man by turning away from the Wellspryng of goodnesse, is thereby fall away from his owne goodnes; and by following his owne will in sted of Gods Will, he left his freedome and became a bondseruant vnto euill. All they that are borne of this corrupted seede, retayne the faultynes of that first fault, and cannot wyt it vppon any other than the first man. Therfore if it be demaunded why God created man free, and not vnfree, seeing his freedome made him bond, it is all one as if it were demaunded, why hee created fyre to be light and suttle, that is to say Fyre, or why hee created water moyst and colde, that is to say, Water, or the World full of so many varieties, that is to say, a World, and to bee short, euery kind of thing, to be of this or that nature. For to haue free mouing and capable of Reason, is to be a man, and if we had not had it so, we would haue complayned. Again, to haue free mooning and such as cannot be but reasonable, is to be reason it selfe, that is to say, to be God. Now God ment not to create a God, but a man to serue him, lyke as when he intended to create Beastes for the seruice of man,

How God suffereth euill in the World.

man, he created them Beasts and not men. But wherein wilt thou more wonder at the prouidence of the euerlasting GOD, than in that he not only ordereth & disposeth the things that he hath created, but also the thing which he created not; insomuch that he draweth good out of the euill, yea and compelleth the euill (contrary to the nature thereof) to serue vnto God? If a Captayne were of such skill as to order al things in such wise in his Armie, that euery thing should serue to the attaynement of his victorie; thou wouldest commend him highly, & it were in deede one of the rarest feates of Warre. But if he could moreouer gayne some part of his enemies Hoste, and make them to take his owne parte; thou couldest not wonder sufficiently at his policie. What wilt thou say then of him, which could make them to fight on his side vnwitting to them selues, and that euen his enemies Hargwebusses should helpe to giue themselues the foyle? Soothly euen after that sort is it that God can skill to make both sinners and their sinnes to serue him. Cyrus (as appeareth by the Histories) was an ambitious Prince; and ambition (as ye knowe) cannot be welliked of God. Now, to satisfie his ambition, Cyrus leupes a great Hoste against the Assyrians. If a man should haue told him it had bin to deliuer the Israelites, and to buyld vp Gods Temple agayne, as Esay had foretold; what think you he would haue sayd vnto it? Yet notwithstanding the end of his Warres and of his warfare, fell out to be so in deede. Thus ye see how an ambitious person and his ambition serued God, without meaning any such thing. The Emperour Titus ment to bring Iewry to due obedience: and it had bin foretolde, that of Hierusalem one stone should not be left standing vpon another. No doubt but that Titusis owne passion caried him; but yet see how God ouerruleth it. The same man which persecuted ỳ Christians at Rome, goeth to reuenge Christes death at Hierusalem, and (as sayth Iosephus) in that fact he toke not himselfe as Emperour of the World, but as the executer of Gods Iustice against the Iewes. Iudas through Couetousnesse betrayed the blud of ỳ righteouse to death. But God by the sheading of that blud (if thou be a Christian) redeemed thee; and yet the holy Scripture saith, that the Deuill being in Iudas, did put that purpose into his heart. Ye see then that not the Couetousnesse of Iudas only, but also the Deuill himselfe serued GOD. Besides that, the Stories of the Byble be full of such matter, wee might marke the like examples ordinarily in the bookes of the Heathen, if wee were as diligent in obseruing

them,

em, as we bee in obseruing the arte of Rhetoricke or Logicke in e authors which we reade. For by reason of the great corruption hich reigned at those daies in Rome, all men cryed out that there as not any Commonweale there, appealing to God for defence gainst the vniustice of the Senate, at the same tyme that GOD ecuted iust vengeance vpon them for it, by the vniust couetous- esse of Cæsar. Likewise when Attila entered euen into the bo- elles of Europe, all the Preachers of Christendome did nothing s but bewayle the wretchednesse of that tyme. Ye must thinke at when this great Robber cast lots in his Countrie of Scythia, hether he should leade the third part of that Land, he had another eaning than to reforme the world. Yet notwithstanding, all men knowledged him to be a necessarie scurge of GOD, and to haue me in due season. Yea, and he himselfe considering that he had nquered much more of the Countrie, than euer he hoped at the st to haue seene, insomuch that he had ouercome euen those which ere counted the strength of the World: as barbarous as he was, e fell to thinke of himselfe, that he was the Scurge wherby God astised the World. Not that God is not able to chastise vs him- lfe whensoeuer he listeth; (for his Storehouse is neuer vnfurni- ed of roddes to scurge vs withall, as of Plagues, Diseases, Fa- ine, and such other things,) but that as a Maister of a howshold oldeth skorne to whippe his Slaues himselfe, causing eyther his iefe Seruant or some other of their fellowes to doe it: yea and hen his owne Children offend him grieuously, he voutsafeth not beate them with his owne hands, (for so should he doe them to reat an honour) but causeth (peraduenture) the groome of his sta- le to doe it, to the intent to shewe them the iustnesse of his displea- ure: Euen so doth God punish the wicked one by another, whom e could consume all at once in one howre; yea and his Children al- by the wicked, when not counting of them as of his Children, ut being readie as it were to disherite them, he disdeyneth to pu- ish them with his owne hands. Thus therefore ye see, how God rueth his owne turne by the wicked and their wickednesse, to his wne glorie and to the welfare of those that are his.

Saluian in his vii booke of Prouidence.

And as touching the offences whereinto he suffereth good folks ow and then to fall: what greater point of prouidence can there ee, than to turne them into instruments and furtherances of ver- u? If God should hold vs alway by the hand, it is certeyne that e could neuer trippe. And it is not to be doubted also, but that we

The very Sinnes of good men are re- dressed to their benefite.

would think at the length, that it was of our owne steadynesse, and not of Gods vpholding of vs, not only that we tripped not, but also that wee tumbled not downe. For what made vs fall but pride? and what maner of pride, but that we thought we would be Gods without God, yea euen of our selues? Now, to make vs to knowe our infirmitie, wherin it is his pleasure to shew his strength: sometymes he letteth vs goe alone by our selues for a while, and then stumble we at the next iob that we meete with. Neuertheless, this tripping and stumbling saueth vs from a greater fall: for it maketh vs to call for his hand to hold vs vp. After the same maner dealeth the Nurse with her Nursechild that maketh haste to goe alone too soone: She suffereth him to stagger and to reele till he crye; but yet in letting him goe with the one hand, she holdeth him vp with the other; and sometymes he thinkes he goes alalone, when as she guideth him both with her eye and with her hand. Sometymes also when wee bee ouer lustie, God suffereth vs to fall into some sinne, both wittingly and willingly, & afterward maketh vs to feele such gryppes and hartbytings for it, that euen the vyce it selfe serueth vs for a Schoolemaister, to driue vs to eschewe it. So the father suffereth his Child to burne his finger in a Candle, onely of purpose to make him afrayd of fire, that the little smarting of his finger, may keepe him from the burning of his face. There are examples hereof in S. Peter, in Dauid and in others, which receyued good by their trippes and falles. And I haue no doubt but that a great sorte euen of the Heathen, haue felt in themselues how greatly their experience of vyce in themselues hath profited them to the more earnest loue of vertue. So then, let vs not grudge at the prosperitie of the wicked; for vnto them it is a bane: neither let vs complaine of the miseries of the godly; for they be to their welfare. Let vs not reuerence the vizor of vertue in the wicked, for it is but an instrument of vice; neither let vs disdeyne the falles of the vertuous, for they bee but quicknings vp vnto vertue. But rather let vs glorifie God, which maketh the euill good whether it will or no, which causeth vyce to doe seruice vnto vertue, and which guydeth euen the most sinfull deedes, to his glorie; the most vniust, to the executing of his iustice; and the most vncertayne, to the hitting of his marke. And notwithstanding that he doe all this, yet can he not be blamed to haue wrested any thing in the World, nor to haue maintayned euill in any maner a wise, no more surely than the Soule or abilitie of mouing that is matched with a lame legge, is to blame for that the lame

Falles are in the world as things set one against another, after the maner as it is in the eloquence of wordes.

The actions and mouings are of God: but the disorders of them and the haltings are of ourselues.

man

man halteth, though it yeld forth moning into the legge, and guide the legge whether soeuer it will for all the lamenesse of the legge. What shall I say more? If any doe yet still doubt of the things afore rehearsed, I will put him but to one proofe; for his answere whereto vpon leysure, I will beleeue him vpon his oth. If he bee a despiser of God, let him call to mynd if he can, how much euill he hath sustayned in the hauing of his goodes, and how much euill he hath endured to doe euill. Let him remember how greatly he hath tyred himselfe with his owne wishes, tormented himselfe with his good successes, set himselfe on fire when he thought but to warme him, and wandered quite away, when he ment to haue brought others to the bent of his owne bowe. Or if he be one that feareth God, let him cõsider how much euill he hath left vndone, in forbearing to haue so great store of those false goodes: how many things he hath wished which he would haue eschewed, if he had foreknowen the issewe of them which he sawe afterward: how greatly he had bene dreaded and misliked of others, though he could not deuise to haue done better: how often his falles and slidings haue serued to make him to take sure footing against sinne: how oft his wãderings out of the way haue made him to escape the lyings in wayt and the thæueries of the worlde: how oft his owne wyles haue serued to turne him from the right: & how often his owne ouersights haue serued to bring him to his intended ende: and I doubt not but the heedfull marking of these things, both in others and in himself, will make him to perceyue that a certeyne euerlasting prouidence watcheth ouer our liues and all our doings. At leastwise vnlesse we will denye, that to leade the forecastes of others to another end than they purposed; to bring the vnaduised ouersights of others to better passe than they themselues could wish; and to make the wisdome of the wisest to doe seruice, not only to his owne diuine wisdome, (if a man may so terme it) but also oftentymes euen to the vndiscrætnesse of the meanest, is the worke of Prouidence.

The xiij. Chapter.

That mans wisedome hath acknowledged Gods Prouidence, and how the same wadeth betwene Destinie and Fortune.

The Men of old tyme.

DOW, like as men of olde tyme haue acknowledged ỹ maker of the world, some in expresse termes, and othersome by cõsequence: so haue they also easely perceiued the Prouidence, which thei haue dẽmed to depend vpon the same as an appurtenance thereunto. Insomuch that euen they which haue flatly denyed the Creation, haue neuerthelater graunted the Prouidence, by reason that they found it so cleere and manifest a matter; howbeit that to denye the Prouidence and to denye the Creation is all one. Hermes espyes it out everywhere, as well in the Creation of the whole and of the parts thereof, as in the order and maintenance of al things. And if it be demaunded of him, what prouidẽce it is, to haue brought forth so many things which seeme nedlesse and vnprofitable; his answer is readie shapen, That God created all things to his owne glorie: and that it is a glorie, both to him to haue created all things, and vnto all things to haue bin created by his hand. And if it bee asked againe, whence the euill commeth that is in things: He answereth, That GOD created them good, howbeit that (to speake properly) there is nothing purely good but only God. As for the euill, it is come in vpon the good, like as all generation is accompanyed with corruption. The yron rusteth; thou wilt not wyte it vpon the Smith. The Wine sowreth; thou wilt not wyte it vpon the Vintener. The things that are created doe corrupt; as little also oughtest thou to wyte it vpon the Creator. Why? Because that only he is vnchaungeable, and it is méete that there should alway bee some difference betwéene the Creator, and the things created; betwéene all, and nothing. Plato in that he teacheth the Creation, doth also sufficiently teach the Prouidence. For if Gods power, wisedome, and goodnesse bee equall, or rather all

Hermes in his Asclepius, and Cyrillus in his second booke.

all one thing; loke where his power is, there is his wisedome, and thither also extendeth his goodnesse. But his power extendeth euen to the least things, for els they could haue no being at all: therefore his wisedome also extendeth vnto them to guyde and gouerne thē, and likewise his goodnesse without the which nothing could be preserued. And so, Gods prouident goodnesse and gracious wisedome doe watch ouer all things. Againe, when as Plato setteth downe God to bee the end of man, and man to bee the end of all things in the world and of the world it selfe: hee sheweth sufficiently that as man tendeth to God, so doth the world also; but vnto that ende it should not tend, vnlesse it were directed thether, and who directeth it thether, but he that first made it? To bee short, the perticular formes of all things present and to come in respect of vs, but eternally present with GOD, can haue no abyding without a perfect knowledge and a steadie direction of all things.

But if any dowt hereof remaine yet still; let vs heare what the Platonistes say to that matter. Surely Plotin hath made two or three bookes thereof, wherein he teacheth prouidence by all things from the greatest to the smallest, comming downe euen to the little flowers which wee see vnblowen in the morning and withered at night, as though he had ment to say the same thing that wee reade in the Gospell: namely, Consider me the Lillies of the field; and so forth. Vnto the ordinarie complaynt concerning the prosperitie of the wicked, and the aduersitie of the vertuous; he answereth that the prosperitie of the wicked is but as a Stageplay, and the aduersitie of the godly is as a gaming of exercise, wherein they bee tyed to a streight dyet, that they may win the prize for which they contend. Vnto the Question concerning euill, he answereth; that it is nothing els but a fayling of goodnesse, which goeth on still diminishing it from degree to degree euē to the vttermost; and that it proceedeth not from GOD, but from the imperfection of the matter, which he termeth nothing: and that the euill, (which consisteth altogether in degrees and in fayling of good,) is so farre of from diminishing Gods Prouidence, that it is rather the thing wherein Gods Prouidence sheweth it selfe the more, as without the which there were no Prouidence at all to be seene: and yet that therewithall, God is the author of all abilities, and the disposer or ouerruler of all willes. Which things (to auoyde long discourse) are more conuenientlie to be seene in his owne workes.

If the man that suffereth be good: also. Plotin lib. 3. Ennead. 4.

His Disciple Porphyrius departed not from the same opinion,

howbeit that he was combered with the like perplexities, that they be which dispute against it. Seeing that God (sayth he) doth by his skill ouerrule all things, and order them by incomparable proprietie of vertue; and that on the contrary part, mannes Reason being very small, is ignorant of most things how skilful and curiouse so euer it seeme to be of the trueth: Surely we may then call it wyse, when it is not curiouse in serching such doutfull and hard matters, as are matched with daunger of blaspheming; but rather graunteth that the things which are done, are very well as they bee. For what can our small Reason finde fault with or reprooue in the doings of that greate Reason, to esteeme them eyther lawfull or vnlawfull, seeing wee vnderstande them not? And in another place, If wee suffer a King (saieth he) to dispose of his owne affayres as he listeth; shall wee deny vnto GOD the ordering and disposing of the things heere beneath, which hee himselfe created? And against such as founde fault with the gouerment of the world which they vnderstand not, these are his very words. Soothly (sayth he) there is not a more vniust speech, than that which presumeth to teache God Iustice, nor a more holy speech than that which yeeldeth to the trueth; and to think otherwise is a disease of mynd & a great cryme. For God not only directeth all things at all tymes, too the behoofe and full harmony of the whole vniuersally; but also is the cherisher preseruer and repayrer of euery seuerall thing in particular. I pray you hathe hee not shewed too Phisicians, (who haue so much prouidence as hee hathe giuen them skil,) the things that are too befall too the whole body of man, how that some members are to be cut of, some to be seared, and othersome to be eaten away with Corasiues, for the health of the whole body? And yet when the Nurces or Mothers see the Surgiō about to do it, do they not weepe and cry out ryght strangely, notwithstanding that they knowe it to be for the welfare of the childes body? But what doth the Father then who is wiser than they, but comfort the patient, and hold the playster ready to lay to the wound? God lykewyse for the curing of the whole, hath ordeyned that men should dye, (That is the thing that Epicurus findeth fault with) & that they should be separated asunder, as a Toe is sumtime cut of for the sauing of the whole body. And could we enter into the mynd of God, we should vndoutedly knowe why and

Porphyrius to Nemertius.

Cyrillus in his second and Fifth bookes against Iulian.

to

to what good end hee hath from the beginning barred some things from being because he foresaw they should be to hurtfull, and vnto other some hath giuen death in recompence of their godlynes. The summe of all is, that nothing is done but by the prouidence of God, howbeit that many things seeme repugnāt to his wisdome and goodnes, as the cutting off of a Leg, or the searing of a member seeme repugnant both to the healing of the whole body, and to the purpose of the Surgion.

Also as touching the aduersities of good men, See heere what Synesius the Platonist answereth. The aduersities (sayth he) which wee thinke wee indure without our deserts, doe helpe vs too weede out our affections out of our ground; which is to much inclyned too them; and by that meanes the inconueniences which make fooles to doubt of Gods Prouidence, doe confirme wise folke the more therein. For what man would bee contented to part hence, if he found no aduersitie here? And therefore it is to be thought, that the Rulers of the lower Regions (he meaneth the Fends) were the first founders of these prosperities which the comon sort maketh so great account of, of purpose to bewitch men with them, and to lull them a sleepe here. Hierocles also hauing made a long discourse, concludeth that if we fall into any aduersitie whereof wee cannot coniecture the cause, it behoueth to consider that wee bee ignorant in all things, and yet we must not proceede so farre, as to say that God is the author of euill, or that he hath not a care of vs; for those (sayth he) were ouergreate blasphemies.

Synesius the Platonist.

Hierocles.

Aristotle speaketh not any otherwyse eyther in his greate Moralls or in his little Moralls, howbeit that hee be more graueled in his Metaphysiks. Howsoeuer the case stand, in his booke concerning the world he graunteth vnto God the care of al greate things. And thinke you it beseemeth man too set bounds too the wisdome of God who hath limited the natures of all things; and to appoynt what God shall esteeme greate or small, before whom nothing can be greate or small? Neuertheless whereas he sayth that the world dependeth vpon God as the end thereof; the best of his Desciples do by infallible consequence gather thereof the prouidence of God. For seeing that the World dependeth vpon hym and tendeth vnto him; the beginning of that direction cannot proceede of any other, than of him to whom it tendeth. Agein, seeing that (as he sayth in other places) all kynd of things tend too some one perticular ende

Aristotle in his Moralles to Nicomachus and Eudemus.

euery one peculiar to it selfe, and all meete togither in one vniuersall end, and yet all of them haue not reason or vnderstanding to appoynt that ende too themselues, or to hold themselues within that bound. It followeth then that there is a certeine prouidence which hath that reason for all and euery of them, and that the same reason resteth in God vpon whō al of them depend, as Aristotles best lerned interpreters are constrained to confesse. To be short, the quick sentence which is attributed vnto him, which is, That such as require a proofe of Gods prouidence are to be answered with the lashes of a Whippe: doth giue vs sufficient credit of his opinion.

Of the opinion of Theophrastus we cannot doubt. For he that graunteth the creation of a thing, cannot doubt of prouidence, considering that power and goodnes are alike equall in both of them. But behold heere ỹ expresse words of Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence. That God should haue no wil (sayth he) to care for the things heere beneath, is too farre disagreeing with his nature; for it is the propertie of an enuious person. And that he should be vnable, were to vnseemely for him, for he is able to doe more than he hath yet done. Therfore let vs not dout of him, either the one or the other, but let vs rather conclude, that hee both can and will haue care of all things that are done heere belowe. And in another place hee gathereth this very conclusion, That all our welfare lyeth in the seruing of God, and that the feare of him is a gift of his, in that he voutsafeth to extend his prouidence vnto vs.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence.

Of the opinions of Plutarke and Seneca, their owne bookes do expresly testifie: namely Plutarks treatise concerning the slowe punishment of euill doers, for him; and Senecaes bookes concerning benefites, and a treatise of his concerning Prouidence, for him. So lykewise doth the wise Philosopher Epictetus vpon whome Simplicius hath written. For after many forespeeches concerning the greatnes and maiestie of God, and the weakenes of man, they assayed to yelde a reason of all things that offended the weaker sort in this case, yea euen to the very accidents and to the thunderclaps. And I desire my readers to take the peynes to reade them whole, that they may see how conformable the things whiche Christians teache, are to the wisedome of the best sort among the Heathen. Whereunto they may for an income, adde this Oracle of Apollo himselfe reported by Porphyrius.

Seneca concerning Benefits, lib. 2. Cap. 4. 5. & 21. 31.

No man too hyde himselfe from God by cunning can deuize;
No man by slyghts or suttle shifts can blind or dim his eyes.
All places he fulfilleth, He is present euerywhere,
And giueth lyfe to euery thing that mooues and lyfe doth beare.

Porphyrius in his Collectiōs of Philosophy.

And as concerning all other people of the Earth, in whose be-
alfe the Poets (which are full of such sayings euery where) may
nswere, as Orpheus, Homere, Hesiodus, Aratus, Sophocles,
hocylides and such others: surely in as much as wée sée that all
Nations haue some Religion, it is a visible president, that Gods
rouidence is beléeued and receiued of all with one accord. For in
ayne doe men serue God, if he sée it not; in vayne doo men pray to
im if he regard them not, in vayne complaine they to him, if hee
dge them not; and to be short, in vayne doe wee call vppon him
oth on Sea and Land, (where counsell and casualtie seeme most
 take place) for the mainteyning of our welfare, and the preser-
ing of vs from harme; vnlesse wée bée throughly perswaded that
e heareth vs, and that he ruleth Heauen and Earth and all things
 them from aboue, yea and euen the verye hazard of warre as
æsar termeth it, wherein fortune séemeth to beare greatest sway.
But afore wee giue our determinate Judgment, wee haue yet two
dvocates to heare, namely the Aduocate of Fortune, and the Ad-
ocate of Destinie. For (sayth the one) if all things passe vnder the
uyding of prouidence, what becommeth of Fortune which we sée
 so manye things? And (sayeth the other) what fréedome then
ath man? must it not néedes be confessed, that a certeine destinie
ompelleth euery man to doe whatsoeuer he doth?

Oppianus θεοὶ ταλόθεν ἐγγὺς ὄντες.

If ye meane fortune as she is peynted by the Poets, blynd, stan-
ing on a bowle, and turning with euery wynd: it is as easie to
ype her away as to paynt her. For who seeth not that there is an
niforme order, both in the whole world, and in all the parts ther-
f, and how then can one that is blynd be the guyder therof? Also
who vnderstandeth not, that to moue things belongeth to stedfast-
esse and not vnto vnstedfastnesse? for how can that thing rule and
éeld others, which is caryed away it self? Or how can he hold the
erne who floteth himself vpon the water? Séeing then that there
s so certein order in all things: it followeth that fortune beareth
o sway in any thing, and therefore that there is no fortune at all.
But if by the word fortune they meane as Proclus doth, a certein
iuine power that gathereth causes farre distant one from another,
ll to one end: surely in that case we be more fréends to fortune than
they

Ageinst Fortune.

Proclus vppon Timeus.

they be. For we admit it, not only in things vncerteine wandering and wauering, but also euen in the things that are moste certein, yea and in all things whatsoeuer; as the which is but God himself disguysed vnder another name.

Nowthen to speake properly, what is Fortune? Is it a Substance? Euen by their owne confession, it hath no being but in the disorder of other things. Shall wee terme it an Accident? How should an accident worke so diuers accidents? What is it then, if it be any thing at all? Surely it is a word that signifieth nothing but respectiuely, that is to say, as hauing respect of some things or persons that are spoken of, and it hath no ground or being but of and in our owne ignorance. That which is fortune to the Childe, is no fortune to the father: that which is fortune to the Seruant, is none to the Maister: that which is fortune to the fole, is none to the wise man: that which is fortune to the wise man, is none vnto God. According to the measure of our knowledge or ignorance, so doth fortune increase or abate. Take away ignorance frō men, and fortune is banished from all their dealings. The father letteth a thing fall in his Garden, to see whether his child wil bring it to him or steale it away. The childe thinkes it to be falne by chaunce; and his father who knowes to what ende he did let it fall, smyles at him. And so the thing that was chaunce or fortune to the childe, was of set purpose in the father. A Maister sendeth forth diuers Seruants diuers waies, all to one place, to the intent that of many, some one at the least may escape and come home againe. They mēte there all together. At the first sight the thing which was forecast by good order, seemeth to them to happen by aduenture. A Captayne hauing deuised to take the Gate of some Citie, causeth a Cart or a Charyot to bee broken vpon the Drawbridge as it were by some mischaunce, that his ambush may in the meane while breake forth and enter the Towne. The Warders fall to beating of the Wagoner for it, and othersome excuse him as ouertaken by misfortune. And so the thing which was a pollicie of Warre in the Captayne that deuised it, is a chaunce or fortune to the Towne that wist not the ground of it. A wise man to giue a glyke to another wise man, or a Captayne to beguyle a Captayne, or an enemie to delude his enemie, cyphereth a letter grossely for the nonce, and sendeth it such a way as he imagineth that it shalbe surprized. He that lighteth vpō it is glad of so good aduenture, and thinking that he readeth the secretes of his aduersaries hart, buildeth all his affayres in good earneſt

Iuuenall. There wants no God at all, where wisdum doth aduyse: we fooles haue fortune deifide, and plaste aboue the Skyes,

Cicero. Error, & Blindnes and the not knowing of things and causes, haue brought vp the names of Nature and Fortune.

nest vpon things contriued to deceyue him. And so the thing which was a rare deuise in the one, is a rare aduenture to the other. Now if among men, which are all of one kynde, and haue welneere like portion of reason, there bee such oddes betweene age and age, betweene qualitie and qualitie, and betweene wit and wit; that the same which in one is prouidence, is fortune in another: shall wee thinke it straunge, that the thing which seemeth fortune to vs that are but blindnesse and ignorance, should be singular prouidence as in respect of God? Or that he which is the only cause of all causes, should haue the skill to assemble them together to some one certeyne effect, how farre distant soeuer they be? As for example, if he make thee to finde a Treasor in digging of a pit, or to scape a fall from a plancher in going to walke vppon it; wouldest thou steale that benefite from the goodnesse of GOD, who brought thée to the one place, or saued thée from the other? I say from God who is thy maker, to father it vpon blynd Fortune which knoweth thée not? And why should it be harder for him to match two causes together that are farre asunder, than to haue made them so farre at oddes one from another? Or than it is for thy selfe to put wood to fire, and fire to water, & thy meate into the water, which are causes so farre distant, and yet notwithstanding thou ioynest them together to one certeyne ende, which is the nourishment of thy bodie? And what things are further distant in thy mynd, than a Charyot, a Drawbridge, and an Hoste of men; which things notwithstanding thou couldest skill to bring fitly together for ỹ taking of a Citie? Thus loke wherein thou doest chiefly place fortune, there doth the rarest and most wonderfull poynt of Prouidence most euidently shewe it selfe.

But now comes me the other Aduocate; who to bring vs vnto Destinie, and to a certeyne necessitie of all things and of al doings, maketh his hand of all the things which we haue alledged against Fortune. Therefore let vs see how we may walke betweene Fortune and Destinie, so as wee may shunne chaunce without falling into necessitie, and perceiue whether the same be Prouidence or no. If all things (say they) be guyded by GOD to some one certeyne end, yea euen those also which seeme casuall; then can they not bee turned any other way. I willingly graunt them that. And if they cannot bee turned, then are not mens doings free, but of necessitie. Nay, this cõsequent is vtterly false; because the things which haue free will to endeuer themselues contrary to Gods will, haue not

Against Destinie.

free

free power to restreyne his will from ouerruling them. But let vs lay forth this matter more at large, that it may bee the better vnderstood. We see in the Skye a great number of Starres that are fixed, and many also (as the Planets) which haue euery of them their peculiar mouings turnes & courses seuerally to themselues. Now, the highest Heauen, by his vniuersall mouing carieth all the Starres about, as well the mouable as the vnmouable, without any stopping or interrupting of their particular mouings, whereby bee made innumerable figures aspects and respects, which I leaue to the Astrologers to declare. The Sunne maketh the day and the yeere; the Mone maketh the monethes & the quarters; the Pleyads and Hyads make the Seasons; the Dogstarre maketh the heate of the Sommer, and so forth. Let vs put the case that the highest Heauen stood still, and that the lower Heauens kept on their peculiar mouings: or let vs put the case that he went on, and that all the rest stood still; and then should there bee none of the sayd figurings and aspects to bee seene. But let them all alone as they bee: let the highest Heauen by his mouing carie all the Starres about, and let euery of them continue the hauing and executing of his owne peculiar nature, the mouable as mouable, and the vnmouable as vnmouable, and euery of them indeuer accordingly against the Vniuersall; and then shall wee see the wonderfulnesse of the Heauen, which by an vniforme kynd of mouing ỹ leaueth to euery Starre his proper and peculiar mouing, yeeldeth euery day diuers formes in the Skye, which cause alterations in the ayre; which thing neyther his owne sole mouing could doe if the residue of the Starres stode still, neyther could the courses and mouings of the Starres bring it to passe, if they were not carried about by the mouing of him. Now let vs see how this example agreeth with our matter. God by his will and power hath created all powers, and disposed all willes. That his power ouerruleth all powers, al men confesse. For who is he that maketh a Clocke and cannot rule it? But that his will should direct all willes to such ende as he listeth, without forcing them frō their nature which is to be free, there is the dowt. God forbid that he which created nature to doe him seruice, should be vnable to vse the seruice thereof without marring it. God then (say I) guydeth all things to the performance of his will, the mouable by their mouings, and the vnmouable by their stedfastnesse; the things indewed with sence, by their appetites, and the reasonable things, by their willes; the naturall things, by their thraldome,

and

and the things that haue will, by their freedome: And the freer that they be, the greater is his glorie, as in deede it is a more commendable thing to cause libertie to yeeld freely to obedience by gentle handling, than to haue it by force and compulsion as it were tyed in a chayne. If the willes of all men were caried by Gods will without hauing their owne peculiar mouings: the power of God could not shine forth in them so much as it doth now, when all willes inforce themselues seuerally against his will, and yet neuertheless euen in following their owne sway, doe finde themselues led (they wote not how) whether soeuer it pleaseth him. Neither should wee see the said diuersities of figures in the Heauen, which breede so diuers effects, of Warres, of peace, of decayes, of prosperitie, of aduersitie, and such other; which serue all to the Prouidence of the euerlasting God; but wee should see everywhere one vniforme will holding all other willes fast fettered, and carrying them whether soeuer it listed; and the more streightly that they were tyed vp, the lesse should we esteeme of his power, as who would say he stode in feare to let them lose. Agayne, if wee imagine all those willes to haue free scope, to followe their own lykings without any gouernment of higher power to ouerrule them, and restreyne them when they intend to breake out: wee should vndoubtedly see diuers ends in things, whereas now they tend all to one: And libertie would turne into lasciuiousnesse, lasciuiousnesse into disorder, and disorder into destruction; whereas the world doth necessarily require order, and order requireth all things to bee referred to some one certeyne ende. God therefore to shew his power in our freedome and libertie, hath left our willes to vs; and to restreyne them from lasciuiousnesse, he hath so ordered them by his wisedome, that he worketh his owne will no lesse by them, than if wee had no will at all. Let vs enforce our selues as much as wee list against his will, and yet euen our disobedience shall turne to the fulfilling of his will. Let vs goe Eastward when his will goes Westward, and yet doth his mouing conduct vs still. But albeit that God do leade forth and guyde the one will as well as the other; yet notwithstanding right happie is that will which indeuereth to followe, and vnhappie is that which must bee haled and dragged. Likewise in a kenell of Hounds, euery of them runneth according to his naturall inclination, and yet all of them serue the purpose of the Hunter. Also in an Hoste of men, one fighteth for honour, another for spight, a third for gayne, and al for victorie to the Prince that sent them into the field. Take from the

Hounds

Hounds their naturall inclinations, and from the Souldiers their perticular willes and dispositions; and ye doe away Hunting, and the Armie must needes disperse.

Gods foresight or Forknowledge.

Yea (say they) but God sawe al things and all the courses of the world from euerlasting al at one instant, and things cannot fal out otherwise than he hath foreseene them. It seemeth therfore that nothing is casual nothing at the choyce of our wil, nor any thing that is not of necessitie. Yes: for as God beholdeth all things with one view, so doth he also behold euery of them working according too their seuerall properties. He seeth the mouing of the Heauen, and the particular mouings of the Sunne and the Moone to bring forth the Eclipses of necessitie: he seeth men cõsulting of warre, of peace, of alyance and other things, willingly; and hee seeth the Plants spring vp and growe naturally. He himself hath set downe the second, third, yea, and fourth causes, and hath linked them one to an other, to do what he will haue done: but the thing that deceiueth vs in this case, is that we consider not that our wills are among these causes and that according to their freenesse such as it is, they work freely in the doings of this world, lyke as all other causes woork euery of them according to their peculiar moouings, inclinations, abilities, natures or kynds. After the same maner the man that is acquaynted with his howseholdmatters, will deeme aforehand which of three parts his eldest sonne will chose, and which his second will chose, though he be farre of frõ them, bicause he knoweth their natures and inclinations; and yet for all that, hee inclyneth them not to the dooing of the one or of the other. Ageine, another foreseeth that a Prince will kepe peace or make warre, bycause he knoweth him too be eyther of a quiet or of an vnquiet disposition. Euen so is it with God: sauing that he being nere and innermore to al things than the things themselues are, doth knowe them most perfectly, wheras we haue nothing but by coniectures, and those verye weake. To be short, as in respect of God the things are of necessitie, which as in respect of themselues are things of casualtie; the cause wherof is, that the matter which in the things themselues is to come, is present to his sight euerlastingly; and his foreseeing of things to come, is not in the causes of them as it is vnto wyse men, but in himself who is the cause of all causes; and therfore he seeth not that thou shalt do this or shalt not do that [as of a thing to come] but whatsoeuer thou art to do, he seeth thée doing it from euerlasting; naturally if it be to be done naturally, and willingly if

If it be predestined (saieth one) that thou shalt recouer thy sicknes, it is in vayn for thee to send for the Phisition. If it be thy destiny (answereth another) to haue Childrẽ: it is in vayn for thee to cõpany with thy wyfe.

it

it be to be done willingly: and yet thy will is no lesse subiect to his will, than thy nature is subiect to the power that created it: neither is the freedom of thy [illegible] (such as it is now after thy fall) any more compelled in taking deliberation, than thy nature is compelled in growing or shuming. When I speake heere of freewill, I meane not to deale with this Question whether it lye in vs to chose the way of Saluation or no. For as it is a thing that surmounteth the whole nature of mankind, and exceedeth ỹ proportion of our weake vnderstandings: so must it of necessitie ensue that wee must bee drawen by some hygher cause from aboue, as in a case that concerneth the forsaking of our selues and of our owne desires, and not the following of them. Ageine, I intend not to take away the extraordinarie motions which God worketh in vs, when he vseth vs sometymes beyond the inclination of our nature, by breeding that in vs by a secrete operation, which was not in vs of our selues, But I speake peculiarly of these inferiour doings, which are proportionable to our wit and to the capacitie of our reason; in which things our Freewill (as maymed as it is) hath abilitie to exercyse it self, notwithstanding that it be vtterly lame and vnable to mount vp any higher. After that maner therefore may we wade betweene the Fortune of Epicurus and the destinie of Chrysippus, by Prouidence; and betweene casualtie and necessitie by the will of God; and betweene Looceneſſe and Bondage by leauing their mouings free; which yet neuertheleſſe shall come to the end which God hath liked to appoint vnto them, whatsoeuer windings and wreathings they seeme to themselues to make in the meane tyme. And as touching the destinie of the Astrologers, who make all things subiect to the whelings about of the Skye, and make all things to be as much of necessitie as the mouings thereof: we will leaue them to pleade their case ageinst that greate Learned man the Countie of Mirandula, praying them to consider at leastwyse, whether the greate studye and peynes which those greate Clerks haue taken to disproue this destinie, can by any meanes bee fathered vppon destinie.

Now then, for a small conclusion of this whole discourse, let vs say that God is a souereine Beeing, and a souereine mynd, and that Beeing and Mynding are all one in him; and therefore that as in creating things the might and power of his Beeing extended euen to the least things or els they had not bin at all: so the Prouidence, forecast and direction of his mynd extend to all things, or else they could

could not continue. Let not the confusion of things which we see heere belowe troubble vs; for the greater the same is, the greater doth Gods prouidence shewe it selfe therein, as the skill of a Phisition doth in the intricateneſſe of a diſeaſe. But who is he that can limit the sight of the Euerlasting God? Surely not the prosperities of the wicked; for they be but visors: nor the aduersities of the godly, for they be but exercises; nor the Deathes of the giltleſſe, for it is but a pouddring of their vertewes to preserue them to the vse of posteritie. Nay, let not euen sinne it selfe, which is the very euill in deede, cause any grudge of mynd in vs; for God Created Nature good, but euill is sprong thereof. He Created freedome, and it is degenerated into Looseneſſe. But let vs prayse God for giuing vs powers, and let vs condemne our selues for abusing them. Let vs glorifie him for chastising vs by our owne Lewdneſſe, for executing his Justice by our vniuſt Dealings, and for performing the ordinaunce of his rightfull will by our inordinate paſſions. If we see a thing whereof we knowe not the cause; let vs acknowledge our ignorance, and not name it fortune. The causes that are furtheſt asunder, are neere at hand vnto him, to performe whatsoeuer he liſteth. If we do any vnreasonable thing; let vs not alledge neceſſitie. He can skill to vse all things without marring them; the moouable, according to their moouings; the things indewed with will, according to their passions; and the things indewed with reason, according to their reasonings. In thinking to do our owne will, we bring his to passe. We be free to followe our owne Nature; and our Nature is becomme euill through sinne. O wretched frædome, which bringeth vs vnder such bondage! And asmore this nature of ours, we can neither shun it nor driue it from vs: for we be bondslaues to it, and it to sinne, and there behoueth a stronger than our selues to rid vs thereof. Therefore let vs pray God to bring the frædome of our wills in bondage to his will, and to free our soules from this hard and damnable kind of frædome, and to graunt vs by his grace, not as to the wicked, to doe his will in being vnwilling to do it; but as to his Children, at leaſtwiſe to be willing to doe it euen in not doing it.

The xiiij Chapter.

That the Soule of Man is immortall, or dyeth not.

HItherto I haue treated of the woꝛld that is to be conceiued in vnderſtanding, and of the ſenſible Woꝛld (as the Platoniſts tearme them) that is to ſay, of God and of this Woꝛld. Now followeth the examining of the Little Woꝛld (as they terme it) that is to ſay, of man. Concerning God, we haue acknowledged him to be a Spirit: and as touching the Woꝛld, we haue found it to be a body. In man wee haue an abꝛidgment of both, namely of God in reſpect of Spirit, and of the Woꝛld in compoſition of body, as though the Creatoꝛ of purpoſe to ſet foꝛth a mirroꝛ of his woꝛks, intended to bꝛing into one little compaſſe both the infinitenеſſe of his owne nature, and alſo the hougeneſſe of the whole woꝛld together. Wee ſee in mans body a Wonderfull mixture of the fower Elements, the veynes ſpꝛeading foꝛth like Riuers to the vttermoſt members; as many inſtruments of ſence, as theere be ſenſible natures in the woꝛld; a greate nomber of ſinewes, Fleſhſtrings, and knitters; a Head by ſpeciall pꝛiuiledge Directed vp too Heauenward; & Hands ſeruing to all maner of ſeruices. What ſoeuer he is that ſhall conſider no moꝛe, but onely this inſtrument, without life, without ſence, and without mouing; cannot but think verily that it is made to verie greate purpoſe; and he muſt needes krie out as Hermes oꝛ as the Sarzin Abdala doth, that man is a miracle which farre ſurmounteth, not only theſe Lower Elements, but alſo the verie Heauen and all the oꝛnaments thereof. But if he could (as it were out of himſelf) behold this body receiuing life, and entering into the vſe of all his motions with ſuch foꝛewardneſſe, hands beſtirring themſelues ſo nimbly and after ſo ſundꝛie faſhions, and the Senſes vttering their foꝛce ſo farre of, without ſtirring out of their place: think you not that he would be wonderfully rauiſhed, and ſo much moꝛe wonder at the ſayd life mouing and ſence, than at the body, as he woondered afoꝛe at the body, to behold the excellencie of the pꝛopoꝛtion thereof aboue the maſſe of ſome ſtone? Foꝛ

Man is both Soule & body.

what comparison is there betweene a Lute and a Luteplayer, or betweene a dumb instrument and him that maketh it to sound? What would he say then if he could afterward see how the same man being now quickned attaineth in one moment from the one side of the earth to the other without shifting of place; descending downe to the centre of the world, and mounting vp aboue the outermost circle of it both at once; present in a thousand places at one instant, imbracing the whole without touching it; keeping vpon the earth, and yet conteyning it; beholding the Heauens from beneath, and being aboue the Heauens of Heauens both at once? Should hee not be compelled to say, that in this fillie body there dwelleth a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world together? Then let vs say with Plato, that man is dubble; outward, and inward. The outward man is that which we see with our eyes, which forgoeth not his shape whē it is dead, no more than a Lute forgoeth his shape when the Luteplaier ceaseth from making it to sound, howbeit that both life, mouing, sence, and reason be out of it. The inward man is the Soule, and that is properly the very man; which vseth the body as an instrument; whereunto though it be united by the power of God, yet doth it not remoue when the body ronneth. It seeth when the eyes be shut, and sometymes seeth not when the eyes be wyde open: It traueleth while the body resteth, and resteth when the body traueleth; that is to say, it is able of it self to parfourme his owne actions, without the help of the outward man, wheras on the contrarie part the outward without the help of the inward, that is to wit, the body without the presence of the Soule, hath neither sence, mouing, life, no nor countenance of beeing. In the outward man we haue a Counterfet of the whole world, and if ye rip them both vp by perselmeale, ye shal find a wonderfull agreement betwixt them. But my purpose in this booke is not to treate of the things that perteyne peculiarly to the body.

In the inward man wee haue a summe of whatsoeuer life sence and mouing is in all creatures, and moreouer an Image or rather a shadowe (for the Image is defaced by our sinne) of the Godhead it selfe. And that is the thing which wee haue to examine in this Chapter. In Plants, we perceyue that besides their bodies which wee see, there is also an inward vertue which wee see not, whereby they liue, growe, bud, and beare fruite: which vertue wee call the quickening Soule, and it maketh them to differ from Stones and

Mettalles,

Wettalles, which haue it not. In sensitiue liuing things, we finde the selfesame vertue, which worketh while they sleepe & are after a sort as the Plants: and therewithall we finde another certeine vertue or power which seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, and feeleth; which also in many of them doth hold vp the things brought in by the sences; which maner of power the Plants are voyd of. This do we terme the sensitiue Soule, because the effects thereof are discerned and executed by the Sences. In man we haue both the quickning and the Sensitiue, the former vttering it selfe in the nourishing and increasing of him, and the later in the subtilitie of sence and imagination, wherethrough he is both Plant and Beast together. But yet moreouer wee see also a Mynd which considereth and beholdeth, which reapeth profite of the things that are brought in by the Sences, which by his seeing conceiueth that which it seeth not; which of that which is not, gathereth that which is; & finally which pulleth a man away both from the earth & from al sensible things, yea and (after a sorte) from himself too. This doe we call the reasonable Soule, and it is the thing that maketh man to bee man, (and not a Plant or a brute Beast as the other two doe,) and also to bee the Image or rather a shadowe of the Godhead, in that (as we shal say hereafter) it is a Spirit that may haue continuance of being alone by it selfe without the bodie. And by the way, whereas I say that the inward man hath a quickening power as a Plant hath, a sensitiue power as a Beast hath, and a power of vnderstanding wherby he is a man: my meaning is not that he hath three Soules but onely one Soule; that is to wit, that like as in the brute Beast the sensitiue Soule comprehendeth the quickening Soule; so in man the reasonable Soule comprehendeth both the sensitiue and the quickening, and executeth the offices of them all three, so as it both liueth, feeleth, and reasoneth euen as well and after the same maner, as the mynd of a man may intend to his owne household-matters, to the affayres of the Commonweale, and to heauenly things all at once. Or to speake more fitly, these three degrees of Soules are three degrees of life, whereof the second exceedeth and conteyneth the first, and the third exceedeth and conteyneth both the other two. The one, without the which the bodie cannot liue, is the Soule or life of the Plant, and is so tyed to the bodie, that it sheweth not it selfe in any wise out of it. The second, which cannot liue without the bodie, is the Soule or life of the Beast, which doth well vtter forth his power and force abroad, but yet not otherwise

In Man are three Abilities of Soule.

than by the members and instruments of the bodie whereunto it is tyed. The third, which can of it selfe liue and continue without the bodie, but not the bodie without it, is the Soule of man, which giueth life inwardly to all his parts, sheweth forth his life abroad in the perceiuing of all things subiect to Sence, and reteyneth still his force (as shalbe sayd hereafter) yea and increaseth it, euen when the strength of the bodie and the very liuelinesse of the sences fayle. And in very deede, ye shall see a man forgoe all his sences one after another as the instruments of them decay, and yet haue still both life and reason vnappayred. The cause whereof is, that some of the instruments of life and sence doe fayle; but the life it selfe which quickeneth them fayleth not. And therefore the Beast forgoeth not life in losing sence, but he vtterly forgoeth sence in forgoing life. And that is because life is the ground of the abilities of sence, and the sensitiue life is a more excellent life than the quickening life, as wherein those powers and abilities are as in their roote. To bee short, he that bereaueth man or beast of the vse of Sences, or man of the right vse of reason, doth not thereby bereaue him of life; but he that bereaueth the beast or the outward man of their life, doth therewithall bereaue them of sence and reason. Therefore it is a most sure argument, that the Soule which causeth a beast to liue, and the Soule that causeth it to haue sence, are both one, that is to wit, one certeyne kynd of life more liuely and more excellent than the life that is in Plants. And likewise that the Soule which causeth man to liue, to haue sence, and to reason, is but one, that is to wit, one certeyne kynde of life more excellent, more liuely, and of further reach, than the life of the Beast. But like as sence is as it were the forme or Selfebeing (if I may so terme it) of the life of a beast; so is reason or vnderstanding the very forme and Selfebeing of the Soule of man; and (to speak properly) it is the Soule or life of the Soule, like as the apple of our eye is the very eye of our eye. And in very deede, when the mynd is earnestly occupied, the sences are at a stay; and when the sences are ouerbusied, the nourishment and digestion is hindered; and contrarywise: which thing could not come to passe if the Soule were any mo than one substance, which by reason that it is but one, cannot vtter his force alike in all places at once, but yeeldeth the lesse care one where so long as it is earnestly occupyed another where. In this Soule of man (which yet notwithstanding is but one) the diuersitie of the powers and abilities is very apparant. The quickning power doth nourish, increase

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and maintayne vs; and Reason and Sence meddle not therewith, neyther haue they power to impeach the working thereof. The truetly whereof appeareth in this, that those things are best done when our mynd is at rest, and our sences are asleepe; insomuch that oftentymes we forgo the sence and mouing of some parts by some Rhewme or some Palsey, and yet the same parts ceasse not to bee nourished still. Also, the sensitiue life seeth and perceiueth a farre of, yea oftentimes without setting of the mynd thereupon, or without considering what the Sence conceyueth. Some men which haue but weake Sences, haue very quicke vnderstanding; and likewise on the contrary part. Agayne, some fall into a consumption, which want not the perfect vse of their Sences. Sometyme the reasonable part is so earnestly bent and occupyed about the things that it liketh of, that by the increasing of it self, it hurteth and diminisheth the part that quickeneth. Also it standeth in argument against the Sences, and reproueth them of falshode, and concludeth contrary to their information. And it may bee that the man which hath his digestion perfect and his Sences sound, hath not his wit or reason sound in like case. Now, were the Soule but onely one abilitie, it could not be so. But now is the same diuided manifestly into wit or vnderstanding, and will; the one seruing to deuise, and the other to execute. For we vnderstand diuers things which we will not, and wee will diuers things which wee vnderstand not: which contrary operations cannot be attributed both to one power. Neuertheless, the vniting of all these powers together is with such distinctnesse, and the distinguishing of them is with such vnion, that ordinarily they meete all together in one selfesame action, the one of them as readily (by all likelyhood) as the other, howbeit that euery of them doth his owne worke seuerally by himselfe, and one afore another as in respect of their obiects.

Thus haue we three sorts of men, according to the three powers or abilities of the inwarde man. Namely the earthly man, which like the Plant myndeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, making al his sences and al his reason to serue to that purpose, as in whom the care of this present life onely, hath deuoured and swallowed vp his sences and vnderstanding. The Sensuall man (as S. Paule himself termeth him,) who is giuen wholly to these sensible things inbasing and casting downe his reason so farre, as to make it a bondslaue to his sences and the pleasures and delights therof: And the reasonable man, who liueth properly in spirite and mynd, who

entereth into himselfe to knowe himselfe, and goeth out of himselfe to behold God; making this life to serue to the atteynment of a better, and vsing his Sences but as instruments and seruants of his reason. After as any of these three powers doe reigne and beare sway in man, that is to wit, after as a man yeldeth himselfe more to one thā to another of them; so becommeth he like vnto the Spirites, the brute Beastes, or Plants, yea and the very Blockes and Stones. But it is our disposition euen by kynd, to be caryed away by our corrupt nature, and by the obiects which hemme vs in on all sides; but as for against our nature yea or beyond our nature, our nature is not able to doe any thing at all.

Now, it is not enough for vs to knowe that wee haue a Soule whereby wee liue, feele, and vnderstand, and which beeing but one hath in it selfe alone so many sundrie powers or abilities: for it will be demaunded of vs by and by what this Soule properly is. And soothly if I should say, I cannot tell what it is, I should not belye my selfe a whit; for I should but confesse myne owne ignorance, as many great learned men haue done afore me. And I should doe no wrong at all to the Soule it selfe; for sith wee cannot denye the effects thereof, the lesse that we be able to declare the nature and beeing thereof, the more doth the excellencie therof shine forth. Agáine, it is a playne case, that no thing can comprehend the thing that is greater than it selfe. Now, our Soule is after a sort lesse than it selfe, inasmuch as it is wrapped vp in this body, in like wise as the man that hath gyues and fetters on his feete, is after a sort weaker than himselfe. Neuertheless, let vs assay to satisfye such demaunds as well as wee can. And forasmuch as it is the Image of God, not only in respect of the gouernment and maintenance of the whole world, but also euen in the very nature thereof: as wee sayd heretofore when we spake of the nature of GOD, if we cannot expresse or conceyue what it is, let vs at least wise be certified what it is not. First of all, that the Soule and the Body be not both one thing, but two very farre differing things, and also that the Soule is no part of the body, it appeareth of it self without further proofe. For if the Soule were ỳ body or a part of the body, it should grow with the body as the other parts of the body doe, and the greater that the body were, the greater also should the Soule be. May, contrarywise, the body increaseth to a certeyne age and then stayeth; after which age is commonly the tyme that the Soule doth most grow, and those that are strongest of mynd are commonly weakest

The Body and the Soule be not one self-same thing.

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of body, and the Soule is seene to be full of liuelinesse in a languishing body, and to growe the more in force, by the decay of the bodie. The Soule then groweth not with the body, and therefore it is not the body, nor any part of the body. And whereas I speake of growing in the Soule, by growing I meane the profiting therof in power and vertue, as the body groweth in greatnesse by further inlarging. Againe, if the Soule were the body, it should lose her strength and soundnesse with the body, so as the maimed in bodie should therewith feele also a mayme in his vnderstanding as well as in his members: whosoeuer were sick of any disease, should also bee sicke in his reason: he that limpeth or halteth, should therewith halt in Soule also: the blynd mans Soule should bee blynd, and the lame mans Soule should be lame. But we see cõtrariwise, that the maymed and the sicke, the Cripples and the blynd, haue their Soule whole and sound, and their vnderstanding perfect and clẽrelighted in it selfe. To be short, many a man dyeth whose body is sound, and differeth not a whit in any part from that it was whẽ it was aliue, and yet notwithstanding, both life, mouing, sence, and vnderstanding are out of it. Let vs say then that in the body there was a thing which was not of the body, but was a farre other thing than the body.

Some wilfull person will obiect here, that the force and strength of the Soule groweth with the body, as appeareth in this that a man growen wil remoue that which a child cannot, and that a child of two yeeres old will goe, which thing a babe of two moneths old cannot doe. But he should consider also, that if the selfesame man or the selfesame child should haue a mischaunce in his legge or in his arme, he should thereby forgoe the strength and mouing thereof, whereas yet notwithstanding his Soule should haue her former force and power still to moue the other as she did afore. Therefore it is to be sayd, not that ỹ childs Soule is growen or strengthened by tyme; but rather that his sinewes are dried and hardened which the soule vseth as strings and instruments too moue withall and therefore when age hath loosened and weakened them, a man hath neede of a staffe to help them with, although he haue as good a wil to runne as he had when he was yoong. The soule then which moueth thẽ all at one becke, hath the selfsame power in infancie which it hath in age, and the same in age which it hath in the prime of Youth: and the fault is only in the instrument, which is vnable to execute the operations thereof: like as the cunning of a Luteplaier

is not diminished by ꝑ moystnesse or slacknesse of his Lute strings, nor increased by the ouer high streyning and tyght standing of them; but in deede in the one hee cannot shewe his cunning at all, and in the other he may shewe it more or lesse. Likewise the speech of Children commeth with their teeth, howbeit that the speech doe manifestly vtter it self first, in that they prattle many things which they cannot pronounce: and in old men it goeth away agein with their teeth, and yet their eloquence is not abated thereby. Affor Demosthenes, although hee surmounted all the Orators of his tyme, yet were there some letters which he could not pronounce. Giue vnto old age or vnto infancie the same sinewes and teeth, and as able and lustye Limmes and members as youth hath; and the actions which the soule doeth with the body and by the body, I meane so farre forth as concerne the abilities of sence and lyuelynes, shalbe performed as well in one age as in another. But haddest thou as greate indifferencie in iudging of the force and power of thyne owne soule, as of the cunning of a Luteplayer, (I say not by the nimblenes of his fingars which are perchaunce knotted with the gout, but by the playne and sweete Harmonie of his Tabulature as they terme it, which maketh thée to déeme him to haue cunning in his head, although hee can no more vtter it with his hands,) so as thou wouldest consider how thou hast in thy selfe a desire to go, though thy féete be not able to beare thee; a discretion to iudge of things that are spoken; though thyne eyes cannot conuey it vnto thee; a sound eloquence, though for want of thy teeth thou cannot well expresse it; and which is aboue all the rest, a substantiall quicke and heauenly reason, euen when thy body is most earthly and drowping. Thou wouldest sone conclude that the force and power of quickening, mouing, and perceyuing, is whole and sound in thy Soule, and that the default is altogether in thy body. Insomuch that if she had a newe body and new instruments giuen vnto her, she would bee as lustie and chéerely as euer she was, and that the more she perceyueth the body to decay, the more she laboreth to retyre into her self, which is a playne proofe of that she is not the body nor any part of the body, but the very life and inworker of the body.

That the Soule is a substance.

And sith it is so, there néedeth no long skanning whether the Soule be a substance or a qualitie. For, seeing that qualities haue no being but in another thing than themselues; the life which causeth another thing to be, cannot be a qualitie. Forasmuch then as

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the Soule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwise should be but a Carkesse or Carpon: doubtlesse (vnlesse we will say that the only difference which is betwixt a man and a dead Carkesse, is but in accidents) we must needes graunt that the Soule is a forming substance and a substantiall forme, yea and a most excellent substance infinitly passing the outward man; as which by the power and vertue thereof causeth another thing to haue being, and perfecteth the bodily substance which seemeth outwardly to haue so many perfections.

But herevpon inseweth another controuersie, whether this substance bee a bodily or an vnbodily substance: which case requireth somewhat longer examination. Sothly, if we consider the nature of a body, it hath certeine measurings, and comprehendeth not any thing which is not proportioned according to the greatnesse and capacitie thereof. For, like as it selfe must bee fayne to haue a place in another thing; so must other things occuppe some certeyne place in it; by reason whereof it commeth to passe, that things can haue no place therein if they be greater than it, without anoying the one the other. To be short, if the thing bee lesse than the body that conteyneth it, the whole body shall not conteyne it, but only some part thereof: And if it be greater, then must some part thereof needes be out of it: for there is no measuring of bodies but by quātitie. Now we see how our Soule comprehendeth heauen and earth, without anoying eyther other; and likewise tyme past present and to come, without troubling one another; and finally innumerable places, persons, and Townes, without combering of our vnderstanding. The great things are there in their full greatnesse, and the small things in their vttermost smalnesse; both of them whole and sound, in the Soule whole and sound, and not by parcelmeale or only but in part of it. Moreouer, the fuller it is, the more it is able to receiue; the moe things that are couched in it, the moe it still coueteth; and the greater the things bee, the fitter is shee to receyue them euen when they be at the greatest. It followeth therfore that the Soule (which after a sort is infinite) cannot be a body. And so much ꝑ lesse can it so bee, for that whereas it harboreth so many and so great things in it, it selfe is lodged in so small a body. Agayne, as a thousand diuers places are in the Soule or Mynde without occuppying any place; so is the Mynd in a thousand places without chaunging of place; & that erewhiles not by succession of tyme, nor by turnes, but oftentymes altogether at one instant. Bid thy Soule or Mynd Bodilesse.

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goe to Constantinople, and forthwith to turne backe agayne to Rome, and straight way to be at Paris or Lyons: Bid it passe throwe America, or to go about Affricke; and it dispatcheth all these iourneys at a trice: lowe whether soeuer thou directest it, there it is; and or euer thou callest it backe, it is at home agayn. Now, is there a body that can bee in diuers places at once, or that can passe without remouing, or that can moue otherwise than in tyme, yea and in such tyme as (within a little vnder or ouer) is proportioned both to his pace, and to the length of the way which it hath to goe? Then is it certeine that our Soule is not a bodily substance; which thing appeareth so much the more plainly, in that being lodged in this body which is so mouable, it remoueth not with the body. Also it is a sure ground, that two bodies cannot mutually enter eyther into other, nor conteyne eyther other: but the greater must alway needes conteyne, and the lesser must needes bee conteyned. But by our Soules, we enter, not only eyther into others bodies, but also eyther into others mynds, so as wee comprehend eyther other by mutual vnderstanding, and imbrace either other by mutual louing. It followeth then that this substance which is able to receiue a bodilesse thing, can bee no body; and that so much the rather, for that the body which seemeth to hold it, conteyneth it not. May verely, this Soule of ours is so farre of from being a bodily substance, and is so manifestly a Spirit; that to lodge all things in it selfe, it maketh them all after a sort spirituall, and bereueth them of their bodies; and if there were any bodylinesse in it, it were vnable to enter into the knowledge of a bodie. So in a Glasse a thousand shapes are seene: but if the cleere of the Glasse had any peculiar shape of it owne, the Glasse could yeeld none of those shapes at all. Also all visible things are imprinted in the eye; but if the sight of the eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it would be a blemish to the sight, so as it should eyther not see at all, or els all things should seeme like to that blemish. Likewise, whereas the Tongue is the discerner of all tastes; if it be not cleere but combered with humours, all things are of tast like to the humour, so as if it be bitter, they also be bitter; and if it be watrish, they be watrish too; yea and if it bee bitter, it can not iudge of bitternesse it self. That a thing may receyue al shapes, all colours, and all tastes; it behoueth the same to be cleere from all shapes, from all colour, and from all sauour of it owne. And that a thing may in vnderstanding knowe and conceiue all bodies, as our Soule doth, it behoueth the same to bee altogether bodylesse it self;

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for had it any bodylinesse at all, it could not receiue any body into it. If wee looke yet more nearely into the nature of a body, wee shall finde that no body receiueth into it the substantial forme of another body, without losing or altering his owne, ne passeth frō one forme into another, without the marring of the first; as is to bee seene in wood when it receiueth fire, in seedes when they spring forth into bud, and so in other things. What is to be said then of mans soule, which receiueth and conceiueth the formes and shapes of al things without corrupting his owne, and moreouer becommeth the perfecter by the more receiuing? For the more it receiueth, the more it vnderstandeth; and the more it vnderstandeth, the more perfect is it.

If it bee a bodily substance, from whence is it and of what mixture? If it be of the lower Elements, how can thei giue life, hauing no life of themselues? Or how can thei giue vnderstanding, hauing no sence? If it bee of the mixture of them, how may it bee sayd that of diuers things which haue no beeing of themselues, should bee made a thing that hath being? Or that of diuers outsides should bee made one body? or of diuers bodies, one Soule? or of diuers deaths, one life? or of diuers darknesses, one light? May rather, why say wee not that he which beyond nature hath made the mixture of these bodies, hath for the perfecting of our body, breathed a Soule also into the body? To be short, the propertie of a body is to suffer, and the propertie of our Soule is to doe. And if the body bee not put forth by some other thing than it selfe, it is a very blocke; whereas the mynd that is in our Soule ceaseth not to stirre vp and downe in it selfe, though it haue nothing to moue it from without. Therefore it is to bee concluded by these reasons and by the like, that our Soule is a bodylesse substance, notwithstanding that it is vnited to our body.

Vnmateriall.

And hereupon it followeth also, that our Soule is not any material thing, forasmuch as matter receiueth not any forme or shape but according to his owne quantitie, and but onely one forme at once, whereas our Soule receiueth all formes without quantitie, come there neuer so many at once or so great. Agayne, no matter admitteth two contrary formes at once; but our Soule contrarywise comprehendeth and receiueth them together, as fire and water, heate and cold, white and blacke; and not only together, but also the better by the matching and laying of them together. To bee short, seeing that the more wee depart from matter, the more wee vnderstand:

vnderstand: surely nothing is more contrary to the substance of our Soule, than is the nature of matter. Furthermore, if this reasonable Soule of ours is neither a bodily nor a materiall thing, nor depending vpon matter in the best actions therof: then must it needes be of it selfe, and not proceede eyther from body or from matter. For what doth a body bring forth but a body; and matter but matter; and materiall but materialles: And therefore it is an vnmateriall substance, which hath being of it selfe.

The Soule hath being of it self.

But let vs see whether the same bee corruptible and mortall or no. Soothly, if Plutarke bee to beleeued, it is in vayne to dispute thereof. For he teacheth, that the doctrine of Gods prouidence, and the immortalitie of our Soules are linked together, that the one is as an appendant to the other. And in very deed, to what purpose were the World created, if there were no body to behold it: Or to what ende behold wee the Creator in the world, but to serue him: And why should wee serue him vppon no hope: And to what purpose hath he indewed vs with these rare giftes of his, which for the most part doe but put vs to payne and trouble in this life: if we perish like the brute Beast or the Hearbes, which knowe him not: Howbeit, for the better satisfying of the sillie Soules which go on still like witlesse Beastes, without taking so much leysure in all their life, as once to enter into themselues; let vs indeuer heere by liuely reasons to paynt out vnto thē againe their true shape, which they labour to deface with so much filthinesse. The Soule of man (as I haue sayd afore) is not a body, neyther doth it increase or decrease with the body: but contrarywise the more the body decayeth, the more doth the vnderstanding increase; and the nearer that the body drayweth vnto death, the more freely doth ꝑ mynd vnderstand; and the more that the body abateth in flesh, the more woorkfull is the mynd. And why then should we think, that the thing which becommeth the stronger by the weakenesse of the body, and which is aduaunced by the decay of the body, should returne to dust with the body: A mans Senses fayle because his eyes fayle, and his eyes fayle because the Spirits of them fayle: but the blynd mans vnderstanding increaseth, because his eyes are not busied: and the olde mans reason becommeth the more perfect by the losse of his sight. Therfore why say we not that the body fayleth the Soule, and not the Soule the body; and that the Glasses are out of the Spectacles but the eyesight is still good: Why should we deeme the Soule to be forgone with the Senses: If the eye be the thing that seeth, and

Plutark in his treatyse why God deferreth the punishment of the wicked.

Vncorruptible.

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the eare the thing that heareth; why doe wee not see things dubble, and heare sounds dubble, seeing we haue two eyes and two eares? It is the Soule then that seeth and heareth; and these which wee take to be our sences, are but the instruments of our sences. And if when our eyes bee shut or pickt out, wee then beholde a thousand things in our mynd; yea and that our vnderstanding is then most quicksighted, when the quickest of our eyesight is as good as quenched or starke dead: how is it possible that the reasonable Soule should bee tyed and bound to the sences? What a reason is it to say that the Soule dyeth with the sences, seeing that the true sences do then growe and increase, when the instruments of sence doe dye? And what a thing were it, to say that a Beast is dead, because he hath lost his eyes, when we our selues see that it liueth after it hath forgone the eyes? Also I haue prooued that the Soule is neither the body, nor an appertnance of the body. Sith it is so, why measure we that thing by the body, which measureth al bodies; or make that to dye with the body, whereby the bodies that dyed yea many hundred yeares agoe, doe after a certeine maner liue still? Or what can hurt that thing, whom nothing hurteth or hindereth in the bodie? Though a man lose an arme, yet doth his Soule abide whole still. Let him forgoe the one halfe of his body, yet is his Soule as sound as afore: for it is whole in it selfe and whole in euery part of it selfe, united in it selfe and in the owne substance, and by the force and power thereof it sheadeth it selfe into all parts of the body. Though the body rot away by peecemeale, yet abideth the Soule all one and vndiminished. Let the blud dreyne out, the mouing wex weake, the sences fayle, and the strength perish, and yet abideth the mynd neuertheless sound and liuely euen to the ende. Her house must bee pearced through on all sides, ere she bee discouraged; her walles must be battered doune ere she fall to fleeting; and she neuer forsaketh her lodging, till no roome be left her to lodge in. True it is that the brute Beastes forgo both life and action with their blud. But as for our Soule (if wee consider the matter well) it is then gathered home into it self; and when our sences are quenched, then doth it most of all labour to surmount it selfe: wooorking as goodly actions at the tyme that the body is at a poynt to fayle it, yea and oftentymes farre goodlyer also, than euer it did during the whole lifetyme thereof. As for example, it taketh order for it selfe, for our household, for the Commonweale, and for a whole Kingdome; and that with more vprightnesse, godlynesse, wisedome, and moderation,

tion, than euer it did afore, yea and perchance in a body so forspent, so bare, so consumed, so withered without and so putrified within, that whosoeuer lookes vpon him sees nothing but earth, and yet to heare him speake would rauish a man vp to heauen, yea and aboue heauen. Now, when a man sees so liuely a Soule in so weake and wretched a body, may he not say as is said of the hatching of Chickens, that the shell is broken, but there commeth forth a Chicken?

Also let vs sée what is the ordinary cause that things perish. Fire doth eyther goe out for want of nourishment, or is quenched by his contrary which is water. Water is resolued into aire by fire, which is his contrary. The cause why a Plant dyeth, is extremitie of colde or drought, or vnseasonable cutting, or vyolent plucking vp. Also the liuing wight dyeth through contrarietie of humours, or for want of fode, or by feeding vpon some thing that is against the nature of it, or by outward vyolence. Of all these causes, which can we chose to haue any power against our Soule? I say against the Soule of man, which (notwithstanding that it be vnited to matter and to a bodie) is it selfe a substance vnbodily, vnmateriall, and only conceiuable in vnderstanding? The contrarietie of things? May, what can be contrarie to that which lodgeth the contraries alike equally in himselfe? which vnderstandeth the one of them by the other? which coucheth them all vnder one skill? and (to bee short) in whom the contrarieties themselues abandon their contrarietie, so as they doe not any more pursewe but insewe one another? Fire is hote, and water cold. Our bodies mislike these contraries, and are grœued by them; but our mynd linketh them together without eyther burning or cooling it selfe; and it setteth the one of them against the other to knowe them the better. The things which destroy one another through the whole world, do mainteine one another in our mynds. Againe, nothing is more contrary to peace then warre is; and yet mans mynd can skill to make or mainteyne peace in preparing for warre, and to lay earnestly for warre in seeking or inioying of peace. Euen death it selfe (which dispatcheth our life) cannot bee contrary to the life of our Soule: for it seeketh life by death, and death by life. And what can that thing meete withall in the whole world, that may bee able to ouerthrowe it, which can inioyne obedience to things most contrary? What then? Want of fode? How can that want fode in the world, which can skill to feede on the whole world? Or how should that forsake fode, which the fuller it is, so much the hungryer it is; and the more it hath digested, the better

ter able it is to digeſt: The bodily wight feedeth vppon ſome certeyne things, but our mynd feedeth vpon all things. Take from it the ſenſible things, and the things of vnderſtanding abyde with it ſtill: bereaue it of earthly things, and the heauenly remayne abundantly. To be ſhort, abridge it of all worldly things, yea and of the world it ſelfe, and euen then doth it feede at greateſt eaſe, & maketh beſt chéere agréeable to his owne nature. Alſo the bodily wight filleth it ſelfe to a certeyne meaſure, and delighteth in ſome certeyne things. But what can fill our mynd? Fill it as full as ye can with the knowledge of things, and it is ſtill eager and sharpe ſet to receiue more. The more it taketh in, the more it ſtill craueth: and yet for al that, it neuer feeleth any rawneſſe or lack of digeſtion. What ſhall I ſay more? diſcharge our vnderſtanding from the mynding of it ſelf, and then doth it liue in him and of him in whom all things doe liue. Againe, fill it with the knowledge of it ſelfe, and then doth it feele it ſelf moſt emptie, and sharpeſt ſet vpon deſire of the other. Now then, can that dye or decay for want of foode, which cannot be glutted with any thing, which is nouriſhed and mainteyned with all things, and which liueth in very déede vppon him by whom all the things which we wonder at here beneath are vphild?

And what els is vyolence, but a iuſtling of two bodies together? and how can there be any ſuch betwéene a bodie and a ſpiritual ſubſtance? yea or of two ſpirits one againſt another, ſeeing that oftentymes when they would deſtroye one another, they vphold one another? And if the Soule cannot be puſhed at, neither inwardly nor outwardly: is there any thing in nature that can naturally hurt it? No: but it may perchaunce bee weakened by the very force of his encounter, as wee ſee it doth befall to our ſences. For the more excellent and the more ſenſible the thing is in his kynd which ꝑ ſence receiueth, ſo much the more alſo is the ſence it ſelf offended or gréeued therwith. As for example, the feéling, by fire; the taſte, by harſhneſſe; the ſmelling, by ſauours; the hearing, by the hideouſneſſe of noyſe, whether it be of Thunderclappe or of the falling of a Riuer; and the ſight, by loking vpon the Sunne, vpon Fyre, and vpon all things that haue a gliſtering brightneſſe. I omit, that in the moſt of theſe things, it is not properly the ſence it ſelfe, but the outward inſtrument of ſence only that is offended or hurt. But let vs ſee if there be the like in our reaſonable Soule. Nay, contrarywiſe the more of vnderſtanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refreſh and comfort our mynd. If it bee darke ſo as wee vn-

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derstand it but by halues, it hurteth vs not; but yet doth it not delight vs. May, as we increase in vnderstanding it, so doth it like vs the better, and the higher it is, the more doth it stirre vp the power of our vnderstanding, and (as ye would say) reache vs the hande to drawe vs to the attaynement thereof. As for them that are dimsighted, wee forbid them to behold the things that are ouerbright. But as for them that are of rawest capacitie, wee offer them the things that are most vnderstandable. When the sence beginneth to perceyue most sharply, then is it sayne to giue ouer, as if it felt the very death of it selfe. Contrarywise, when the mynd beginneth to vnderstand, then is it most desirous to hold on still. And whereof commeth that, but that our sences worke by bodily instruments, but our mynd worketh by a bodilesse substance which needeth not the helpe of the body. And seeing that the nature, the nourishment, and the actions of our Soule are so farre differing, both from the nature, nourishment, and actions of the body, and from al that euer is done or wrought by the bodie: can there be any thing more childish than to deeme our Soule to be mortal by the abating and decaying of our sences, or by the mortalitie of our bodies? May contrariwise it may be most soundly and substantially concluded thereupon, that mans Soule is of it owne nature immortall, seeing that all death as well vyolent as naturall commeth of the bodie and by the bodie.

What is death

Let vs see further what death or corruption is. It is (say they) a separating of the matter from his forme. And forasmuch as in man the Soule is considered to be the forme, and the bodie to be as the matter: the separation of the Soule from the bodie is cõmonly called Death. Now then, what death can there bee of the Soule, sith it is vnmaterial as I haue sayd afore, and a forme that abideth of it selfe? For (as one sayth) a man may take away the roundnesse or squarenesse from a table of Copper, because they haue no abyding but in ꝑ matter: but had thei such a round or square forme, as might haue an abyding without matter or stuffe wherein to be, out of doubt such forme or shape should continue for euer. May (which more is) how can that be the corrupter of a thing, which is the perfection thereof? The lesse corsinesse a man hath, the more hath he of reason and vnderstanding. The lesse our mynds be tyed to these bodily things, the more liuely and chearefull be they. At a word, the full and perfect life thereof, is the full and vtter withdrawing thereof from the bodie and whatsoeuer the bodie is made of. All these things are so clere as they neede no proofe. Now, we knowe that

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euery thing worketh according to the proper being therof, and that the same which perfecteth the operations of a thing, perfecteth the being thereof also. It followeth therefore, that sith the separation of the body from the Soule, and of the wrme from the matter, perfecteth the operation or working of the Soule (as I haue sayd afore) it doth also make perfect and strengthen the very being thereof, and therefore cannot in any wise corrupt it. And what els is dying but to be corrupted? And what els is corrupting, but suffering? And what els is suffering, but receyuing? And how can that which receyueth all things without suffering, receyue corruption by any thing? Fyre corrupteth or marreth our bodies, and we suffer in receyuing it. So doth also extreme colde: but if wee suffered nothing by it, it could not greeue vs. Our sences likewise are marred by the excessiue force of the things which they light vpon. And that is because they receyue and perceyue the thing that greeueth them, and for that the maner of their behauing of themselues towards their obiects, is subiect to suffering. But as for the reasonable Soule, which receiueth al things after one maner, that is to wit, by way of vnderstãding, wherethrough it alway worketh & is neuer wrought into; how is it possible for it to corrupt or marre it selfe?

For what is the thing whereat our Soule suffereth aught in the substance thereof, I meane whereby the substance of our Soule is any whit impayred or hurt by mynding or conceyuing the same in vnderstanding? As little doth the fire hurt it as the ayre, and the ayre as the fire. As little hurt receiueth it by the frozen yce of Norwey, as by the scorching sands of Affricke. As little also doth vyce anoye it as vertue. For vyce and vertue are so farre of from incombering the substance of the Soule, that our mynd doth neuer conceiue or vnderstand them better, than by setting them together one against another. That thing therfore which doth no whit appayre it selfe, but taketh the ground of perfecting it self by all things, can not be marred or hurt by any thing.

Agein, what is death? The vttermost poynt of mouing, and the vttermost bound of this life. For euen in liuing we dye, and in dying we liue, and there is not that step which we set downe in this life, which dooth not continewally step forward vnto death, after the maner of a Dyall or a Clocke, which mounting vp by certeine degrees forgoeth his mouing in mouing from Minute to Minute. Take away mouing from a body, and it doth no more liue. Now let vs see if the soule also be caryed with the same mouing. If it be

carped with the same mouing, then doth it vndoutedly moue therewithall. Nay, contrariwise, whether the mynd rest, or whether it be buzyed about the proper operations thereof, it is not perceiued eyther by any panting of hart, or by any beating of pulses, or by any breathing of Lungs. It is then as a Shippe that carieth vs away with it, whether we walke or sit still; the stickingfast whereof or the tying thereof to a poste, hindereth not our going vp and downe in it still. Ageine, if the Soule be subiect to the finall corruption of the body, then is it subiect to the alterations thereof also; and if it be subiect to the alterations, it is subiect to tyme also. For alterations or chaunges, are spices, or rather consequents of mouing, and moouings are not made but in tyme. Now man in respect of the body hath certeine full poynts or stoppes, at the which he receiueth manifest chaunges, and thereafter groweth or decayeth. But commonly where the decay of the body beginneth, there beginneth the cheef strength of the mynd! Howbeit that in some men, not only their chinnes are couered with downe, but also their beards become gray, whose minds for want of exercise, shewe no signe atall either of yppenesse or growing. Moreouer, time (as in respect of the body) cannot be called ageyne, but in respect of the mynd it is alwayes present. Yea and tyme perfecteth, accomplisheth, and increaseth our mynd, and after a sort reneweth and refresheth it from day to day, whereas contrarywise it forweareth, washeth away and quight consumeth, both it self, and the body with the life thereof. It followeth then that the reasonable Soule is not subiect to time, nor consequently to any of the chaunges and corruptions that accompanye tyme. Nay we may say thus much more; That nothing in the whole World is nurrished with things better than itself; neither dooth any of them conteyne greater things than itself; But the things that are corruptible do liue of corruptible things, and cannot liue without corrupting them: as for example, beasts liue by herbes, men by beasts, and soforth. And therefore things which liue by uncorruptible things, and can so receiue and digest them, as to turne them into the nurrishment of their nature, and yet not corrupt them; are uncorruptible them selues to. Now the Soule of man, I meane the reasonable soule or mynd, conceiueth reason and trueth, and is fed and strengthened with them. And reason & trueth are things unchaungeable, not subiect to tyme, place or alteration, but stedye, unchaungeable, and euerlasting. For that twice two be lower, and that there is the same reason in the proportion of eighe

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vnto six that is of fower vnto three, or that in a Trypangle, the three inner angles are equall with the two ryght angles; and such like; are truethes which neither peeres nor thousands of peeres can change; as true at this day, as they were when Euclyde first spake them. And so forth of other things. It followeth then ỳ the Soule comprehending reason and trueth, which are things free from corruption, cannot in any wyse be subiect to corruption.

Ageiu, who is he of all men that desireth not to be immortall? And how could any man desire it, if he vnderstoode not what it is? Or how could he be able to vnderstand it, vnlesse it were possible for him to attayne vnto it? Surely none of vs coueteth to be beginningleſſe, for none of vs is so; neither can any of vs be so. And as we cannot so be, so also can we not comprehend what it is. For who is he that is not at his witts end, but only to think vppon eternitie without beginning? On the contrarie part there is not so base a mynd which coueteth not to liue for euer; insomuch that wheras we looke not for it by nature, we seeke to obtayne it by skill and pollicie, some by bookes, some by Images, and some by other deuices; and euen the grosseſt sort can well imagine in themselues what immortalitie is, and are able both to conceyue it and to beleeue it. Whence comes this, but that our soules beeing created cannot conceiue an euerlastingneſſe without beginning, and yet neuertheleſſe, that forasmuch as they be created immortal, they doe wel conceiue an immortalitie or euerlastingnes without end? And whereto serues this vniuersall desire, if it be not naturall? or how is it naturall if it be in vaine? and not onely in vayne, but also too bring vs to Hell and to Torment? Let vs wade yet deeper. Who can dispute or once so much as doubt whether the Soule bee immortall or no, but he that is capable of immortalitie? And who can vnderstand what difference is betwixt mortall and immortall, but hee that is immortall? Man is able to discerne the difference betweene that which is reason, and that which is not, and thereypon wee terme him reasonable. Whosoeuer would hold opinion that a man is not reasonable, should neede none other disproofe than his owne disputing thereof; for he would go about to proue it by reason. Man can skill to discerne the mortall natures from the immortall; And therefore we may well say he is immortall. For hee that should dispute to the contrarie, shalbe driuen to bring such reasons, as shall of themselues make him to prooue himselfe immortall. Thou sayeſt the Soule can not be immortall: and why? Be-

cause (sayest thou) that to be so, it would behoue it to worke seuerally by it selfe frō the body. When thou thinkest that in thy mynd, consider what thy body dooth at the same tyme. May yet further, who hath taught thee so much of the immortall nature, if thou thy selfe be not immortall? Or what worldly wight can say what the inworking of a reasonable wight is, but the wight which in it selfe hath the vse of reason?

Yet sayest thou still, if the Soule be immortall, it is frée from such and such passions. How enterest thou so farre into the Nature that is so farre aboue thée, if thou thy selfe beest mortall? All the reasons which thou allegdest against the immortalitie of the soule, doe feight directly to the prooфe of it. For if thy reason mounted no higher than to the things that are mortall, thou shouldest knowe neither mortall nor immortall. Now it is not some one couetous man aboue all other, that desireth immortalitie, nor some one man excelling all others in wisdome, that comprehendeth it, but al mankind without exception. It is not then some one seuerall skill or some one naturall propertie, that maketh such difference betwéene man and man as we sée to be betwéene many, but rather one selfesame nature common to all men, whereby they be all made to differ from other liuing wights, which by no deede doe shewe any desire to ouerliue themselues, ne know how to liue, & therefore their Lyues doe banish away with their bloud, and is extinguished with their bodies. If euer thou hast loked to dye, consider what discourse thou madest then in thy mynd: thou couldest neuer perswade thy conscience nor make thy reason to conceiue, that thy Soule should dye with the Body; but euen in the selfesame tyme when it disputeth against it selfe, it shifteth it self I wote not how from all thy conclusions, and falleth too consider in what state it shall bee, and where it shal become when it is out of the body. The Epicure that hath disputed of it all his lyfe long, when he commeth to death, bequeatheth a yerely pension for the keeping of a yéerely feast on the day of his birth. I pray you to what purpose serue feastings for the birth of a Swyne, séeing he estéemeth himselfe to be no better than so? May what els is this, than a crying out of his Nature against him, which with one word confuteth all his vaine arguments? Another laboureth by all meanes possible, to blot out in himselfe the opinion of immortalitie; and bicause he hath liued wickedly in this world, he will néedes beare himselfe on hand, that there is no Iustice in the world tocome. But then is the tyme that his owne na-

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ture waketh, and starteth vp as it were out of the bottome of a water, and at that instant painteth againe before his eyes, the selfsame thing which he toke so much paynes to deface. And in good soth, what a number haue wee seene, which hauing bene despisers of all Religiõ, haue at the hower of death bin glad to vow their Soules to any Sainct for releefe; so cleere was then the presence of the life to come before their eyes. I had leuer (sayd Zeno) to see an Indian burne himselfe chærefully, than to heare al the Philosophers of the world discoursing of the immortalitie of the Soule; and in very deede it is a much stronger and better concluded argument. May then, let vs rather say, I had leuer see an Atheist or an Epicure witnessing the immortalitie of the Soule, and willingly taking an honorable farewell of nature vpon a Scaffold, than to heare all the Doctors of the world discoursing of it in their Pulpits. For whatsoeuer the Epicures say there, they speake it aduisedly and (as ye would say) fresh and fasting; wheras all that euer they haue spoken all their life afore, is to bee accounted but as the wordes of Drunkards, that is to wit, of men besotted and falne asleepe in the delights and pleasures of this world, where the Wine and the excesse of meate, and the vapors that fumed vp of them did speake, and not the men themselues. What shall I say more? I haue tolde you al- Three lyues in Man.
readie that in ỳ inward man there are (as ye would say) three men; the liuing, the sensitiue, and the reasonable. Let vs say therefore that in the same person there are three liues continued from one to another: namely, the life of the Plant, the life of the Beast, and the life of the Man or of the Soule. So long as a man is in his mothers wombe, he doth but only liue and growe; his Spirit seemeth to sleepe, and his sences seeme to bee in a slumber, so as he seemeth to bee no thing els than a Plant. Neuertheless, if ye consider his eyes, his eares, his tongue, his sences, and his mouings, you will easely iudge that he is not made to be for euer in that prison, where he neither seeth nor heareth, nor hath any rome to walke in, but rather that he is made to come forth into an opener place, where he may haue what to see and behold, and wherewith to occuppe al the powers which wee see to bee in him. As soone as he is come out, he beginneth to see, to feele, and to moue, and by little and little falleth to the perfect vsing of his limbes, and findeth in this world a peculiar obiect for euery of them, as visible things for the eye, sounds for his hearing, bodily things for his feeling, and so forth. But besides all this, we finde there a mynd; which by the eyes as by win-

Cleui. lib. 1.

bowes beholdeth the world, and yet in al the world finding not any one thing worthy to rest wholly vppon, mounteth vp to him that made it; which mynd like an Empresse lodgeth in the whole world, and not alonly in this body; which by the sences (and oftentymes also without the sences) mounteth aboue the sences, and strayneth it self to goe out of it selfe, as a child doth to get out of his mothers wombe. And therefore wee ought surely to say, that this Mynd or Reason ought not to bee euer in prison. That one day it shall see clearely, and not by these dimme and clowdie spectacles: That it shall come in place where it shall haue the true obiect of vnderstanding: and that he shall haue his life free from these fetters and from all the affections of the body. To be short, that as man is prepared in his mothers wombe to be brought forth into the world; so is he also after a sort prepared in this body and in this world, to liue in another world. We then vnderstand it, when by nature it behoueth vs to depart out of the world. And what child is there which (if nature did not by her cunning driue him out,) would of himself come out of his Couert, or that commeth not out as good as forlorne and halfe dead; or that if he had at that tyme knowledge & speech, would not call that death, which we call birth; and that a departure out of life, which we call the enterance into it: As long as we be there, we see nothing though our eyes be open. Many also doe not so much as stirre, except it bee at some sodaine staring or some other like chaunce; and as for those that stirre, they knowe not that they haue eyther sence or mouing. Why then should wee thinke it straunge, that in this life our vnderstanding seeth so little, that many men do neuer mynd the immortall nature, vntill they be at the last cast, yea and some thinke not themselues to haue any such thing, howbeit that euen by so thinking they shew themselues to haue part thereof: And imagine wee that the vnborne babe hath not as much adoe by nature to leaue the poore skinne that he is wrapt in, as we haue hinderance in our sences and in our imprisoned reason, when we be at the point to leaue the goods and pleasures of this world, and the very flesh it selfe which holdeth vs as in a graue: Or had the babe some little knowledge; would he not say that no life were comparable to the life where he then is, as we say there is no life to the life of this world wherein we be? Or would he not account the stage of our sences for a fable, as a great sort of vs account the stage that is prepared for our Soules: Yes surely: and therfore let vs conclude where wee began, namely that man is both inward and outward.

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In the outward man, which is the bodie, he resembleth the beeing and the proportion of all the parts of the world. And in the inner man he resembleth whatsoeuer kynd of life is in all things or in any thing that beareth life in the world. In his mothers wombe he liueth the life of a Plant, howbeit with this further, that he hath a certeyne commencement of sence and mouing which exceede the Plant, and doe put him in a readynesse to be indewed with Sences as a Beast is. In this life he hath sence and mouing in their perfection, which is ỳ propertie of a sensitiue wight; but yet besides these, he hath also a beginning to reason and vnderstand, which are a beginning of another life such as the sensitiue wight hath not, & this life is to be perfected in another place. In the life to come he hath his actions free and full perfected, a large ground to worke vppon able to suffise him to the full, and a light to his vnderstanding in stead of a light to the eye. And like as in comming into this world, he came as it were out of another world; so in going yet into another world he must also goe out of this world. He commeth out of the first world into the second, as it were sayling in nourishment, but growing in strength vnto mouing and sence: and he goeth out of the second into the third, sayling in sences and mouing, but growing in reason and vnderstãding. Now, seeing we call the passage out of the first world into the second a birth, what reason is it that we should call the passage out of the second into the third, a death? To be short, he that considereth how all the actions of mans mynd tend to the tyme to come, without possibilitie of staying vppon the present time, how pleasant and delightful soeuer it be: we may well discerne by them all, that his being (which in euery thing (as sayth Aristotle) followeth the working thereof) is also wholly bent towards the tyme to come; as who would say this present life were vnto it but as a narrowe grindle, on the further side whereof (as it were on the banke of some streame or running water,) he were to finde his true dwelling place and very home in deede.

But now is it tyme to see what is sayd to the contrarie: wherein we haue to consider eftsoones that which we spake of afore; namely that if all that euer is in vs were transitorie and mortall, wee should not be so witty to examine the Immortalitie as we be: for of Contraries the skill is all one. If a man were not mortall, that is to say, if he had no lyfe, he could not dispute of the mortall lyfe; neither could he speake of the Immortal, if he himself also were not Immortall. Therefore let vs goe backe retrpue. Some man will Obiections.

say, that the Soule dyeth with the body, bycause the Soule and the body are but one thing, and he beleeueth that they be both but one, bycause he seeth no more but the body. This argument is all one with theirs, which denyed that there is any God, bycause they sawe him not. But yet by his doings thou mayst perceyue that there is a God: discerne lykewise by the doings of thy soule, that thou hast a Soule. For in a dead body thou seest the same partes remayne, but thou seest not the same doings that were in it afore. When a man is dead, his eye seeth nothing at all, and yet is there nothing chaunged of his eye: but whyle hee is aliue it seeth infinite things that are diuers. The power then which seeth is not of the body. Yet notwithstanding how lyuely and quickesighted so euer the eye be; it seeth not it self. Woonder not therefore though thou haue a soule, and that the same soule see not it self. For if thyne eyesight sawe itself; it were not a power or abilitie of seeing, but a visible thing: lykewise if thy Soule sawe itself, it were no more a Soule that is to say the woorker and quickener of the body, but a verie body, vnable to do any thing of it self, and a massie substance subiect to suffering. For we see nothing but the body and bodily substances. But in this thou perceiuest somewhat els than a body, (as I haue sayd afore) that if thyne eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it could not discerne any other colour than that. Seeing then that thou conceyuest so many diuers bodies at once in imagination: néeds must thou haue a power in thee which is not a body. Be it (say they) that we haue a power of sence; yet haue we not a power of reason; for that which we call the power of reason or vnderstanding, is nothing but an excellencie or rather a consequence of sence, insomuch that when sence dyeth, the residew dyeth therewith also. Sothely in this which thou haste sayd, thou haste surmounted sence; which thing thou haddest not done, if thou haddest nothing in thee beyond sence. For whereas thou sayest, if the sence dye, the rest dyeth also; it is a reason that proceedeth from one terme to another, and it is a gathering of reasons which conclude one thing by another. Now the sences do in deede perceyue their obiects, but yet how lyuely so euer they be, they reason not. We see a Smoake; so farre extendeth the sence. But if we inferre, therefore there must needes be fire, and thereupon seeke who was the kindler thereof: that surmounteth the abilitie of sence. We here a peece of Musicke; that may any beast do as well as we. But his hearing of it is but as of a bare sound; whereas our hearing therof is as of

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an harmony, and we discerne the cause of the concords and discords, which either delight or offend our sence. The thing ẏ heareth the sound is the sence; but the thing that iudgeth of that which the sence conceyueth, is another thing than the sence. The lyke is to be sayd of smelling, tasting, and feeling. Our smelling of sents, our tasting of sauours, and our feeling of substances, is in deede the worke of our Sences. But as for our iudging of ẏ inward vertue of ẏ thing by the outward sent thereof, or of the wholsomnes or vnwholsomnes of foode by the taste thereof, or of the whotnesse or vehemencie of a feuer by feeling the pulse; yea and our proceeding euen into the very bowels of a man, whether the eye beeing the quickest of all sences is not able to atteyne; surely it is the worke of a more mightie power than the sence is. And in verie deede there are beasts which do here, see, smell, taste, and feele much better and quicklyer than man doth. Ye tnotwithstanding none of them conferreth the contraries of colors, sounds, sents and sauours; none sorteth them out to the seruing one of another, or to the seruing of themselues. Whereby it appeareth, that man excelleth the Beasts by another power than the Sences; and that whereas a man is a Peynter, a Musician, or a Philition; he hath it from elswhere than from his sences. May, I say further, that oftentymes we conclude cleane contrarie to the report of our sences. Our eye perchauce telleth vs that a Tower which we see afarre of is round, whereas our reason deemeth it to be square: or that a thing is small, which our reason telleth vs is greate: or that the ends of lynes in a long walke do meete in a point, whereas our reason certifieth vs that they runne rightforth with equall distance one from another. For want of this discretion, certeine Elephants (sayth Vitellio) which were passing ouer a long bridge, turned backe beeing deceyued; and yet they wanted not sight no more than we do. But they that led them were not deceyued. Their Leaders then besides their eyesight, had in them another vertue or power which corrected their sight, and therefore ought to be of hygher estimation. In lyke case is it with the rest of ẏ other sences. For our hearing telleth vs that the thunderclappe is after the lyghtening; but skill assureth vs that they be both togither. For there is a certeine power in vs, which can skil to discerne what proportion is betweene hearing and seeing. Also the tong of him that hath an Agew, beareth him on hand that euen sugre is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reason to be vntrew. To be short, those which haue their sences most quicke and lyuely,

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be not of the greatest wisdom and vnderstanding. A man therefore differeth from a beast, and excelleth men by some other power than sence. For whereas it is comonly sayd, that such as haue seene most are comonly of greatest skill: we see that many haue traueled farre both by sea and land, which haue come home as wise as they went-foorth. A horse hath as good eyes as he that rydes vpon him, and yet for all his traueling, neither he nor paraduenture his Ryder whom he beareth become any whit the wyser by that which they haue seene: whereby it appereth that it is not enough to see things vnlesse a man do also mynd them to his benefite.

Now there is great difference betweene the lyuelynes of the Sence, and the power that gouerneth the Sence; lyke as the report of a Spye is one thing, and the Spye himself is another, and the wisdom of the Capteine that receyueth the report of the Spye is a third. Nay, who can deny, that Sence and Reason are dyuers things; or rather who will not graunt, that in many things they be cleane contrarie: Sence biddeth vs shun and eschew greef; whereas Reason willeth vs to proffer our leg sometyme to the Surgion to be cut of. Sence plucketh our hand out of the fire, and yet we our selues put fire to our bare skin. He that should see a Sceuola burne of his owne hand, without so much as once gnashing his teeth at it, would thinke he were vtterly senseless: so mightily dooth Reason ouerrule sence. To be short, Sence hath his peculiar inclination, which is appetite; and Reason lykewyse hath his, which is will. And lyke as reason doth oftentymes ouerrule sence and is contrarie to it; so will correcteth the sensuall appetyte or lust that is in vs, and warreth ageinst it. For in an Agew we couet to drink, and in an Apoplexie we couet to sleepe, and in hungre we couet to eate: and yet from all those things doth our will restreyne vs. The more a man followeth his lust, the lesse is he led by will: and the more he standeth vpon the pleasing of his Sences, the lesse reason vseth he ordinarily.

Againe, let vs consider the brute Beastes which haue this sensitiue part as well as we. If we haue no more than that, how commeth it to passe that a little child driueth whole flockes and heards of them whether he listeth, and sometymes whether they would not? Whereof commeth it that euery of them in their kynd, doe all liue, nestle, and sing after one sorte; whereas men haue their lawes, Commonweales, maners of buylding, and formes of reasoning, not only diuers, but also commonly contrary? Now, what can hin-

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ber these contrarieties together, but onely that which hath not any thing contrary vnto it, and wherein all contrary things doe lay away their contrarieties: Surely it is not the Sence that can doe it, whose proper or peculiar object is most contrary to the sence. Besides this (as I haue sayd afore) whereas we conceyue wisedome, skill, vertue, and such other things which are all bodilesse, our sences haue none other thing to worke vpon, than the qualities of bodily substances: And whereas we make vniuersall rules of particular things; the Sences atteyne no further than to the particular things themselues: And wheras we conclude of the causes by their effects; our Sences perceyue no more but the bare effects: And whereas concerning the things that belong to vnderstanding, the more vnderstandable they bee, the more they refresh vs; Contrarywise, the stronger that the sensible things are, the more do they offend the Sence: To be short, the selfesame thing which wee speake in behalfe of the Senses, procéedeth from elswhere than from the Sences. And we will easely discerne, that he which denyeth that besides the common Sence there is in man a reason or vnderstanding, distinct and seuered from the Sence, is voyd both of vnderstanding and of Sence.

But see here a grosse reason of theirs. This reason or power of vnderstanding (say they) which is in man, is corruptible as well as the power of perceyuing by the Sences. I thinke I haue prooued the contrary alreadie; neuertheless, let vs examine their reasons yet further. The forme or shape of euery thing (say they) doth perish with the matter. Now, the Soule is as ye would say ỹ forme or shape of the body: therfore it corrupteth with the body. This argument were rightly concluded, if it were ment of the materiall forme. But I haue prooued that the Soule is vnmateriall, and hath a continuance of it selfe. And in déede the more it is discharged of matter, the more it reteyneth his owne peculiar forme. Therefore the corrupting of the matter toucheth not the Soule at all. Again, if mens Soules liue (say they) after their bodies, then are they infinite; for the world is without beginning and without ending, and (as wee knowe) nature can away with no infinite thing: therefore they liue not after their bodies. Yes say I; for I haue prooued that the world had a beginning, and that with so substantiall reasons, as thou art not able to disproue. Therefore it followeth that the inconuenience which thou alledgest can haue no place. Another saith, If dead mens Soules liue still, why come they not to tell vs so?

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And he thinketh he hath stumbled vpon a wonderful suttle deuise. But how doth this followe in reason? There hath not come any man vnto vs from the Indies of a long tyme: ergo there be no Indies. May not the same argument serue as well to proue that wee our selues are not, because wee neuer went thether? Againe, what intercourse is there betweene things that haue bodies, and things that haue no bodies; or betwene heauen and earth, considering that there is so small intercourse euen betweene men, which liue all vnder one selfsame Sunne? He that is made a Magistrate in his own Countrey, doth not willingly returne to the place of his banishment. Likewise the Soule that is lodged in the lappe of his God, and come home into his native soyle, forgoeth the desire of these lower things, which to his sight beholding them frō aboue, are lesse than the point of a Nædle. On the other side, he that is put in close prison, (how desirous soeuer he bee) cannot goe out; so the Soule which is in the Jayle of his souereine Lord God, hath no respit or sporting tyme to come tell vs what is done there. Unto the one, the beholding of the Euerlasting God is as a Paradize wherein he is willing to remayne; and vnto the other, his owne condemnation is an imprisonment of his will. But we would haue God to sende both the one and the other vnto vs to make vs to beleeue. As who would say, it stoode him greatly on hand to haue vs to beleeue, and not rather vs ỳ we should beleeue. And in effect what els is al this, but a desiring ỳ some man might returne into his mothers wombe againe, to incourage young babes against the pinches and paines which they abide in the birth, whereof they would be as shye as we bee of death, if they had the like knowledge of them? But let vs let such vanities passe, and come to the ground.

Wee beare vs on hand (say they) that the Soule of man is but one, though it haue dyuers powers. Whereof we see the sensitiue and the growing powers to be corrupted and to perish: therefore it should seeme that the vnderstanding or reasonable power also should do the lyke. At a word, this is al one as if a man should say, you tell mee that this man is both a good man, a good Swordplayer, and a good Luteplayer altogither; & that bycause his sword falls out of his hand, or his hand itself becommeth Lame, therefor he cannot be a good or honest man still as you reported him to bee. May though he lose those instruments, yet ceasseth he not therefor to bee an honest man, yea and both a Swordplayer and a Luteplayer to, as in respect of skill. Lykewyse when our Soules haue

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forgone these exercises, yet ceasse they not to be the same they were afore. To inlyghten this poynt yet more; of the powers of our Soule, some are exercysed by the instruments of the bodie, and othersome without any help or furtherance of the bodie atall. Those which are exercysed by the bodie, are the sences and the powers of the Sences and the powers of the growing, which may carye the same likenesse that is betweene a Luter and a Lute. Breake the Luters Lute, and his cunning remayneth still, but his putting of it in practise faileth. Giue him another Lute, and he falles to playing newe againe. Put out a mans eyes, and yet the abilitie of seeing abydeth still with him, though the very act of seeing bee disappoynted. But giue vnto the oldest Hag that is the same eyes that he had when he was young, and he shall see as well as euer he did. After the same maner is it with the growing or thriuing power. Restore vnto it a good stomacke, a sound Liuer, and a perfect heate; and it shall execute his functions as well as euer it did afore. The power that worketh of it selfe and without the body, is the power of reason or vnderstanding, which if we wil we may call the mynd. And if thou yet still doubt thereof, consider when thou myndest a thing earnestly what thy body furthereth thy mynd therein; & thou shalt perceyue that the more stredly thou thinkest vpon it, the lesse thou seest the things before thée; and the more thy mynd wandreth, the more thy body resteth: as who would say that the workings of the body, are the greatest hinderance and impediment that can bée to the peculiar doings of the mynd. And this abilitie of vnderstanding may bee likened to a man, which though he haue lost both his hand and his Lute, ceasseth not therefore to bee a man still, and to doe the true déedes of a man, that is to wit, to discourse of things, to mynd them, to vse reason and such like; yea and to be both a Luter and a man as he was afore, notwithstanding that he cannot put his Luteplaying in exercise for want of instruments. May, (which more is) this vnderstanding part groweth so much the stronger and greater, as it is lesse occupyed and busied about these base and corruptible things, & is altogether drawen home wholly to it selfe; as is to be seene in those which want their eyes, whose mynds are commonly most apt to vnderstand, and most firme to remember. Doe we debate of a thing in our selues? Neither our body nor our Sences are busied about it. Doe wee will the same? As little doe they stirre for that too. To vnderstand and to will (which are the operations of the mynd,) the Soule hath no néede of the bodie; and

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as for working and being, they accompany one another sayth Aristotle. Therefore to continue still in being, the Soule hath not to doe with the body, nor any neede of the body: but rather, to worke well and to be well, the Soule ought eyther to be without the bodie, or at leastwise to be vtterly vnsubiect to the bodie.

Yea (say they) but yet we see men forgoe their reason, as fooles and melancholike persons: and seeing it is forgone, it may also bee corrupted; and if corrupted, it may also dye: for what is death but an vtter and full corruptnesse? May, thou shouldest say rather, I haue seene diuers which hauing seemed to haue lost their right wittes, haue recouered them againe by good dyet and medicinable drinkes. But had they bene vtterly lost and forgone, no Philicke could haue restored them agayne: and had they bene vtterly perished, the parties themselues should haue had neither sence nor life remayning. Therefore of necessitie the soule of them was as sound as afore. But our Soules wee see not otherwise than by the bodie and by the instruments of the bodie as it were by Spectacles; and our mynd which beholdeth and seeth through his imaginations as it were through a Clowde, is after a sort troubled by the dimming of the Spectacles and by the smoakinesse of the imaginations. After that maner the Sunne seemeth to be dimmed and eclipsed; and that is but by the comming of the Mone or of some Clowdes betweene him and vs; for in his light there is no abatement at all. Likewise our eyesight conceyueth things according to the Spectacles wherethrough it loketh, or according to the colour that ouerthwarteth the things which it loketh vpon. Take away the impediments, and our eyes shall see clere: purge away the humours, and our imagination shall bee pure: and so our vnderstanding shall see as bright as it did afore, euen as the Sunne shineth after the putting away of the Clowdes. And it fareth not with our Soules as it doth with our bodies, which after a long sickneesse reteyne still eyther a hardnesse of the Splene, or a shortnesse of breath, or a falling of the Rhewme vppon the Lungs, or a skarre of some great wound that cannot bee worne out because of the breake that was made in the whole. For neither in their vnderstanding, neither in their willes do our Soules feele any abatement, sauing that there abydeth some mayme or blemish in the instruments; to wit (as I will declare hereafter) so farre forth as it pleaseth GOD for a iust punishment, to put the Soule in subiection to the bodie whose souereyne it was created to haue bene, because it hath neglected the

will

will of the Creator, to followe the lustes and lykings of the bodie. This appeareth in Lunaticke folkes and such others, which haue their wittes troubled at tymes and by fittes. For they be not vexed but at the stirring of their humours, beeing at other tymes sober and well enough stayed in their wittes. The like is seene in them that haue the falling sickneſſe. For their vnderstanding seemeth to be eclipsed, and as it were striken with a Thunderclap, during the tyme of their fittes; but afterward they bee as discrete as though they ayled nothing. To bee short, the body is subiect to a thousand diseases, wherewith wee see the vnderstanding to bee no whit altered, because they touch not the instruments of the Sences and of the Imaginations, which moue the vnderstanding. Troubled it is in deede by those fewe things only, which infect the Sence and the Imagination, which by that meanes report the things vnfaithfully whereon the mynd debateth. Therfore ye shall neuer see any bodie out of his wittes or out of his right mynd, in whom the Phisitions may not manifestly perceyue, eyther some default of the instruments, as a mishapen and misproportioned head; or els an ouerabounding of some melancholike humour, that troubled and marred his bodie afore it troubled or impayred his mynd. And like as the wisest men being deceyued by false Spyes, do make wrong deliberations, howbeit yet grounded vpō good reason, which thing they could not doe vnleſſe they were wise in deede: So the reason that is in our mynd maketh false discourses, and gathereth wrong conclusions, vppon the false reports of the imaginations; which it could not doe, if it were eyther diminished or impayred, or done away. Whereunto accordeth this auncient saying, That there bee certeyne follyes which none but wise men can commit, and certeyne Errors which none but learned men can fall into: becauſe that in some cases, discretion and wisedom are requisite in the partie that is to be deceyued, euen to the intent he may bee deceyued; and learning is required in a man that he may conceyue and hold a wrong opinion. As for example, to be begupled by a dubbledealing Spy or by the surprising of a cosening letter, belongeth to none but to a wise man. For a grosheaded fole neuer breaketh his brayne about such matters as might bring him to the making of false conclusions by mistaking likelyhoods in stead of truth. Likewise to fall into Hereſie by misconceyuing some high and deepe poynt, befalleth not to an ignorant person; for he is not of capacitie, neyther doth his vnderstanding mount so high.

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To be short, whosoeuer sayth that mans Soule perisheth with the bodie, because it is troubled by the distemperature or misproportionatenesse of the bodie; may as well vphold that the Child in the mothers wombe dyeth with his mother, because he moueth with her, and is partaker with her of her harmes and throwes, by reason of the strept coniunction that is betweene them; howbeit that many children haue liued safe and sound, notwithstanding that their mothers haue dyed; yea and some haue come into the world euen by the death of their mothers.

And whereas some say, that because our mynd conceyueth not any thing here, but by helpe of Imagination; therfore when the Imagination is gone with the instruments whereunto it is tyed, the Soule cannot worke alone by it self, nor cõsequently be alone by it selfe: surely it is al one as if they should say, that because the Child being in his mothers wombe taketh nourishment of her blud by his nauill, therfore he cannot liue whẽ he is come out of her womb, if his nauillstrings be cut off. May contrarywise, then is the tyme that the mouth, the tongue, and the other parts of the Childe doe their duetie, which serued erst to no purpose, sauing that they were prepared for the tyme to come. After the same maner also doe wee cherish our mynd by Imagination in this second life; which in the third life being (as ye would say) scaped out of prison, shall begin to vtter his operations by himselfe, and that so much the more certeynly, for that it shall not be subiect to false reports, nor to the sences eyther inward or outward, but to the very things themselues which it shall haue seene and learned. To bee short, it shall liue, but not in prison; it shall see, but not through Spectacles; it shall vnderstand, but not by reports; it shall lift, but not by way of lusting: the infirmitie which the bodie casteth vpon it as now, shall then bee away: the force which it bringeth now to the body, shal then be more fresh and liuely than afore. Now then, notwithstanding these vayn reasons of theirs, let vs conclude, That our soule is an vnderstanding or reasonable power, ouer the which neither death nor corruption haue naturally any power, although it be fitted to the body to gouerne it. And if any man doubt hereof, let him but examine himselfe; for euen his owne doubts will proue it vnto him. Or if he will stand in contention stil, let him fall to reasoning with himselfe: for by concluding his arguments to proue his Soule mortall, he shall giue iudgement himselfe that it is immortall. And if I haue left any thing vnalledged which might make to this purpose, (for

why

why may I not, seeing that euen the selfsame things which I haue bin able to alledge on the behalf of myne aduersaries, do giue them thereunto:) let vs thinke also that he which feeleth himself convicted in himselfe, and for whose behoofe and benefite it were greatly, both to beleeue it and to confesse it, needeth no more diligent proofe than hath bene made alreadie. But if any man will yet of spyght stand wilfully still against himselfe, let him trye how he can make answer to my foresayd arguments: and in the meane while let vs see what the sayd opinion of the wisest men, yea and of the whole world hath bene vpon this mater.

The xv. Chapter.

That the immortalitie of the Soule hath bene taught by the Philosophers of old tyme, and beleeued by all people and Nations.

SOothly it had bene a very harde case, if this mynd of ours which searcheth so many things in nature, had not taken some leysure to search it selfe and the nature therof, and by searching atteyned to some poynt in that behalfe. And therefore as there haue at al tymes bene men, so shall we see also that men haue at all tymes beleeued & admitted the immortalitie of the Soule; I say not some one man or some one Nation, but the whole world with generall consent, because all men vniuersally and perticularly haue learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely euen their owne knowledge in themselues. The holy Scripture which teacheth vs our saluation, vseth no schoolearguments to make vs beleeue that there is a God: and that is because we cannot step out of our selues neuer so little, but wee must needes finde him present to all our Sences. And it seemeth to speake vnto vs the lesse expressly of the immortalitie of our soules, specially in the first bookes therof, because we cannot enter into our selues be it neuer so little, but we must needes perceiue it. But inasmuch as from the one end thereof to the other, it declareth vnto vs the will of God; in so do-

ing it doth vs to vnderstand, that it is a thing wherof it is not lawfull for vs to doubt. And whereas it setteth forth so precisely from age to age, the great and manifold troubles and paines which good and godly men haue sustayned in indeuering to followe that will; it sheweth infallibly that their so doing was in another respect than for this present wretched life. For who is he that would depart with any peece of his owne lyking in this life, but in hope of better things? and what were it for him to lose his life, if there were not another life after this? This serueth to answer in one word to such as demaund expresse texts of Scripture, and are loth to finde that thing in the Byble, which is conteyned there, not only in euery leafe but almost in euery line. For whereas God created man after the world was fully finished and perfected: it was as much as if he had brought him into a Theatre prepared for him, howbeit after another sort than all the other liuing things which were to do him seruice. As for Beastes, Birds, Plants, and such other things, the Elements brought them forth: but Man receyued his Soule by inspiration from God. Also the brute Beasts are put in subiection to man, but man is in subiection onely vnto God. And the conueying of that good man Henocke out of this life for his godlinesse, was to none other end, but to set him in another life boyd of all euill and full of all good. But when we reade the persecutions of Noe, the ouerthwartings of Abraham, the banishment and wayfarings of Iacob, and the distresses of Ioseph, Moyses, and all the residewe of the Fathers; they be all of them demonstrations that they did certeynly trust and beleeue that the Soule is immortall, that there is another life after this, and that there is a iudgement to come. For had they bene of opinion that there is none other life after this; the flesh would haue perswaded them to haue hild themselues in quiet here, and they would haue liked nothing better than to haue followed swetly the comon trade of the world, Noe among his frends, Abraham among the Chaldees, Moyses in Pharaos Court, and so forth. So then, although the Scripture seeme to conceale it; yet doth it speake very loude thereof in deede, considering that all the tryes of the good and godly, and all the despayres of the wicked which it describeth vnto vs, doe sound none other thing vnto vs, if we haue eares to heare it. And it may bee, that in the same respect, this article of the Immortalitie of the Soule was not put into the auncient Creede of the Iewes, nor also peculiarly into the Creede of vs Christians, because wee beleeue beyond reason, and this is

The opinion of the Men of old tyme.

The beleefe of the Patriarkes. &c.

within the bounds of reason; and whosoeuer treateth of Religion must néedes presuppose God eternall and man immortall, without the which two, all Religion were in vayne. Also, when we see that Godlinesse, Iustice, and vertue were commended among the Heathen of all ages: it is all one as if wee should heare them preach in expresse words the Immortalitie of the Soule. For their so doing is buylded euery whit vppon that, as vppon a foundation without the which those things could not stand. I will spend my goodes or my life for the maintenance of Iustice. What is this Iustice but a vayne name, or to what end haue I so many respects, if I loke for nothing out of this present world here? I will (sayd a man of olde tyme) rather lose euen the reputation of an honest man, thā behaue my selfe otherwise than honestly. But why should I doe so, if I loke for no good in another world, seeing I haue nothing but euill here? Surely if there be none other thing than this life, then is vertue to be vsed no further, than profite and commoditie may growe vpon it; and so should it become a Chaffer and Merchandise, & not vertue in déede. Yet notwithstanding, those are the ordinary spéeches, euen of such as speake doubtfully of the Immortalitie of the Soule. Therefore they doe but denye the ground and yet graunt the cōsequence; which is all one as if a man hauing first bin burned, should fall to disputing whether fire be hot or no. But now (which is better for vs) I will here gather together their owne spéeches one after another.

The wise Men of Egipt.

Hermes declareth in his Pœmander, how at the voyce of the euerlasting, the Elements yéelded forth al reasonlesse liuing wights as it had bin out of their bosomes. But when he commeth to man, he sayth, He made him like vnto himselfe, he linked himself to him as to his Sonne, (for he was beautiful and made after his owne Image) and gaue him al his works to vse at his pleasure. Againe, he exhorteth him to forsake his bodie, (notwithstanding that he wonder greatly at the cunning workmanship thereof) as the very cause of his death, and to manure his Soule which is capable of immortalitie, & to consider the originall rote from whence it sprang, which is not earthly but heauenly, and to withdraw himself euen from his Sences and from their traiterous allurements, to gather himselfe wholly into that mynd of his which he hath from God, and by the which he following Gods word, may become as GOD. Discharge thy selfe (sayth he) of this body which thou beareſt about thee, for it is but a cloke of ignorance, a foun-

Hermes in his Pœmander. ἀπεκύησε γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ ὃν ἠράσθη ὡς ἴδιον τόκον.

dation of infection, a place of corruptiō, a liuing death, a sen-
sible carryon, a portable graue, and a houſehold theefe. It flat-
tereth thee becauſe it hateth thee, and it hateth thee becauſe
it enuieth thee. As long as that liueth, it bereueth thee of life,
and thou haſt not a greater enemie than that. Now, to what
purpoſe were it for him to forſake this light, this dwellingplace
and this life, if he were not ſure of a better in another woꝛld (as he
himſelfe ſayth moꝛe largely afterward?) On the other ſide, what is
the Soule? The Soule (ſayth he) is the garment of the mynd,
and the garment of the Soule is a certeyne Spirit whereby it
is vnited to the bodie. And this Mynd is the thing which wee
call properly the Man, that is to ſay a heauenly wight which is
not to bee compared with Beaſtes, but rather with the Gods
of Heauen, if he be not yet more than they. The Heauenly can
not come downe to the earth without leauing the Heauen,
but Man meaſureth the Heauen without remouing from the
earth. The earthly man then is as a mortall God, and the hea-
uenly God is as an immortall man. To bee ſhoꝛt, his concluſion
is, That man is dubble, moꝛtall as touching his body, and immoꝛ-
tall as touching his Soule, which Soule is the ſubſtantiall man
and the very man created immediatly of God (ſayth he) as ꝑ light
is bꝛed immediatly of the Sunne. And Chalcidius ſayth that at
his death he ſpake theſe woꝛdes. I goe home againe into myne
owne Countrie, where my better forefathers and kinſfolk be.

Hermes in his Pœmander. cap. 10.

ὁ ἀνθρωπος ἀθάνατος θεὸς.

Hermes in his Eſculapius.

AEnæas Gaz. concerning the immortalitie of the Soule.

Of Zoroaſtres who is yet of moꝛe antiquitie than Hermes, we
haue nothing but fragments. Neuertheleſſe, many repoꝛt this ar-
ticle to be one of his, That mens Soules are immoꝛtall, and that
one day there ſhall be a generall ryſing againe of their bodies; and
the anſwers of the Wiſe men of Chaldye (who are the heires of
his Doctrine) doe anſwer ſufficiently for him. There is one that
exhoꝛteth men to returne with ſpéede to their heauenly father, who
hath ſent them from aboue a Soule indewed with much vnder-
ſtanding; and another that exhoꝛteth them to ſeeke Paradiſe as the
peculiar dwelling place of the Soule. A third ſayth that the Soule
of man hath God as it were ſhut vp in it, and that it hath not any
moꝛtalitie therein. Foꝛ (ſayth he) the Soule is as it were dꝛonken
with God, and ſheweth foꝛth his wonders in the harmonie of this
moꝛtall body. And agayne another ſayth, It is a cléere fire pꝛocée-
ding from the power of the heauenly father, an vncoꝛruptible ſub-
ſtance, and the mainteyner of life, conteyning almoſt all the whole

Chaldeans.

woꝛld

world with the full plentie thereof in his bosome. But one of them procéedeth yet further, affirming that he which setteth his mynde vppon Godlinesse, shall saue his body, frayle though it bee. And by those words he acknowledgeth the very glorifying of the bodie.

Now, all these sayings are reported by the Platonists, & namely by Psellus; and they refuse not to be acknowne that Pythagoras and Plato learned thē of the Chaldees; insomuch that some think, that the foresayd Hermes and Zoroastres and the residewe aforementioned, are the same of whom Plato speaketh in his second Epistle, and in his eleuenth booke of Lawes, when he sayth that the auncient and holy Oracles are to be beléeued, which affirme mens Soules to bee immortall, and that in another life they must come before a Judge that will require an account of al their doings. The effect wherof commeth to this, That the Soule of man procéedeth immediatly from God, that is to say, that the father of the bodie is one, and the father of the Soule is another: That the Soule is not a bodily substance, but a Spirit and a light: That at the departure thereof from hence, it is to goe into a Paradise, and therfore ought to make haste vnto death: And that it is so farre from mortalitie, that it maketh euen the body immortall. What can wee say more at this day, euen in the tyme of light wherein we be? Pherecydes the Syrian, the first that was knowne among the Greekes to haue written in prose, taught the same. And that which Virgill sayth in his second Eglog concerning the Drug or Spice of Assyria, and the growing thereof euerywhere, is interpreted of some men to bée ment of the Immortalitie of the Soule, the doctrine whereof Pherecydes brought from thence into Greece; namely, that it should be vnderstood euerywhere throughout the whole world. Also Phocylides who was at the same time, speaketh therof in these words.

The Greekes.

Pherecydes.

Assyrium vulgo nascetur Amonium.

ψυχὴ δ' ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ζῆ διὰ παντὸς. That is to say:

Phocylides.

The Soule of man immortall is, and neuer weares away
With any age or length of tyme, but liueth fresh for ay.

And againe,

Λείψανα ἀποιχομένων ὀπίσω θεοὶ τελέθονται.
ψυχαὶ γὰρ μίμνουσιν ἀκήρεσι ἐν φθιμένοισιν.

The Remnants which remaine of men vnburied in the graue,
Become as Gods, and in the Heauens a life most blessed haue.
For though their bodies turne to dust, as dayly we doe see,
Their Soules liue still for euermore from all corruption free.

And in another place he sayes agayne:

καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν.
We hope that we shall come agayne
Out of the earth to light more playne.

And if ye aske him the cause of all this: he will answer you in another verse thus.

πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεὸς χρῆσις θνητοῖσι δ' εἰκών.
Because the Soule, Gods instrument and Image also is.

Sybill. Which saying he seemeth to haue taken out of this verse of Sibils.

Εἰκὼν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐμὸν λόγον ὀρθὸν ἐχοῦσα.
In very reason Man should bee
The Image and the shape of mee.

Pindar in the second song of his Olympiads. Homer in the Funeralles of his Iliads. Of the same opinion also are Orpheus, Theognis, Homer, Hesiodus, Pindar, and all the Poets of old tyme; which may answer both for themselues and their owne Countries, and for the residue of their ages. Likewise Pythagoras a disciple of Pherecides, held opinion that the Soule is a bodylesse and immortall substance, put into this body as into a Prison for sinning. And whereas the fleeting of soules out of one body into another, is fathered vpon him; although the opinion be not directly against the immortalitie of the Soule, yet doe many men thinke that hee hath wrong done vnto him. And his Disciple Timœus of Locres reporteth otherwyse of him. For what punishment were it to a voluptuous man, to haue his Soule put into a beast, that he might become the more voluptuous without remorse of sinne? Sothly it is all one as if in punishment of Murder or theft, yée would make the Murderer to cut the throtes of his owne Father and Mother, or the Theef to commit trecherie against God. Howsoeuer the case stand, he teacheth in his verses, that man is of heauenly race, and that (as Iamblichus reporteth) he is set in this world to behold God. And his Disciple Architas sayth, that God breathed reason and vnderstanding into him. Likewise Philolaus affirmeth that the Diuines and Prophets of old time bare record, that the Soule was cupped with the body for hir sinnes, and buryed in the same as in a Graue. Of Epicharmus we haue this saying. If thou beest a good man in thy heart, Death can doe thee no harme, for thy Soule shall liue happyly in heauen, &c. Also of Heraclides we haue this saying, We liue the Death of them (that is to say of the blessed) his meaning is, that we be not buried with our bodyes; and we dye their Lyfe, that is to say, wee bee still after this body of ours is dead. Of the like opinion are Thales, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes concerning

Pythagoras. Heraclitus as he is reported by Philo. Epicharmus as he is reported by Clement of Alexandria. Thales, Anaxagoras, Diogenes and Zeno.

king this poynt; yea and so is Zeno too, howbeit that he thought the Soule to bee begotten of Man, wherein hee was contrarie too himselfe. To bée shoꝛt, scarsly were there any to be found among the men of old time, saue onely Democritus and Epicurus, that held the contrary way; whome the Poete Lucre immitated afterward in his verses. Yet notwithstanding when Epicurus should dye, hée commaunded an Anniuersarie oꝛ Yéermynd to bee kept in remembꝛance of hym by his Disciples: so greatly delighted hée in a vayne shadowe of Immoꝛtalite, hauing shaken off the very thing it self. And Lucrece (as it is wꝛitten of him) made his booke bëeing mad, at such times as the fittes of his madnesse were off him, surely moꝛe mad when he thought himselfe wyseꝛ, than when the fits of his phrensie were strongest vppon him. Whosoeuer readeth the goodly discourses of Socrates vpon his dꝛinking of poyson, as they bee repoꝛted by Plato and Xenophon hymselfe; can not doubt of his opinio in this case. Foꝛ he not only beléeued it himself, but also perswaded many men to it with liuely reasons, yea and by his own death much moꝛe then by all his lyfe. And so ye see we be come vnto Plato and Aristotle, with consent of all the wyse men of olde tyme, vngeinsayd of any, sauing of a two oꝛ thꝛée malapert wꝛetches, whom the vngraciousest of our dayes would esteeme but as dꝛonken sottes and dizards. Certesse Plato (who might paraduenture haue heard speake of the bookes of Moyses) doeth in his Timæus bꝛing in God giuing commaundement to the vndergoddes whom he created, that they should make man both of moꝛtall and of immoꝛtall substances. Wherein it may be that he alluded to this saying in Genesis, Let vs make man after our owne Image and lykenesse. In which case the Jewes say that GOD directed his spéeche to his Angels; but our Diuines say hee spake to himselfe. But anon after, both in the same booke and in many other places, Plato (as it were comming to him himselfe ageine,) teacheth that GOD created Man by himselfe, yea and euen his Lyuer and his Bꝛayne and all his Sences; that is to say, the Soule of him, not onely indewed with reason and vnderstanding, but also with sence and abilitie of growing and increasing; and also the instruments whereby the same doe woꝛke. Moꝛeouer hee maketh such a manifest difference betwéene the Soule and the body; as that hee matcheth them not togither as matter and foꝛme, as Aristottle doth: but as a Pilot and a Ship, a Commonweale and a Magistrate, an Image and him that beareth it vpon him. What greater thing can

Epicurus.

Lucretius.

Socrates, Plato and Xenophō.

Plato in his Timæus.

Plato in his Timæus, and in his third booke of a Comonweale.

Plato in his Phœdon, in his matter of state, in his Alcibiades, and in the tenth booke of his Comonweale.

there be than to be like God: Now (sayth Plato in his Phœdon) The Soule of Man is very like the Godhead; Immortall, Reasonable, Vniforme, Vndissoluble, and euermore of one sorte, which are conditions (saith he) in his matters of State) that can not agree but to things most diuine. And therefore at his departing out of the world, he willed his Soule to returne home too her kinred and to her first originall, that is to wit, (as hée himselfe sayth there) to the wyse and immortall Godhead the Fountaine of all goodnes, as called home from banishment into her owne natiue countrie. He termeth it ordinarily ξυγγενῆ θεοῦ, that is to say, of kin vnto God, and consequently ἀειγενῆ καὶ ἀθανάτοις ὁμονυμον, that is to say, Euerlasting, and of one selfesame name with the immortall ones, a Heauenly Plant and not a Earthly, rooted in Heauen and not in Earth, begotten from aboue and not héere beneath, and finally such as cannot dye heere, forasmuch as it liueth still in another place. To be short, séeing (sayeth he) that it comprehendeth the things that are Diuine and immortall, that is to wit, the Godhead, and the things that are vnchaungeable and vncorruptible, as trueth is: it cannot be accounted to be of any other nature than they. The same opinion doth Plutarche also attribute vnto him, which appeareth almost in euery leafe of his writings. As touching the auncienter sort of Platonists, they agree all with one accord in the immortalitie of ẏ soule, sauing that some of them deriue it from God, and some from the Soule of the World, some make but the Reason or mynd onely to be immortall, and some the whole Soule: which disagreement may well be salued, if we say that the Soule all whole together is immortall in power or abilitie, though the execution and performance of the actions which are to be doone by the body, be forgone with the instruments or members of the body.

Plato in his fifth booke of Lawes.

The disagréement concerning this poynt among such as a man may voutsafe to call by the name of Philosophers, séemeth to haue begonne at Aristotle, howbeit that his Disciples count it a commendation to him, that he hath giuen occasion to doubt of his opinion in that behalfe. For it is certeine that his newfound doctrine of the Eternitie or euerlastingnesse of the World, hath distroubled his brayne in many other things, as commonly it falleth out, that one error bréedeth many other. Because nature (sayth he) could not make euery man particularly to continue for euer by himself, therfore she continueth him in the kind by matching

Aristotle in his second booke of liuīg things.

Male

Male and Female together. This is ſpoken either groſſely or doubtfully. But whereas he ſayth that if the Mynd haue any inworking of it owne without any helpe of the Sences or of the body, it may alſo continue of it ſelfe, concluding thereuppon that then it may alſo be ſeparated from the body, as an immortal thing from a thing that is tranſitorie and mortall: It followeth conſequently alſo, that the Soule may haue continuance of it ſelfe, as whereof he uttereth theſe words, namely, That the Soule commeth from without, and not of the ſeede of Man as the body doth, and that the Soule is the onely part in vs that is Diuine. Now, to be Diuine and to be Humane, to be of ſeede and to be from without, that is to ſay, from GOD; are things flat contrarie, whereof the one ſort is ſubiect to corruption, and the other not. In the tenth booke of his Moralls he acknowledgeth two ſorts of lyfe in man; the one as in reſpect that he is compoſed of Body and Soule, the other as in reſpect of Mynd onely; the one occupied in the powres which are called humane and bodily, which is alſo accompanyed with a felicitie in this lyfe; and the other occupied in the vertues of the mynd, which is accompanied alſo with a felictie in another lyfe. This which conſiſteth in contemplation, is better than the other; and the felicitie thereto belonging, is peculiarly deſcribed by him in his bookes of Heauen aboue Tyme, as which conſiſteth in the franke and free working of the Mynd, & in beholding the ſouereme God. And in good ſoth, full well doeth Michael of Epheſus vppon this ſaying of his conclude, that the Soule is immortall; and ſo muſt al his morals alſo neede do, conſidering that too liue wel, whether it be to a mans ſelfe or towards other men, were els a vaine thing and to no purpoſe but to vexe our minds in this lyfe. In his bookes of the Soule, hee not onely ſeparateth the Body from the Soule, but alſo putteth a difference betwixt the Soule it ſelfe & the Mind, terming the Soule the inworking of the body and of the bodily inſtruments; and the mynd that reaſonable ſubſtance which is in vs, whereof the doings haue no fellowſhip with the doings of the body, and whereof the Soule is (as Plato ſaieth) but the Garment. This Mynd (ſayth he) may be ſeuered from the body, it is not in any wyſe mingled with it, it is of ſuch ſubſtaunce as cannot be hurt or wrought vpon, it hath being and continuance actually and of it ſelfe; and euen when it is ſeparated from the body, then is it immortall and euerlaſting. To be ſhort, it hath not any thing like vnto the body. For it is not any of al thoſe things

Ariſtotle in the third book of the Soule.

Ariſtotle in his tenth booke of moralles.

Michael of Epheſus vpon Ariſtotles Moralles.

ἄριςος, θείοις συγγενέςατος, θεοφιλέςατος, χωριςὸς, ἀμιγὴς, ἀπαθὴς, τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὢν ἐνέργεια.

In his ſecond booke of the Soule.

things which haue being afore it vnderstād them. And therefore which of all bodily things can it be? And in another place he sayeth thus: As concerning the Mynd, and the contemplatiue powre, it is not yet sufficiently apparant what it is. Neuertheless it seemeth to bee another kind of Soule, and it is that onely which can bee separated from the corruptible, as the which is Ayeuerlasting. To be short, when as he putteth this question, whether a Naturall Philosopher is to dispute of all maner of Soules, or but onely of that Soule which is immateriall: it followeth that he graunteth that there is such a one. And againe, when as he maketh this Argument; Looke what God is euerlastingly, that are wee in posibilitie according to our measure: but hee is euerlastingly separated from bodily things, therefore the time will come that wee shall bee so too. He taketh it that there is an Image of God in vs, yea euen of the Diuine nature which hath continuance of itselfe. Very well and rightly therfore doth Simplicius gather therof, the immortalitie of the Soule. For it dependeth vpon this separation, & vpō continuance of being of it self. Besides this he sayth also, that hunting of beasts is graūted to man by the lawe of Nature, because that thereby man chalengeth nothing but that which naturally is his owne. By what right I pray you, if there be no more in himself than in them? And what is there more in him than in them, if they haue a soule equall vnto his? Hereunto make all his commendations of Godlines, of Religion, of blessednes, and of contemplation. For to what ende serue all these, which doe but cumber vs here belowe? Therefore surely it is to be cōcluded, that as he spake doubtfully in some one place, so he both termed and also taught to speake better in many other places, as appeareth by his Disciple Theophrastus, who speaketh yet more euidently thereof than he.

In the last booke of the parts of beasts.
In the tenth of his Supernaturalles.
In his first booke of matters of state.

The Latins (as I haue sayd before) fell to Philosophie somewhat later then the Grēkes. And as touching their common opinion, the exercises of superstition that were among them, the maner of speeches which we marke in their Histories, their contempt of death, and their hope of another life; can giue vs sufficient warrant thereof. Cicero speaketh vnto vs in these words. The originall of our Soules and Myndes cannot bee found in this lowe earth: for there is not any mixture in them, or any compounding that may seeme to bee bred or made of the earth. Neither is there any moysture, any wyndinesse, or any firy matter in

The opinion of the Latin writers.

Cicero in his first booke of his Tusculane Questions, & in his booke of Comfort.

in them. For no such thing could haue in it the powre of memorie, Vnderstanding, and conceit, to beare in mynd things past, to foresee things to come, and to consider things present, which are matters altogither Diuine. And his conclusion is, that therefore they bee derived from the Mynd of GOD, that is to say, not bred or begotten of Man, but created of God: not bodily, but vnbodily; wherevpon it followeth that the Soule cannot be corrupted by these transitorie things. The same Cicero in another place sayeth that betweene God and Man there is a kinred of reason, as there is betweene man & man a kinred of blud. That the fellowship betweene man and man commeth of the mortall body, but the fellowship betweene God and man commeth of God himselfe who created the Soule in vs. By reason whereof (sayth hee) we may say we haue Alyance with the heauenly sort, as folke that are descended of the same race and roote; whereof that we may euermore be myndfull, we must looke vp to heauen as to the place of our birth, whether we must one day returne. And therfore yet once againe he concludeth thus of himself. Think not (sayth he) that thou thy selfe art mortall, it is but thy body that is so. For thou art not that which this outward shape pretendeth to be, the Mynd of Man is the man in deede, and not this lumpe which may bee poynted at with ones Fingar. Assure thy selfe therefore that thou art a GOD; For needes must that be a God, which liueth, perceyueth, remembereth, foreseeth, and finally reigneth in thy body as the Great God the maker of all things doth in the vniuersall world. For as the eternall God ruleth and moueth this transitory world, so doth the immortall Spirit of our soule moue & rule our fraile body. Hereunto consent all the writers of his tyme, as Ouid, Virgill and others, whose verses are in euery mans remembrance.

Cicero in his second booke of the Nature of the Gods: and in his first booke of Lawes.

In Scipioes dreame.

There wanted yet the Wight that should all other Wights exceede
In loftie reach of stately Mynd, who like a Lord in deede
Should ouer all the residewe reigne; Then shortly came forth Man,
Whom eyther he that made the World and all things els began,
Created out of seede diuine, or els the earth yet yoong
And lately parted from the Skie, the seede thereof vncloong
Reteyned still in frutefull wombe: which Iapets sonne did take,
And tempering it with Water pure, a Wight thereof did make,
Which should resemble euen the Gods which souereine state doe hold.
And Where all other things the ground with groueling eye behold;

Ouid in his first booke of Metamorphosis.

He

He gaue to man a ſtately looke and full of Maieſtie
Commaunding him with ſtedfaſt looke to face the ſtarry Skie.

Seneca writing to Gallio and to Lucillus.

Here a man might bring in almoſt all Senecaes wrytings; but I will content my ſelfe with a fewe ſayings of his. Our Soules (ſayth he) are a part of Gods Spirit, and ſparkes of holy things ſhining vpon the earth. They come from another place than this lowe one. Whereas they ſeeme to bee conuerſant in the bodie, yet is the better part of them in Heauen, alway neere vnto him which ſent them hither. And how is it poſsible that they ſhould be from beneath, or from anywhere els thā from aboue, ſeeing thei ouerpaſſe al theſe lower things as nothing, and hold ſkorne of all that euer we can hope or feare? Thus ye ſee how he teacheth that our Soules come into our bodies from aboue. But whether go they agayne, when they depart hence? Let vs here him what he ſayes of the Lady Martiaes Sonne that was dead. He is now euerlaſting (ſayth he) and in the beſt ſtate, bereft of this earthly baggage which was none of his, & ſet free to himſelfe. For theſe bones, theſe ſinewes, this coate of ſkin, this face, and theſe ſeruiceable hands, are but fetters and priſons of the Soule. By them the Soule is ouerwhelmed, beaten downe, and chaſed away. It hath not a greater battell, than with that maſſe of fleſh. For feare of being torne in peeces, it laboureth to returne from whence it came, where it hath readie for it an happie and euerlaſting reſt. And agayn: This Soule cannot be made an Outlaw: for it is a kin to the Gods, equall to the whole world, and to all tyme; and the thought or conceyt thereof goeth about the whole Heauen, extending it ſelf from the beginning of al tyme to the vttermoſt poynt of that which is to come. The wretched coarſe being the Iayle & fetters of the Soule, is toſſed to and fro. Vpon that are tormēts, murthers, and diſeaſes executed. As for the Soule, it is holy and euerlaſting, and cannot bee layd hand on. When it is out of this body, it is at libertie and ſet free from all bondage, and is cōuerſant in that beautifull place (whereſoeuer it be) which receyueth mens Soules into the bleſſed reſt thereof as ſoone as they bee deliuered from hence. To bee ſhort, he ſeemeth to pricke very nere to the ryſing againe of the dead. For in a certeyne Epiſtle to Lucilius, his wordes are theſe. Death, wherof we be ſo much afrayd, doth not bereue vs of life, but only diſcontinew it for a tyme; and a day will come that ſhall bring vs to light agayne.

Seneca concerning the Lady Martiaze Sōne and the ſhortneſſe of this life In his Queſtions, and in his booke of Comfort.

agayne. This may suffise to giue vs knowledge of the opinion of that great personage, in whom wee see that the more he grewe in age, the nerer he came still to the true birth. For in his latest bookes he treateth alwaies both more assuredly and more euidẽtly therof.

Also the saying of Phauorinus is notable. There is nothing great on earth, (sayth he) but Man; and nothing great in Man, but his Soule. If thou mount vp thether, thou mountest aboue Heauen. And if thou stoope downe agayne to the bodie, and compare it with the Heauen; it is lesse than a Flye, or rather a thing of nothing. At one word, this is as much to say, as that in this clod of clay, there dwelleth a diuine and vncorruptible nature: for how could it els be greater than the whole world? Fauorinus.

As touching the Nations of old tyme, we reade of them all, that they had certeyne Religions and diuine Seruices, so as they beléeued that there is a Hell, and certeyne fieldes which they call the Elysian fields, as we see in the Poets Pindarus, Diphilus, Sophocles, Euripides & others. The more superstitious that they were, the more sufficiently doe they witnesse vnto vs what was in their Conscience. For true Religion and Superstition haue both one ground, namely the Soule of man; and there could be no Religion at all, if the Soule liued not when it is gone hence. Wee reade of the Indians, that they burned themselues afore they came to extreme oldage, terming it the letting of men lose, and the freeing of the Soule from the bodie: and the sooner that a man did it, the wiser was he esteemed. Which custome is obserued still at this day among the people that dwell by the Riuer Niger otherwise called the people of Senega in Affricke, who offer themselues willingly to be buryed quicke with their Maisters. All the demonstrations of Logicke and Mathematicke (sayth Zeno) haue not so much force to proue the immortalitie of the soule, as this only doing of theirs hath. Also great Alexander hauing taken prisoners ten of their Philosophers, (whom they call Gimnosophists) asked of one of them to trye their wisedome, whether there were mo men aliue or dead. The Philosopher answered, that there were moe aliue: Because (sayd he) there are none dead. Ye may wel think they gaue a dype mocke to all the arguments of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which with all their Philosophie had taught their scholer Alexander so euill. Of the Thracians, we reade that they sorrowed at the birth of men and reioyced at the death of them, yea euen of their owne chidren. And that was because they thought that which wee The common opinion of all nations. Porphyrius in his 4. booke of Abstinence. Which with their owne hands made the fire to burne their bodies in: and sawe aliue the kindled flame that should consume their Skinne.

call

rall death, not to be a death in deede, but rather a very happie birth. And these be the people whom Herodotus reporteth to haue bene called the Neuerdying Getes, and whom the Greekes called the Neuerdying Getes or Thracians. Who were of opinion that at their departing out of this world, they went to Zamolxis or Gebeleizie, that is to say (after ꝑ interpretation of the Getish or Gotish tongue) to him that gaue them health, saluation or welfare, and gathered them together. The like is sayd of the Galles, chiefly of the inhabiters about Marsilles and of their Druydes; of the Hetruscians and their Bishops; and of the Scythians and their Sages; of whom all the learning and wisedome was grounded vpon this poynt. For loke how men did spread abroad, so also did this doctrine, which is so deeply printed in man, that he cannot but carie it continually with him. Which thing is to bee seene yet more in that which wee reade concerning the hearers of Hegesias the Cyrenian, who dyed willingly after they had heard him discourse of the state of mens Soules after this life; and likewise concerning Cleombrotus the Ambraciote, who slewe himselfe when he had read a certeyne treatise of the immortalitie of the Soule. For had it not bene a doctrine most euident to mans wit, they would neuer haue bin caried so farre by it, as to the hurting of their bodies. And if among so many people, there be perchaunce some fewe wretched captifes, that haue borne themselues on hand the contrarie; which thing neuertheless they could neuer yet fully perswade themselues to be out of all doubt or question: surely wee may beleeue that they had very much adoe and were vtterly besotted like Drunkards, afore they could come to that poynt: so as wee may well say of them as Hierocle the Pythagorist sayde: namely, That the wicked would not haue their Soules to bee immortall, to the intent they might not be punished for their faults: But yet that they preuent the sentence of their Iudge, by condemning themselues vnto death afore hand. But if they wil neither heare God, nor the whole world, nor themselues: let them at leastwise hearken to the Deuill as well as they doe in other things; who (as sayth Plutark) made this answer to Corax of Naxus and others in these verses.

Gebeleizie, that is to say, Register or Giuer of eaze & rest.

Herocles in his x. Chapter.

Plutarke in his treatise of the slow punishing of the wicked.

It were a great wickednesse for thee to say
The Soule to be mortall or for to decay.

And vnto Polytes he answered thus.

As long as the Soule to the body is tyde,
Though loth, yet all sorowes it needes must abyde.
But when fro the body Death doth it remoue,
To heauen by and by then it styes vp aboue.
And there euer youthfull in blisse it doth rest,
As God by his wisedome hath set for the best.

Not that any saying of the Deuilles owne is to bee alledged in witnesse of the trueth; further forth than to shewe that he speakes it by compulsion of Gods mightie power, as wicked men diuers tymes doe when they be vpon the Racke. Now we bee come to the time or nere to the time that the heauenly doctrine of Jesus Christ was spred ouer ỹ whole world, vnto which tyme I haue proued ỹ continuall succession of that doctrine, which could not but bee vnseparably ioyned with the succession of men. But frō this tyme forth it came so to light among all Nations and all persons; that Saint Austin after a sort triumphing ouer vngodlinesse, cryeth out in diuers places, saying: Who is now so very a foole or so wicked, as to doubt still of the immortalitie of the Soule? Epictetus a Stoik philosopher, who was had in very great reputation among all the men of his tyme, is full of goodly sayings to the same purpose. May wee not bee ashamed (sayth he) to leade an vnhonest life, and to suffer our selues to be vanquished by aduersitie? we be alyed vnto God, we came from thence, and wee haue leaue to returne thether from whence we came. One while, as in respect of the Soule, he termeth man the offspring of GOD, or as it were a braunch of the Godhead; and another while he calleth him a diuine ympe or a spark of God: by all which words (howbeit that they be somewhat vnproper) (for what wordes can a man finde to fit that matter?) he sheweth the vncorruptiblenesse of the substance of mans Soule. And whereas the Philosopher Simplicius hath so diligently commented vppon his bookes, it doth sufficiently answer for his opinīō in that case, without expressing his words here. Plotinus the excellentest of al the Platonists, hath made nine treatises expressely concerning the nature of the Soule, besides the things which he hath written dispersedly heere and there in other places. His chiefe conclusions are these. That mens Soules proceede not of their bodies, nor of the seede of the Parents, but come from aboue, and are as ye would say graffed into our bodies by the hand of God: That the Soule is partly tyed to the body and to the instruments thereof, and partly franke, free, workfull, & continuing of

The opinion of the later Philosophers.

Epictetus. ἀπόσπασματα.

Simplicius.

Plotinus. Plotin. lib. 1. Ennead. 4. concerning the Beeing of the Soule, & lib. 2 cap. 1. & lib. 3. cap. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. lib. 4 cap. 11. & the seauenth book throughout.

of it selfe; and yet notwithstanding that it is neither a body nor the harmonie of the body, but (if wee consider the life and operation which it giueth to the body) it is after a sort the perfection [or rather the perfector] of the body; and if wee haue an eye to the vnderstanding whereby it guydeth the mouings and doings of the body; it is as a Gouernour of the body: That the further it is withdrawne from the Senses, the better it discourseth of things; insomuch that when it is vtterly separated from them, it vnderstandeth things without discoursing, reasoning or debating, yea euen in a moment; because this debating is but a certeyne lightening or brightnesse of the mynde, which now taketh aduisement in matters whereof it doubteth, and it doubteth whersoeuer the body yeldeth any impediments vnto it; but it shall neither doubt nor seeke aduisement any more when it is once out of the body, but shall conceyue the trueth without wauering: That the Soule in the body is not properly there as in a place, or as in a ground, because it is not conteyned or comprehended therein, and may also bee separated from it; but rather if a man had eyes to see it withall, he should see that the bodie is in the Soule, as an accessary is in a principall, or as a thing conteyned in a conteyner, or a sheading or liquid thing in a thing that is not liquid, because the Soule imbraceth the body, and quickneth it, and moueth it equally and alike in all parts. That euery abilitie thereof is in euery part of the bodie, as much in one part as in another, as a whole Soule in euery parte; notwithstanding that euery seuerall abilitie thereof seeme to bee seuerally in some particuler member or part, because the instruments thereof are there; as the sensitiue abilitie seemeth to rest in the head, the prefull in the heart, and the quickning in the Liuer, because the Sinewes, Hartstrings and Vaynes come from those parts: Whereas the reasonable power is not in any part, sauing so farre forth as it worketh and hath his operation there, neither hath it any neede of place or instrument for the executing of it selfe. And to be short, that the Soule is a life by it selfe, a life all in one, vnpartable; which causeth to growe, and groweth not it selfe; which goeth throughout the bodie, and yet is not conteyned of the bodie; which vniteth the Senses, and is not deuided by the Senses; and therfore that it is a bodilesse substance, which cannot bee touched neither from within nor from without, hauing no neede of the bodie eyther outwardly or inwardly, & consequently is immortall, diuine, yea and almost a very God: Which things he proueth by many reasons, which were too long to bee re-

hearsed

hearsed here. Yea he proceedeth so farre as to say, þ they which are passed into another worlde, haue their memorie still, notwithstanding that to some mens seeming it goe away with the Sences as the treasury of the Sences. Howbeit he affirmeth it to be the more excellent kynd of memorie; not that which calleth things agayne to mynd as alreadie past, but that which holdeth and beholdeth them still as alwaies present. Of which two sorts, this latter he calleth Myndfulnes, and the other he calleth Remembrance. I will add but onely one sentence more of his for a full president of his Doctrine. The Soule (sayth he) hath had companie with the Gods, and is immortal; and so would we say of it (as Plato affirmeth) if we sawe it fayre and cleere. But forasmuch as we see it commonly troubled, we thinke it not to bee eyther diuine or immortall, howbeit that he which will discerne the nature of a thing perfectly, must consider it in the very owne substance or being, vtterly vnmingled with any other thing. For whatsoeuer els is added vnto it, doth hinder the perfect discerning of the same. Therfore let euery man behold himself naked without any thing saue himselfe, so as he looke vppon nothing els than his bare Soule: and surely when he hath vewed himselfe in his owne nature merely as in respect of his Mynd, he shall beleeue himselfe to bee immortall. For he shall see that his Mynd, ameth not properly at the sensible and mortall things, but that by a certeine euerlasting power, it taketh hold of the things that are euerlasting, and of whatsoeuer is possible to be conceiued in vnderstanding: insomuch that euen it self becommeth after a sort a very World of vnderstanding & light. This is against those which pretend a weakenesse of the Soule, by reason of the inconueniences which it indureth very often in the bodie.

Plotinus in his booke of the Sences, & of Memorie. En. 4. lib. 3. and in his booke of doubts concerning the Soule chap. 26. 27.

Of the same opinion are Numenius, Iamblichus, Porphirius, and Proclus, notwithstanding that now and then they passe their bounds, suffering their wits to runne ryot. For in their Philosophie they had none other rule, than only the drift of their owne reason. It was commonly thought that Alexander of Aphrodise beleeued not the immortalitie of the Soule, because he defined it to be the forme of the body proceeding of the mixture & temperature of the Elements. Surely these words of his doe vs to vnderstand, either that he ment to define but the sensitiue lyfe onely (as many others doe) and not the reasonable soule; or els that he varieth from

Alexander of Aphrodise in his bookes of the Soule.

himselfe in other places. And in very deede hee sayeth immediatly afterward, that he speaketh of the things which are subiect to generation and corruption. But speaking of the Soule he sayeth it is separable, immateriall, unmixed, and voyd of passions, unlesse perchaunce we may thinke as some doe, that by this Soule he meane but onely God, and not also the Soule that is in vs; for the which thing he is sharply rebuked by Themistius, who notwithstanding speaketh neuer a whit better thereof himselfe. Howsoeuer he deale elsewhere, these words of his following are without any doubtfulnes at all. The Soule (sayth he) which is in vs, commeth from without and is vncorruptible. I say vncorruptible because the nature thereof is such, and it is the very same that Aristotle affirmeth to come from without. And in his second booke of Problemes, searching the cause why the abilities of the Soule are oftentimes impeached: If a mans brayne be hurt (sayth he) the reasonable soule dooth not well execute the actions that depend thereon. But yet for all that, it abydeth still in itselfe, vnchaungeable of nature, abilitie and power, through the immortalitie thereof. And if it recouer a sound instrument, it putteth her abilities in execution as well as it did afore. But I will reason more at large hereafter against the opinion that is fathered vpon him.

In his second booke of Problemes.

What shall we say of Galene, (who fathereth the causes of all things as much as he can, vpon the Elements and the mixture and agreeable concord of them) if after his disputing against his owne Soule, he be constreyned to yeld that it is immortall? Surely in his booke concerning the manners of the Soule he doeth the worst that he can against Plato: and in another place hee doubteth whether it be immortall, and whether it haue continuance of it selfe or no. Yet notwithstanding, in his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato, It must needes be graunted (sayeth hee) that the Soule is either a sheere body and of the nature of the Skye, (as the Stoiks & Aristotle himself are inforced to confesse) or els a bodilesse substance, whereof the body is as it were the Chariot, and whereby it hath fellowship with other bodyes. And it appeareth that hee inclyneth to this latter part: For hee maketh the vitall spirit to be the excellentest of all bodily things, and yet he graunteth the Soule to bee a farre more excellent thing than that. What shall we then doe? Let vs wey his words set downe in his booke of the conception of a Child in the Mothers Wombe. The

Galen in his booke of the Manners of the Soule.

In his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato.

In his booke of Conception.

Soule

Soule of Man (sayeth he) is an influence of the vniuersall Soule that descendeth from the heauenly Region, a substance that is capable of knowledge, which aspyreth alwayes to one substance lyke vnto it selfe, which leaueth all these lower things to seeke the things that are aboue, which is partaker of the heauenly Godhead, and which by mounting vp to the beholding of things that are aboue the heauens, putteth it selfe into the presence of him that ruleth all things. Were it reason then that such a substance comming from elsewhere than of the body, and mounting so farre aboue the body, should in the ende dye with the body, because it vseth the seruice of the body?

The vniuersall consent.

Now hereunto I could adde infinite other sayings of the auncient authors both Greeke and Latin Philosophers, Poets, and Orators from age to age, wherein they treate of the iudgement to come, of the reward of good men, of the punishment of euill men, of Paradise and of Hell, which are appendants to the immortalitie of the Soule: but as now I will but put the reader in mynd of them by the way, reseruing them to their peculiar places. To bee short, let vs runne at this day from East to West, and from North to South, I say not among the Turkes, Arabians, or Persians, (for their Alcoran teacheth them that mans Soule was breathed into him of God, and consequently that it is incorruptible) but euen among the most barbarous, ignorant & beastly people of the World, I meane the very Caribies and Cannibals; and we shall find this beleefe receiued and imbraced of them all. Which giueth vs to vnderstand, that it is not a doctrine inuented by speculations of some Philosophers, conueyed from Countrie to Countrie by their disciples, perswaded by likelyhods of reasons, or (to be short) entered into mans wit by his eares: but a natiue knowledge, which euery man findeth and readeth in himself, which he carieth euerywhere about with himselfe, and which is as easie to bee perswaded vnto all such as viewe themselues in themselues, as it is easie to perswade a man that neuer sawe his owne face, to beleeue that he hath a face, by causing him to behold himselfe in a glasse.

In the Alcorã, Azo: 25. and 42.

It appeareth by the storyes of the East and West Indyes.

There remayne yet two opinions, to be confuted. The one is the opinion of Auerrhoes, and the other is the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who affirme themselues to hold both of Aristotle; namely in that they vpholde that there is but one vniuersall reasonable Soule or mynd, which worketh al our discourses in vs, howbeit diuersly in euery seuerall person. And this thing (if wee

Against Auerrhoes.

beléeue Auerrhoes) is done according to the diuerſitie of ỳ Phantaſies or Imaginations wherewith the mynd is ſerued as with inſtruments. But if we beléeue Alexander, it is done according to the diuerſities of the capable mind as they terme it, that is to ſay, of the abilitie or capabilitie that is in men to vnderſtand things, by receyuing the impreſſion of the vniuerſall mynd that worketh into euery of them which in reſpect thereof is called of them the woorker. Soothly theſe opinions are ſuch as may bee diſproued in one worde. For this onely one Mynd, whether in poſſibilitie or in action, could not haue receiued or imprimted in euery man one ſelfeſame common beléef and conceit of the immortalitie of the Soule, in ſo great diuerſitie of imaginations, and in ſo many Nations, as we ſée doe beléeue it, conſidering that the very ſame conceit is directly repugnant againſt it. Nay, it may well bée ſayde that Auerrhoes and Alexander had very diuers conceits and imaginations one from another, and very contrary to all other mens, ſeeing they had ſo diuers and cõtrarie opinions imprinted either in their mind or in their imagination. Howbeit forasmuch as there may be ſome, ỳ will make a doubt of it; Let vs examine them ſeuerally yet more aduiſedly. First Auerrhoes will néedes beare Ariſtotle on hand, that Ariſtotle is of that opinion. Let vs ſee how this ſurmize of his can agrée with the propoſitions which Ariſtotle hath left vs. Ariſtotle telleth vs that the Soule is knit to the body as ỳ forme or ſhape to the matter; that the Soule hath thrée chiefe powres, namely of lyfe, of ſence, and of vnderſtanding; and that the vnderſtanding part conteineth in his power both the other two powers, as a Fiueſquare conteineth both a Fowerſquare and a Triangle. Whereupon it followeth that if any one of the three powers of the Soule be ioyned to the body as a forme to the matter; all the thrée be ioyned ſo to, as which are all in one ſoule as in their roote. Now Auerrhoes neither can nor will deny that the powers of growing and of perceiuing by the ſences are ioyned after that maner to the body; and therfore it followeth that the vnderſtanding power is ſo ioyned alſo, and conſequently that according to Ariſtotle, as euery body hath his forme, ſo euery body hath his Soule. The ſame Ariſtotle findeth fault with the former Philoſophers for holding opinion that a Soule might paſſe out of one man into another: becauſe (ſayeth he) that euery certeyne Soule muſt needes be appoynted and appoynted to ſome one certeine body. Now loke by what Soule a man liueth, by the ſame Soule doth he vnderſtand: for

Let the Reader beare theſe termes & their ſignifications in Mynd, for al the diſcourſe here enſewing.

Auerrhoes, vpon Ariſtotles third booke of the Soule.

Ariſtotle in his ſecond booke of the Soule.

Ariſtotle in his firſt booke of the Soule.

for it is but one Soule indued with three diuers abilities, as hee himselfe teacheth openly. One vnderstanding or Mynd therefore, must (according to Aristotle) worke but in one seuerall body, and not in many bodyes. Also according to Aristotle, a Man & a Beast agree in this, that both of them haue one sensitiue power and one selfesame imagination of things perceiued by the Sences, & that they differ in this, that man hath yet further a mynd and reason aboue the beast, which thing the beast hath not. Now if this Vnderstanding or Mynd be without the man, as the Sonne is without the Chamber that it shineth into and inlighteneth; then cannot he be called reasonable or indewed with vnderstanding, neither doth he consequently differ from a beast. For the difference must bee in nature, and not in accident. And so should it insue that Aristotles foresaid definition of a man is false, as if he should define a Chāber by the shyning of the Sunne into it: Or say that a Dog differeth not from a man in kind; yea and that Beasts are capable of vnderstanding, forasmuch as they haue Imagination ready aforehand to receiue the influence thereof as well as wee. But Aristotle is alwaies one in his defining both of beast & of man; and Auerrhoes also holdeth himself to it, without doubting thereof at all. This conclusion therfore cannot in anywise be vpheld by such grounds.

Againe, if there bee not in euery seuerall man a seuerall mynd, but onely one vniuersall mynd common to all men, which becommeth diuers by the onely diuersitie of our imaginations: Then in respect that we haue sundrie imaginations, wee shall bee sundrie liuing wights; and in respect that we haue al but one mynd, we shall bee all but one man. For man is not man in respect of the sensitiue power, but in respect of the reasonable part which is the mind. But Aristotle graunteth that we be not only diuers liuing wights, but also diuers men. And therefore he must nēdes meane also, that we haue not only diuers imaginations, but also diuers mynds. Now besides many other Reasons that might be alledged, ye might add this also, That otherwise Aristotles Moralles and his discourses concerning Justice, Frēwill, the Immortalitie of the Soule, the happie blisse, the reward of the good, and the paynes of the wicked, were vtterly fruteless and to no purpose: For as our fancies or imaginations did come and goe, so would al those things come and go likewise; and so should they haue no continuance of themselues, but only be as a shadowe and vayne fantasie. But let Aristotle alone, (for he hath wrong) and let vs come to the matter it self. The

Philosophers doe ordinarily make a dubble mynd; the one which they call possible or in possibilitie, which is capable and of abilitie to vnderstand things; and this they liken to a smoth table; the other they call working or workfull, which bringeth the abilitie into act, whereas notwithstanding they be not two mynds, but two seuerall abilities of only one mynd. Now, as for this abilitie or possibilitie of vnderstanding, we affirme it to be in the Soule of euery man. Contrarywise, Auerrhoes affirmed onely one vniuersall capable mynd to be shed abroad euerywhere throughout all men; and that the same is diuersly perfected and brought into act in euery seuerall man, according to the diuersitie of the imaginations which the man conceyueth, euen by the helpe or influence of the sayd vniuersall workfull mynd, which he sayth is also a substaunce seuered from man, and (in respect of the vnderstanding in possibilitie) is as the Sunne is to the sight of our eyes; and the vnderstāding in possibilitie is to the imaginations, as the sight is vnto colours. Now, I demaund first of all, whether these vniuersall Mynds of his, bee substances created or vncreated. If they bee created, where becommeth then his conclusion, That the world is without beginning, and without ending, seeing that he will haue them to be continued euerlastingly in all men that haue bene, are, or shall be? If they bee vncreated, how can so excellent substances bee made subiect to our fond imaginations, to yeeld influence into them at their pleasures? Or rather how happeneth it that they correct them not? How happeneth it that thei leaue them in such errors, yea euen in the knowledge of themselues, seeing that by the erring of the imaginations, the very vnderstanding and reason themselues must also nēdes be so often begupled? Againe, as concerning these substances, which extend into so many places; are they Bodies or Spirits? How can they be Bodies, seeing they be in infinite places at one instant, and do infinite things, yea and flat contraries? And if they be Spirits, doth it not follow therupō, that they be wholly in al men, & wholly in euery man; that is to say, that euery man hath them whole to himselfe? And therefore that if they bee decepued by the fantasie of any one man, they be consequently decepued in all men? And wherof comes it then, that one man ouercommeth his imaginations, and another man not? Or that one man resisteth them, and another suffereth himselfe to be caryed away by them? Moreouer, who can denye that a man willeth things, whereof he hath vnderstanding; and likewise that he willeth some things which he vnderstandeth not;

not; and that he vnderstandeth some things which he willeth not? And also that he willeth things euen contrary to his appetites, and concludeth oftentymes contrary to his imaginations, as commeth to passe in Dreames and in Lokingglasses; which thing the brute Beastes doe not? When a man willeth contrary to his appetites, willeth he not contrary to his sences, yea and contrary to his imagination too? for what els is fantasie or imagination, than the rebounding backe of the sences? And if this workfull vnderstanding be the only worker in his possible vnderstanding by meane of imagination; how commeth it to passe that a man willeth contrary to his imagination? Againe, when either in dreaming or in debating, reason concludeth cleane contrary to that which fancie or imagination offereth; wherof commeth it that a man is contrary to himself, or that the deede is contrary both to that which imprinted it, and to that wherein it is imprinted? Also what els is imagination (according to the opinion of Auerrhoes,) than a certeyne operation annexed to the bodie, steaming vp from the Hart to the Brayne? And on the contrary part who can say nay, but that the Will and Understanding are able to performe their operations without the instruments of the body, seeing that a man doth both will and debate things that are most repugnant to the body? Yea and that (as Aristotle sayth) those bee not actions which passe into the outward man, but those which abyde within and make perfect the inner mã? And who can make Will and Understanding to be things depending vpon imagination, seeing that both waking and sleeping and all maner of waies els, they dayly vtter infinite iudgements and determinations against it? Now, if we haue nothing in vs aboue Imagination: then considering that wee doe both will and vnderstand, it must needes bee that this power or abilitie to will and vnderstand is shed into vs from without. And if it be but only one vniuersally in all men; then seeing that the actions thereof are executed without the imagination, without the sences, and without the instruments of the bodie, yea and against them: it followeth that it willeth and vnderstandeth in vs whatsoeuer it liketh and listeth, euen in despite of all impediments and lets of the bodie; and that as it is but one, so it shall will but one selfsame thing, and likewise also vnderstand but one selfesame thing in all men. For if (as Aristotle confesseth) our imaginations make not our will and reason subiect vnto them; much lesse doe they make the foresayd vniuersall mynd subiect to them as Auerrhoes pretendeth. But now contra-

Aristotle in his x. booke of Supernaturalls.

riwise wee see there bee as many Willes as men, yea euen in one matter; and that the vnderstandings of men are not onely diuers, but also contrarie. It followeth then that euery particular person hath in that behalfe a particular substaunce, which willeth and vnderstandeth, franke and free from all imaginations whensoeuer it listeth to retyre into it selfe; and not that there is but one vniuersall mynd which willeth and vnderstandeth all things in all men. Besides this, by the iudgement of Aristotle as I sayd afore, this vniuersall mynd could not worke will and vnderstanding in vs: for to will and vnderstand (sayth he) are operations that passe not into the matter nor into the outward thing, but abide stil in the worker, that is to say in the mynd, as actions and perfections thereof.

Let vs yet agayne take of that which hath bin sayd afore. If the sayd vniuersall only one working mynd, haue wrought from euerlasting in the sayd vniuersall only one capable mynd, by the Imaginations of men: then hath the knowledge of all things bin euermore imprinted in the sayd capable mynd; for it shal euermore haue brought the abilitie into act: And therwithal, the working and perfection of the thing that is euerlasting, shall haue depended vpon a thing that is temporall; which is vnpossible. And although Auerrhoes supposed not the World to be euerlasting: yet notwithstanding, the sayd capable mynd which hath bene set a worke so many hundred yéeres, by so many imaginations of men, and in so many sundry Nations, could not now méete with any newe thing wherof it had not the knowledge afore. For this capable mynd (saith Auerrhoes) is a certeine spirituall substance, which spreadeth it self forth into all men and into all ages, and the nature of such sort of substaunces is to be all in the whole, and all in euery part thereof. For they bee not tyed to any one place, but are whersoeuer they worke, and their working is in respect of the whole and not in respect of any one part, forasmuch as they be vndiuidable. Therefore it should followe by his opinion (as I haue sayd afore) that the one vniuersall capable mind is & worketh whole and vnparted in euery man. And if it be so; then is ỹ being of it there, not in way of méere abilitie or possibilitie onely, but in way of operation and perfect inworking, as a wicked spirit is in a Witch, in a Pythonesse or in a possessed person: which spirit, (were he possessed of the man as he himselfe possesseth the man, (after which maner Auerrhoes affirmeth vs to possesse the vnderstanding in possibilitie, by our imaginations;) would make the man capable of all that euer the Spirit himself

imselfe knoweth or is. Whereupon it will followe, that this vnderstanding in possibilitie shall euerlastingly in all men from their very birth, actually vnderstand and knowe all things that all men vnderstand, as well in the old as the yoong, and in the ignorant as the skilfull; so as wee shall haue no more neede of sences, nor of imagination to vnderstand withall. Too be short, although Auerhoes admitteth not the World to bee without beginning: yet at leastwise he will not deny, but that [by his reckening] they which come into the world at this day, should come farre more skilfull than all their predecessors, and the children of them more skilfull than their fathers, and the offspring of those children more skilfull than those children themselues; and so forthon, because they should succeede in the knowledge continued throughout all ages. Wherupon it will also insue, that all Sciences shalbe equally in all men that make profession of them. As for example, we will speake heere out of some one speciall Science, as Grammer and Arithmetike. Now if there bee any diuersitie in the skill thereof, that diuersitie cannot come but of the diuersitie of the subiect or ground wherein the skill is. Now the ground of the skill is the capacitie of the mynd or vnderstanding, (which Auerrhoes supposeth to be but one, comon to all men) and not the Imagination, which is but a reflexion or rebounding backe of the Sence. And so forasmuch as there is (by his saying) but one ground in al men; it followeth that the knowledge or skill of this or that Science must needes bee equall & alike in all men: or els that if it be not equall, but doe vary, as wee see it dooth in diuers degrees; then the same varying or diuersitie happeneth through the diuersitie of the ground wherein the skill is, and consequently that there is one particular vnderstanding or one peculiar mynd in euery man, and not one vniuersal mynd comon to all men. Also it is a generall rule, that the receiuer of a thing hath not the thing afore he receiue it. For (as Aristotle saith (that which is to receiue a thing, must needes be first vtterly voyde of the thing which it receiueth. Now afore that our Sence and Imagination had any beeing at all, this vniuersall comon mynd had receiued & possessed all things aforehand; and not only receiued them, but also kept them together. For as Aristotle himself saith, that maner of mynd is the place of all vnderkinds & sortes of things, and thereto hath no lesse power than the Imagination, to reteine whatsoeuer the Sences receiue. In vaine therefore should that vniuersall mynd vnderstand by our Imaginations, consi-

Aristotle in his third booke of of the Soule.

considering that it vnderstandeth by it selfe: in vaine likewise should the Imaginations imprint those things in it, which were imprinted in it so long afore: and in vaine is Aristotles setting downe of a workfull vnderstanding, which should bring our vnderstanding in abilitie, from possibilitie into action; if the said onely one vniuersall mynd or vnderstanding be perfect of it selfe from euerlasting, as it followeth to be vppon the opinion of Auerrhoes. Neither is it to be said, that although the conceiuable vnderkinds of things haue bene imprinted euerlastingly in the said vniuersall mynd; yet notwithstanding there needed an Imagination for the vnderstanding of them, as there needeth now whensoeuer we will vse the things that we haue seene or learned afore. For by that reckening, to learne all maner of Sciences, wee needed no more but to bethinke vs by imagination, of the things that were already aforehand in the said only vniuersal one mynd, as we doe the things that haue bene printed sometime in our memories, and are somewhat slipped out of our remembrance; and so might we our selues learne all sciences without a teacher, because that in the said vniuersall mynde of ours, wee should haue all the skill that euer any man had attayned to, in like maner as the persone that hath once had the skill of Arithmetik or Cosmographie throughly settled in his mynd, needeth no teacher to teache it him againe, but onely to ouerturne his owne imagination, and to search his memorie for the finding againe of that which he had layd vp there. Now we knowe that whosoeuer learneth nothing, knoweth nothing, and that ordinarily he which most studyeth, most learneth: and that all the tossing and turmopling of a mans owne imagination that can bee all his life long, will neuer make him to attaine of himself to so much as the very principles of the least science that is. By reason wherof it followeth, That we haue not the skill of any science in vs, vntill wee either be taught it or find it out by beating our wits about it: and that our imagination serueth not to reuiue the Sciences in vs, but to bring them into vs, and to plant them in vs. And forasmuch as all the Sciences should bee in all men from the beginning, if there were but one vniuersall mynd in all men, [which is not so] it followeth that there is in euery particular persone a particular and peculiar mynd, and not any one vniuersall mynd common to all men. Moreouer, our mynd attayneth after a sort to the vnderstanding of itself: which thing it could not doe in very deede, if there were but one vniuersall mynd common to all men. For too

vnderstand

derstand it selfe, it must needes worke vpon it selfe. But if wee leeue Auerrhoes, our mynd shal not onely be wrought vppon o receiue into it from the Imagination, as a Windowe receyth light from the Sunne. Ageine, the capacitie of the vniuersall derstanding in possibilitie, could not doe that. For it behoued it haue some other thing beside itself, to bring it selfe into action. nd surely Imagination could not helpe it, for it doth but offer vp e sensible things vnto it, & atteineth not so farre as to the things t are to be discerned by drift of reason. Yet notwithstanding we derstand that wee vnderstand, and we reason and iudge both of r Imagination, and also of our reasoning and vnderstanding itfe. The thing then which doth so enter and pearce into itselfe, is other maner of power than an Imagination, or than an vniuerl vnderstanding in possibilitie. What is to be said to this, that of e selfesame Imagination, one self same persone concludeth now er one sort, and byandby after in another sort; and thereoutof weth both contrarie argumēts and contrarie determinations: that diuers persons by diuers imaginations doe close togither in e will and one mynd? Is it possible that this should proceed of euerlasting substance in one selfesame persone, seeing that enerlastingnesse is not subiect to any change of tyme or place? Or that hould proceede of any one selfesame substance in many men, seeg that the imaginations of them be so diuers one from another? leastwise if the said substance worke not but by such instrumēts?

As touching the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who vpldeth a certeine vniuersal working mind that imprinteth things the vnderstanding in possibilitie, that is to say in euery mans serall capacitie, and bringeth it forth into action: the most part the Reasons alledged afore against Auerrhoes, will also serue gainst him. Howbeit forasmuch as by this workfull mynd, hee emeth to meane God himself, there is thus much more to be add vnto it; That God who is altogither good and altogither wise ould not imprint in our mynde the fond and wicked conceites, hich we find there, nor leaue so great ignorannce and darkenesse s wee feele there, but would in all men ouercomme the infection hich the body bringeth: and although hee inspired not all men ake with his gracious giftes, according to the diuersitie of their apacities after the mauer of a planed Table; yet would he not at eastwise peint the World with so many false Portraytures and Trapnes, as euery one of vs may perceiue to bee in our selues.

Against Alexander of Aphrodise.

Ageine,

Agayne, were there any such inspiration or influence, it should bee eyther continuall or but by ..nes. If continuall or euerlasting, we should without labour and without cunning vnderstand all that euer our imagination offereth vnto vs. And if it bee but at tymes, then should it not lye in vs to list or to vnderstand any thing at all, though we would neuer so fayne. For contrarywise, we haue much a doe to vnderstand some things, so as we must bee fayne to winne them from our ignorance by peecemeale: and there bee some other things, which we vnderstand by and by as soone as they be put vnto vs, and when we list our selues. There is then in vs a power of Vnderstanding, though very feeble; but yet neuerthelater obedient to our will: which thing cannot be fathered vpon God. Also if there be but onely one Mynd working in all men, there shall bee but one selfesame vnderstanding in all men, I meane naturally; notwithstanding that it differ in degrees. For into what place soeuer the Sunne doe shed his beames, he doth both inlighten it and heate it, howbeit diuersly according to the nature and condition of the places and things that receyue him, some more and some lesse, some brightlyer and some dimlyer. But howsoeuer the case stande, his light yeeldeth no darknesse, nor his heate any cold. So then, if the diuersities of mens imaginations doe cause diuersities of effects in the inspiration or influence that floweth into the capacitie of our vnderstanding; surely it must needes bee after this maner, namely that one man shall vnderstand one selfesame thing more, and another man lesse; but not in that any man shall take vntruth for truth, vnright for right, or one thing for another. Now, we see vnto how many errors wee bee subiect, I meane not in such things as this, namely, that one man seeth better a farre of, and another better at hand; but that one man seeth white and another seeth blacke (which are things contrary) in one selfesame ground and at one selfesame tyme. It followeth therefore that diuers and sundries mynds doe worke in diuers persons, and not one selfsame mynd in al persons. By force of which reasons and of such others, I say that euery mā shall finde in himselfe and of himselfe, That euery man hath a particular Soule by himself, that is to say a spirituall substance united to his body, which in respect of giuing life to the body is as the forme therof, and in respect of giuing reason, is as the guyde of our actions: That in euery man there is a certeyne Sunbeame of Reason, whereby they conceyue things and debate vpon them; wherethrough it commeth to passe, that oftentymes they agrée both in

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the Reason it selfe which is one, and in the manifest grounds ther-of, and in whatsoeuer dependeth euid..tly vpon the same: That e-uery man hath also a peculiar body b.. imselfe, and likewise pecu-liar complexion, humours, imaginations, education, custome and trade of life: whereof it commeth that euery man takes a diuers way, yea and that one selfsame person swarueth diuersly from the vnitie of Reason wherof the path is but one, and the waies to stray from it are infinite: That this Sunbeame of reason which shineth and sheadeth it self from our mynd, is properly that vnderstanding which is termed The vnderstanding in abilitie or possibilitie, which is increased and augmented by all the things which it seeth, heareth, or lighteth vppon, like fire, which gathereth increase of strength by the abundance of the fewell that is put vnto it, and be-commeth after a sort infinite by spreading it selfe abroad: Also it is the same which otherwise we call the Memorie of vnderstãding, or myndfull Memorie: and it is nothing els but an abundance of Reason, and as it were a hoorder vp of the continuall influences of the Mynd: That the Mynd from whence this floweth as from his spring, is properly that which they the sayd Auerrhoes and Alex-ander doe terme the working or workfull Mynd, which is a cer-teyne power or force that can skill to extend reason from one thing to another, and to procéede from things sensible to things vnsen-sible, from things mouable to things vnmouable, from bodily to spirituall, from effects to causes, and from beginnings to ends by the meane causes. This Mynd is in respect of Reason, as cunning is in respect of an Instrument or tole; and Reason, as in respect of imagination and of the things that are sensible, is as an Instru-ment or tole in respect of the matter or stuffe that it woorkes vpon: Or to speake more fitly, this Mynd is vnto Reason, as the mouer of a thing is to the thing that is mouable, and Reason is to her ob-iects, as the mouable thing is to the thing whereunto it is moued. For to reason or debate, is nothing els but to procéed from a thing that is vnderstoode, to a thing that is not vnderstoode, of purpose to vnderstand it: and the vnderstanding thereof is a resting that inse-weth vppon it, as a staying or resting after mouing: That both of them as well the one as the other, are but onely one selfesame sub-stance; and like as a man both when he moueth and whē he resteth, is all one and the same man, or as the power that moueth the Si-newes is one selfesame still, both when it stirreth them, and when it holdeth them still; so the reasonable or vnderstanding Soule that

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is in euery man, is but onely one selfesame substance bodylesse and immateriall, executing his powers partly of it selfe and partly by our bodies. And seeing that Auerrhoes and Alexander make so great estimation and account of the effects which are wrought in vs, that they bée inforced to attribute them to some vncorruptible and euerlasting Mynd; let vs take of them, that in very trueth the thing which worketh so great wonders in the body, can be neither sence, nor body, nor imagination; but a diuine, vncorruptible and immortall mynd, as they themselues say.

But let vs learne the thing of no than them, which al wise men teach vs, and which euery of vs can learne of himself; namely, that this Vnderstanding or Mynde is not one vniuersall thing as the Sunne is that shineth into all the windowes of a Citie, but rather a particular substance in euery seuerall man, as a light to leade him in the darknesse of this life; for surely it was no more difficultie to the euerlasting GOD, to create many sundrie Soules, that euery man might haue one seuerally alone by himselfe, than to haue created but onely one Soule for all men together. But it was farre more for his glorie, to bee knowne, praysed, and exalted of many Soules, yea and more for our welfare to prayse, exalt and knowe him, yea and to liue of our selues both in this life and in the life to come: than if any other vniuersalll Spirit, Soule or Mynd whatsoeuer, should haue liued and vnderstoode eyther in vs or after vs. Now then, for this matter let vs conclude, both by reason, and by antiquitie, and by the knowledge that euery of vs hath of himselfe; That the Soule and the Body be things diuers: That the Soule is a Spirit and not a Body: That this Spirit hath in man three abilities or powers, whereof two bee exercised by the body, and the third worketh of it selfe without the body: That these three abilities are in the one onely Soule as in their rote: whereof two doe ceasse whensoeuer the body fayleth them, and yet notwithstanding the Soule abideth whole without abatemēt of any of her powers, as a Craftsman continueth a Craftsman though he want toles to worke withal: And finally, that this Soule is a substance that continueth of it selfe, and is vnmateriall and spirituall, ouer the which neither death nor corruption can naturally haue any power.

And for a conclusion of all that euer I haue treated of hetherto in this booke, let vs mainteyne, That there is but only one God, who by his owne goodnesse and wisedome is the Creator and gouerner of the world and of all that is therein: That in the world he

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created Man, after his owne Image as in respect of mynd, and after the Image of his other creatures as in respect of life, sence, and mouing; mortall so farre forth as he holdeth the likenesse of a creature; and immortall so farre forth as he beareth the Image of the Creator: that is to wit, in his Soule: That he which goeth out of himself to see the world, doth forthwith see that there is a God, for his workes declare him everywhere: That he which will yet still doubt thereof, needeth but to enter into himselfe, and he shall meete him there; for he shall finde there a power which he seeth not: That he which beleeueth there is one God, beleeueth himselfe to bee immortall; for such consideration could not light into a mortal nature: and that he which beleeueth himselfe to be immortal, beleeueth that there is a God: for without the vnutterable power of the one God, the mortall and immortall could neuer ioyne together: That he which seeth the order of the world, the proportion of man, and the harmonie that is in eyther of them compounded of so many contraries, cannot doubt ẏ there is a Prouidence; for the nature which hath furnished them therewith, cannot bee vnfurnished thereof it selfe; but as it once had a care of them, so can it not shake of the same care from them. Thus haue we three Articles which followe interchaungeably one another. Insomuch that he which proueth any one of them, doth proue them all three, notwithstãding that I haue treated of euery of them seuerally by it selfe. Now, let vs pray the euerlasting God, that wee may glorifie him in his workes in this world, and he voutsafe of his mercie to glorifie vs one day in the world to come. Amen.

The xvj. Chapter.

That mans nature is corrupted, & man falne from his first originall: and how.

YET for all this, let not man bee proude of the excellencie or immortalitie of his Soule: for the more he hath receyued of his maker, the more is he indebted to him; and the more excellent that his nature is, the more lothsome and daungerous is the corruption thereof,

therof. The Peacocke is sayd to be proud of his gay fethers, when he sets vp his tayle round about him: but when he hath once stretched out his wings, he falles into a dump, and as soone as he lookes vpon his feete, he casts mée downe his tayle and is ashamed. Euen so, as long as we thinke vpon the liuelinesse of our Spirit, and the excellencie of our Soule as in respect of the nature thereof; surely wee haue whereof to glorifie God that gaue it vnto vs, and of his gracious goodnesse hath voutsafed to honor vs aboue al other creatures. On the other side, if wee consider how this nature of ours is straungely defiled and corrupted, and how farre it is digressed from the first originall thereof: surely there is no remedie but we must be ashamed of our selues, and wonder to see from how great a heigth we be now falne and sunke downe. Euen so the best Wine becommeth the sharpest and eagrest Vineger, and of Egges (which were in old tyme the delicats of Kings) is made the rankest poyson. For looke what degrée of goodnesse a thing holdeth while it abydeth in his nature, the same degrée of euill doth it come vnto, when it falleth into corruption. Now then, looke how much our originall generation was the better; so much shall the corruption that lighteth into it be the worser: which thing according to the order which I haue vsed hetherto, wee may examine towards God, towards the world, towards men, and towards our selues.

Mans corruption appeereth in his respect to Godward.

Greatly in good sooth is man bound vnto God, if he would consider it; and very blynd is hée if he haue not the skill to perceiue it. Of the great multitude of Creatures which God had created, hee hath giuen to some but onely bare béeing; to some, both béeing and lyfe; and to other some both béeing, lyfe, and sence; But vnto man he hath giuen all these, and moreouer a reasonable mynd, whereby he (and onely he héere beneath) knoweth in all things what they haue and what they bee, which thing they themselues knowe not. Which is an euident proof, that whatsoeuer they haue or whatsoeuer they be, they haue it and are it for man, & not for themselues. For to what purpose are all their vertues and excellent properties, if they themselues knowe them not? The Sonne excelleth among the celestiall bodyes, and the Rose among flowers. The beast is a degree aboue the Trees, and among the Beastes, one hath some one poynt which another hath not. But what skilles it what thou art or what thou hast, if thou knowe it not? What boteth thee the light, if thou see it not? what art thou the better for swéete sents, if thou smell them not? Or what auayleth it thee to excell in any thing

thing if thou discerne it not: Of a trueth, only man of al the things in this inferior World, can skill of these things and how to inioy them; and therfore it must nedes be that they were made for none but him; that is to wit, that to speake properly, GOD hath giuen vnto him whatsoeuer all other creatures either haue or be; and he hath not dealt with him simply as with a Creature, but rather as with a Child of his, for whom he hath expressly created this worlde and giuen it him to possesse. Now if the thing that is possessed bee infinitely lesse than the possessor thereof; and the world is giuen to man to possesse: how farre then doth man excell the world? And how greatly is man bound vnto God, who created him of nothing that is to say, not only hath giuen the world vnto man, but also giuen euen man to man himselfe? Wherefore if he acknowledge not him to whom he is beholden, not only for this inheritance but also euen for his owne being: what shall we say but that he is an vnnaturall and bastardly Childe, euen such a one as hath lost not onely his right mynd, but also euen his sences? But of so many men, of whom all and singuler persons stand bound, both ioyntly and seuerally in the whole and for the whole of that great bond for performance of the Condition thereof, how fewe be there which doe once thinke of it, and how much fewer be there which thinke well of it? May, how fewe bee there which knowe that there is such a bond, and how much fewer doe dispose themselues to acknowledge it? And if perchaunce some one or two among many doe dispose themselues thereunto, yet notwithstanding who is he that euer was able to atteyne vnto it, considering that it importeth a yeelding vnto God of that which is his due: that is to wit, the imploying of our selues and of all that he hath giuen vnto vs, euen our whole being and life, our Sences, our Reason, our doings, and finally all that euer we haue both within and without vs, in his seruice? and that wee contrarywise turne all things to our selues as to their proper ende, yea and euen our selues to our selues which are nothing? If we kept a reckoning of our life, how small a part thereof do we bestowe vpon God? How fewe of our steppes doe wee walke in his seruice? How fewe of our thoughts are directed vnto him? And if wee loke vppon our very prayers, what are they but continuall offences, seeing that euen in the middest of our greatest vehemencie, we vanish away by and by into vayne imaginations, and are caried as farre away from our prayers into wandering concepts, as heauen is distant from earth, and further? What Sonne will not fall

out with him that speakes euill of his Father: or els all that stand by will count him a coward if he passe it ouer with silence? Contrarywise, which of vs is moued when he heareth Gods name blasphemed: or if he be moued, that setteth himselfe in defence of him: or if he set himselfe in defence, doth not by and by forget it: What then doth this argewe, but that in very trueth, our Soule liueth not, but our Body; and that our Soule hath not her mouings and actions free and liuely, seeing it is not moued at the iniuries that are done to the Soule and to the father that made the Soule, but at the wrongs that are done to the body and to the father of the bodie: If a man breake the Scutchions of our Armes, wee take it to bee a great disgrace to vs, and a touching of our credite; and if hee breake our Images or Pictures, we fall out with him and will neuer be reconciled: And if it be done to a Prince, he makes it a poynt of high Treason; and that we doe not the like, it is not for want of pride, but for want of power to reuenge it. On the contrary parte, which of vs is greeued at the wrong that is done to his neyghbor, or rather which wrongeth not his neyghbor euery day: Or which is much moued when he seeth a man slayne before his face, vnlesse he be his brother or neere friend: May, which of vs our selues doth not daylie kill his brother, eyther in very deede, or in heart, eyther with the Sword I meane, or by hatred, euen for the least offence that can be pretended, and so teareth or breaketh not the Image of God which he hath paynted and ingraued in man, euen euery howre without any regard? Now what els is this, but that we know not this Image of God to bee in our selues: For otherwise how durst wee bee so presumptuous, as to offer any hurt or harme vnto it, but because the secret consent of all mankinde in such outrage, confesseth it to be quite and cleane forgone, or at least wise to bee so disfigured and defaced, and so straungely berayed, that it can scarsly bee discerned any more: And because the kindred that is betweene all men, deriued from the father of their Soules, moueth vs very little, but the vyle kindred of the flesh moueth vs very much, which is as farre inferiour to the other, as there is odds betwirt ꝑ soule and a lump of earth, or betweene the fathers of eyther of them; that is to wit, betweene GOD and Man: Yet notwithstanding, seeing that the wickeddest man in the world, and such a one as seemeth to bee touched with nothing, hauing once slayne him whom he hated most of all men, doth by and by after the deede done, feele a hartbyting in his mynd, and a torment in his Conscience; which thing

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he feeleth not for the killing of a thousand beastes euery day; what can we say to be the cause thereof, but only the remaynder of Gods Image common to all men, which putteth him in mynd of the wickednesse that he hath done, and is highly offended at his owne offence, and which (according to this saying The good blud lyeth not) maketh our indytement of it self, and would fayne euen it self be reuenged of vs within vs: Therfore let vs say (which thing we cannot denye vnlesse wee denye our selues) that God created man to be to him as a Child, and that man is growne out of kynd, yea straungely growne out of kynd, not regarding (as wee see in most men) to bee knowne eyther of his father or of his brethren, (which thing notwithstanding the bastards of this world do seeke to their vttermost to doe) but by his will going about to abolish his pedegrée and al his titles of kindred, that he might be called the Sonne of the earth, (which was the name of Bastards in old tyme) rather than the sonne of him that begate him, and created so many things for him to inioye. For proofe whereof to be true, what ame we at in all our studies and indeuers, but the earth and earthly things: Had we continued still in our originall creation, wee should according to the spirituall substaunce of our Soules, haue naturally pursewed spirituall things, yea and haue mounted vp aboue the very heauenly things. But where seeke wee now our inheritance, our welfare, and our felicitie, but in these transitorie things: And whereof are al our suites and quarrels in this world, but of Cattell, of Corne and of Land: Wherefore we must nedes confesse, that it is a witnesse of the dishereting of Mankynd from the heritage of his father, and that he is in his fathers displeasure and disfauour, and that he doth but runne after Peasecoddes as the prodigall Childe did, when he had wasted his inheritance licentiously. The sonne of the earth.

But now to come to those which make most profession of godlinesse; whence (thinke we) commeth the distrust that all of vs haue naturally of Gods goodnesse and assistance, but of the feeling of our iust dishersion, which our conscience is greeued at within vs: The sonne of a good and rich father behighteth himselfe as much releefe as his father is able to yeeld, and as he himselfe hath neede of. If not; but that the Child doubt thereof: we presume so farre of the fathers goodnesse, that we conclude that his sonne hath offended him, and made himself vnworthy of his goodnesse by some great cryme. Now then, seeing that God is the very goodnesse and riches themselues, wherof commeth it that no man can assure himself of them:

that no man can reſt himſelf boldly enough vpon him? that no man can truſt vnto him ſo aſſuredly as his goodneſſe requireth: and finally that our requeſtes are ſo full of diſtruſt, and our hearts ſo full of vnbeléefe: Surely, ſéeing the fault cannot be in Gods goodneſſe, which is a fountayne that cannot be dryed vp: it muſt néedes be that the fault remayneth alonly in the naughtineſſe and frayltie of our ſelues, which dare not hope for good at the hand of him which is moſt excellently good, becauſe our whole nature telleth vs that we bee vnworthie of his grace, by reaſon we haue offended him too grieuouſly.

In reſpect of the World.

If we conſider the gouernment and order of the World, wee may euen there alſo find apparantly, that man holdeth not himſelf in his ſtate, but is falne from the ſeate of honour wherein God had placed him. God had ſet him aloft, aboue the Stones, aboue the Plantes, aboue the Brute beaſtes, yea and aboue the world it ſelfe. If he abyde ſtill in his degree, whence commeth it that ſo many men make themſelues bondſlaues to Gold and other mettals: and that ſo many men doe leade the life of Plants and brute beaſtes in the bodyes of men: ſome giuing themſelues to nought els than to eating, drinking and ſléeping, and neuer lifting themſelues vp any higher; and otherſome conſuming and waſting themſelues in moſt beaſtly delights & pleaſures: For what beaſt is there that would be a Plant, or Plant that ſhooteth not vp to get out of the ground: To be ſhort, what thing is there in the whole world ſauing onely man, which doth not very preciſely kéepe the owne ſtate and degree: I pray you if a man ſhould ſee one with a princely Crowne al myry on his head, tilling the ground and following the Plough; what would he thinke but that he were depoſed from his Throne, and that ſome miſchief were befalne him: And what then is to be ſayd of that man, which toyleth in Doonghils and ſkulketh into corners to wallowe himſelfe in a thouſand ſorts of filthines, and imployeth all his wit vpon ſuch things: but that he is falne from the toppe of his mynde, and that by the greeuouſnes of that fall, he hath ſo lamed and maymed all his abilities, that it lyeth not in him to returne againe from whence he is falne: For who can deny but he is borne to greater things than hee doeth? Or who can thinke that GOD hath giuen him an immortall Soule, to the intent he ſhould imploy himſelfe altogether about things which are not ſo much as worthy to be mortall: Or a countenance which he calleth continually to the mynding of Heauen, to loke groueling on the myre?

myre: Or a Scepter, to play the dizard with it in a Playe: Or a triple Mace to rake Dounghilles withall, or to digge the ground withall:

Againe, how is the Lawe and order of gouernement which shineth forth in the whole world and in all the partes thereof, turned vpside downe in man who is the Litle World, by the disobedience of the Body to the Soule: In Plantes, in Trees, and in brute beastes, the soule distributeth nurrishmēt by proportion. Their bodyes obeye the direction of their Soules without gepnsaying, and euery abilitie perfourmeth his duetie accordingly. The nurrishing abilitie followeth his appetites, and goeth not beyond them. The sensitiue followeth his naturall delights, but it violateth them not. But as for man, what shall wee say of him: Surely that his body commaundeth his Soule, as if the Plough should drawe the Horses, as they say; that his will suffereth it selfe to be ruled by his appetites; that his reason is an vnderling to his sences, and that his very whole nature is most commonly quite out of order. So must we needes confesse an ouerthrowe of nature, in him for whom neuertheless nature it selfe was made, and that man was swarued aside from his right way, seeing that all other partes of the World doe followe their Nature, and that Nature itselfe teacheth vs it. What is to be sayd then, but that man is not onely falne from the state wherein he was, to be set in lower degree than he was afore; but also that he is falne in himselfe and from himselfe, in and from his owne peculiar nature? Moreouer it is manifest that the world was created for mans vse; for the world knoweth not it selfe, nor the creatures that are therein. And ageine, as for the Angels, they needed it not; and as for the brute beastes, they haue no skill to vse it. Onely man hath vnderstanding to vse the seruice thereof, and a body that hath neede of their seruice. Sith it is so, who can doubt that God created man with a knowledge of his creatures, and also gaue him power ouer them: Whereof commeth it then that the beastes doe naturally knowe their seasons, the remedies of their diseases, and the Herbes that haue a propietie of nature to heale them; and that only man among all other liuing things, knoweth them not, insomuch as he is fayne to goe to Schoole to the brute beastes to learne them: Also whereof commeth it that these creatures (which surely GOD made not to be snares to man, for that had bene repugnant to the goodnes of the Creator, but for mans benefite and seruice) doe now kicke and spurne ageinst man, yea

euen those which haue no power or strēgth at all to withstand him? Let vs omit Woolues, Leopards, and Lyons, which seeme to haue some force to ouermatch the weakenes of man. What meaneth it that wormes make vs warre within our Bowels, ỳ vermin deuoureth our Corne, and that the earth perlocth vs not any kind of fruit which hath not a peculiar enemie in it, to marre it ere it come to our hand: but to driue vs to confesse, that man must needes haue offended his maker right greeuously, and that whereas Gods putting of his creatures in subiection to man, was to the end that man should haue continued in obedience vnto GOD, now because man hath rebelled against Gods Maiestie, God also suffereth those to rebell against man, whom he had put in subiection to man, yea euen to the very offkournings of the earth: For what els is this contrarietie of the earth to him that tilleth it, of the Sea to him that sayleth it, and of the aire to the successe of all our labours and trauels, but a protestation of whole nature, that it disdeineth to serue a creature that was so presumptuous as to disobey his Creator; a creature I say, which by doing seruice to the creatures, hath forgone the authoritie which he had receiued of his Maker?

In respect of Man.

Now consequently let vs consider man towards man. What is there more disordered or more cōtrarie to nature, than is the nature of man himselfe? If beastes of one kind doe kill or eate one another; wee take it for an ougly thing. What an ouglynesse then ought it to be vnto vs, when wee see how men (who alonly be indued with reason,) doe euery howre kill one another, and roote out one another? May rather is it not a great wonder to see good agreement and frendship, not among Nations, not betweene Cōtries, not among Companies; but euen in households, yea and betweene Chamberfellowes? Woolues are cruell: but yet in what race of Woolues shall wee find Caribies and Cannibals? Lyons also are cruell: but yet where were they euer seene in Battell one against another? Now what is warre, but a gathering and packing vp together of all the sorts of beastlines that are in the world? And yet what is more common among men than that? A Beast (say some) will barke or grunt ere he byte; a house will cracke ere it fall downe; and the Wind whistleth ere it breake things. But contrariwise what is man towards man? who euen in laughing, threatneth, in saluting sleaeth, & vnder faire countenance of courteous intertaynement, cloketh a thousand Serpents, a thousand Lyons, a thousand Quicksands, and a thousand Rockes at once?

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Well: let vs leaue the wicked which discouer themselues too much. What doe wee in all our bargapning, buying and selling, but beguyle one another: or what doe we in our dalying, but delude one another: And what els is the whole societie of man which we so highly commend, but a selfgaine, and a very incroching one vppon another, the greater sort as tyrants vppon the meaner, the meaner vpon the inferiour sort, and the inferiour sort one vppon another too take him in some trippe: To bee short, if wee doe any good, it is but to the end to bee seene; as for in secret, wee will doe none at all. Ageine, if wee forbeare to doe euill, it is but for feare least the World should knowe it; and were that feare away, wee would stick at nothing. Wherto then serueth vs our reason which should further vs vnto all goodnes, but to couer our naughtinesse, that is to say, to make vs woorse and more vnreasonable: yet notwithstanding how vnreasonable so euer wee bee in all our doings, we cannot but knowe that there is a reason; and were it not in vs, we could not conceiue it; and were it not corrupted, we should not swarue from it; and yet if we examine oure selues, we shalnot bee able to deny, but that we digresse very farre from it. Therefore we may well deeme of our reason, as of an eyesight that is either impayred or inchaunted. It hath the ground of sight still; but yet it standeth the partie in no stead, but onely to beguyle him by false images and illusions.

Let vs come to man in himselfe, and see whether at least wise he loue himselfe better than other men: and the more wee stirre him, the more shall we feele the stinche of his corruption. When a diseased man feeles peine, wee say there is corruption in his body; and furthermore that there is a default in Nature, or that the partie hath taken some great surfet, which hath brought him to that case. Nowthen what shal we say of the great nomber of diseases wherwith mankind is peyned, and wherewith he is so wholy ouerwhelmed, that there is not any age of his life, any part of his body, or any small string in any part of his flesh, which hath not some peculiar disease? Nay I say further, that man alone is subiect to mo diseases, than all other liuing things in this World togither. The Philosophers sawe it, and haue made bookes expressly thereof, and are vtterly amased and graueled in seeking out the cause thereof; and they could neuer yet yelde any Reason thereof which might satisfie others or themselues. Neuertheless the most parte of them come to this point, that man is the most vnhappiest of all li- Man in respect of himself.

uing wights; and they find fault with God and nature for it, whom notwithstanding they confesse to haue doone nothing but iustly in that behalfe. One sayes, that onely Man sleaeth himselfe through impatience of greef. Another sayes, That the lyfe of man is such, as that death is rather to bee desired of him than lyfe. And of such speeches doe all their Schooles ring. There is another which with great woonderment, reckeneth vp certeine hundreds of diseases whereunto the eye alone is subiect. Now which of all the beastes hath so much as the thirtith part of them in his body? Is it likely that God, which hath giuen to Man so great preheminence aboue all his creatures, created him of purpose to torment him aboue all other creatures? Or rather is it not to be sayd, that man in his originall was created farre after another sort than he now is, whether it be in respect of the Creator himselfe, or of the ende for which hee created him? Surely then, let vs say as we haue sayde afore, that the very cause why Man alone hath mo diseases in his body, than all other Creatures togither; is for that hee hauing abused Gods gracious gifts, hath doone more euill than all they could skill too doe: and that the very euill and vntowardnes that is in them, is but to punish man withall: as for example, the Hayle and Snowe serue not to hurt the earth or the fruites of the earth, but to punish him that should take the benefite of them.

Againe, when we come to consider the Soule and the body knit together; what a number of affections doe we méete withall there, (which as saith Plutark) are so much more sorowfull and grieuous than the bodily diseases, as the Soule is more sinfull and blameworthie than the bodie? To bring these passions to some reasonable order, the Philosophers haue made bookes expressly of Morall vertue, and giuen precepts (say they) to bring them to obedience: wherein they confesse the rebelliousnesse that is naturally in vs against reason. But who feeleth not in himselfe, that their remedies serue not so much to take away the mischief, as to cloke it? Which is a playne declaration, that it is not a spot which may bee washed away, but a déepe impression bronded in nature as it were with a searing yron, which in very déede is not to bee wyped out agayne, but couered; nor to be subdewed and ouercome, but with much a do to be restreyned and hild short. Furthermore, seeing that reason is so much more excellent than passion or affection, as the forme shape or fashion (say they) is more excellent than ỹ matter or stuffe wherin it is: whence commeth this infection in vs, that maketh the matter

ter to ouermaister the forme, and causeth the forme (as ye would say) to receyue shape and fashion of the matter; that is to say, which putteth reason in subiection to affection, & to the impressions which affection yeldeth, contrary to the order which is obserued in all the whole worke beside? For what els is this Intemperance of ours, but reason (such as it now remayneth) imprinted with lust and concupiscence? And what els is anger, but reason attempted with choler, and so forth of the rest? And if a man will say, that these things are naturall in vs; whereof commeth it that of these affections, wee conceyue inwardly remorse, and outwardly shame; yea and that so naturally, as wee must of necessitie needes feele them whether wee will or no, and can no more let them than we can restreyne the beating of our Pulses or the panting of our Hearts: but because that shame and remorse for sinne are naturall in vs, but the sinne it selfe is against nature? As for example, there be things the doing whereof is in vs vyce; and in brute Beasts, nature: for they be angry, they auenge themselues, and they company together indifferently and in open sight: and of so doing they bee not ashamed, because it is their nature. Now, were these affections and fleshly pleasures as naturall in vs as in the Beastes; as little should we bee ashamed of them, as they. But contrarywise, if an honest man come in while wee bee angrie, by and by our rage is repressed, as who would say our vyce did hyde it selfe from him: and if a man come vpon vs vnawares in taking our pleasure (yea though it bee well lawfull) wee blush, as if our blud were desirous to hide and to couer our doings. Yea and how secretly soeuer we be alone by our selues in execution of our vyces; wee incounter continually with a companyon in our selues, which not only beareth witnesse of them, but also condemneth and punisheth them in vs. Sothly then, the motions of anger and lust against reason in man, are not naturall nor originall, that is to say, they procéede not of his first creation; but are come in afterward by corruption. And therefore the remorse which happeneth vnto vs in those passions, is nothing but a secrete (howbeit very liuely) warning of nature, which is ashamed to play the brute beast; which thing she would not be, if those things were originally of mans nature. And in very déede, the vniuersall consent of mankynd in being ashamed to goe naked, insomuch that they had leuer to see the skinne of a Beast, or the excrement of a Worme vppon themselues, than to see their owne flesh: and the thing which Saint Austin noteth in all men; namely, that they will rather doe open wrong

Diodorus lib. 4.

Herodotus in his Clio.

Austin in his woork of the Citie of God, lib. 14. Chap. 17. and 18.

wrong in all mens sight, than haue to doe with their lawful wiues openly; doe euidently shewe that the beastlinesse (that is to say the concupiscence or lust) that is in carnall copulation, is not an originall nature, but a mere corruption thereof. Which thing our present age (but surely nothing to her prayse) may better proue vnto vs, than al the reasons in the world. For certeynly, considering the excessiue ouerflowing of vices which is to be seene, & ỹ customable vse of them, yea euen of such as are against nature, turned almost into nature; if euer voluptuousnesse could haue transformed it selfe into nature, and preuayled against nature, it must nedes haue bene in this our age; wherein notwithstanding, as strongly armed, authorised, and reigning as vyce seemeth to be, yet is she inforced to hyde herselfe euen in the middest of her trymphs, vndoubtedly as acknowledging that she reigneth not ouer her owne, but ouer another mans.

Agayne, if ye haue an eye to friendship, to charitie, to the bringing vp of Children, to societie in Mariage; who will not say that for all our trayning vp to leade vs thereto, and for all our reading to instruct vs therein, yet we had nede to resort to the brute beastes to learne of them, and to take example of them, which is a token (as I sayd afore) that their nature is lesse corrupt than ours? If the case concerne the turning away from the vyces of Intemperance, Lecherie, Drunkennesse, Incest, & such others: who would thinke that our nature being so excellent, and (besides the discourse of reason) hauing so many Lawes, Statutes, Penalties, & Magistrates to helpe it; and being bridled with so many daungers, sorowes and paynes insewing the same; should yet notwithstanding not bee restreyned: whereas on the contrary part, the brute beastes doe naturally forbeare both foode and pleasure, sauing onely so farre forth as nature requireth, that is to wit, for the maintenance and preseruation of them selues and of their kind? And seeing their nature doth so vphold it selfe, and that our nature beeing stayed so many wayes, and closed in with so many barres, cannot bee vpheld nor kept within compasse: who can say that our nature (in case as it is nowe,) is not in worse plyght than theirs is? And yet who wil say that the Nature of the excellentest of all other Creatures, hath alwayes bene such from the first originall beginning thereof? All the sayd things are comon both to Man and Beast: but yet moreouer, Man glorieth of an excellencie of mynd inriched by God with infinite goodly gifts. What is to be said then, if in the thing whereby he

he surmounteth them, he be found inferiour to them? Or if in that which of it self is uncorruptible, corruption be most open and evident? Of so many men indewed with Reason, I pray you how many be there that use it? That is to say, Of so many men, how many be not brute beastes? Or what rarer thing is there among men, than a very man in deede? And of such as use Reason, how many be there that use it well; that is to say, how many bee there which be not Diuels? Now take mee out of mankind the beastes and the diuels, and who will thinke it straunge that a Philosopher tooke a Torch at high noneday, to seeke for a Man in the middes of a multitude? One sort all their life long doe set their mynd vpon nothing but this lyfe; they spare not so much tyme as to consider what that power is which woorketh that thought in them. What booteth it these more to haue a mynd, than it booteth a man to haue eyes that doth nothing but sleepe? Others imploy it about the defyling of some mans wife, or the deflowring of some maiden, or the glosing of some wrong, or the eluding of some right, or the sowing of discord in some household, or the setting of fyre on the fower corners of some Realme. To what purpose ageine is it for these men to haue a mynd, which is bent and intended to nothing but mischief? Or what els is such a mynd, than ỹ eye of the * beast of Ægipt, which killeth those whom it looketh vpon, and it self also by ỹ rebounding back of his owne sight? Some in deede dow lift vp ỹ eye of their mynd aloft; but how farre or what see they? Surely (as saith Aristotle) euen as much as an Owle in the bright sunne. The Edge of vnderstanding rebateth at the outside of the least things that are: and how then shall it be able to enter into them? Our mynd is dazeled with vapors; and what will it be then at the vnapprochable light for which it was created? GOD created the World for man; therefore his intent was that man should haue the seruice thereof: and that he might haue the seruice of things, it behoued him to knowe them. Contrariwise, what thing doe wee knowe sufficiently? What knowe wee in comparison of that wee knowe not? And how can wee vse the seruice of them, seeing euen the least things commannd vs; not the Beastes, the Herbes, and the Stones only, but also euen the Earth and the very dosse thereof? God hath created man for his owne glory; and as man is the end of the World, so is GOD the end of Man. And it is not to be doubted, but that as God gaue man knowledge of the worlde, that hee might vse it too his behooke; so hee gaue him knowledge of his

* The Catopleb and also the Cockatryce.

Godhead,

Godhead, that he might serue him. But how many be there which ame at this marke? and how shall wee hit it if wee ame not at it? and how shall we ame at it, if we see it not? and how shall wee see it, if we thinke not on it nor passe not for it? Againe, let vs bend our wittes to it as stoutly as we can; who is he that feeleth not him selfe to quayle, when he is to think vpon God? Who is he that bursteth not, if hee streyne himselfe to farre? And whereof commeth this, but that the string of this Bowe hath falne into the Watter, and is made so wet that it wil serue to no purpose any more? This mynd bringeth foorth deedes; and because they be somewhat slow, they be done with the more aduisement. But what are the best of those deedes but sinne? If wee commit any cryme, all our whole mynd goeth with it, and our doing of the euill is for the euils sake. But if we doe any good; which of vs doth it not as a bywoorke for some other things sake, rather than for the loue of the good itselfe; as one for honour, another for gaine, and a third for feare? And what elles is this, but a seruing of vanitie, and not an obeying of vertue? And whereas euill is nought els than a bereuing or wanting of good: who is hee on the contrarie part, which thinketh not himselfe a man goodynough, if he doe no euill? As who would say þ good also were nothing els but the bereuing or absence of euil. And in very deede whome doe we call good and honest men, but such as abstayne from dooing men wrong, from stealing, from extorting, and from lending vppon Usurie, albeit that it behoue them to procéede further, and to be liberall in giuing, forward in helping, and diligent in seruing, forasmuch as goodnes is not a defect or a not-doing of things, but an effect or doing of things, and consisteth not in onely refrayning or ceassing, but in woorking and performing. And in effect, what els is it to define an honest man to be such a one as doth nothing atal; than to define a good Archer to be such a one as neuer shooteth at all? This mind of ours doth also yéldfoorth woords: and they passe out more swiftly than déedes, yea euen from the wisest. If a man would keepe a reckening of his woords but for one day; what should hee find at night but a heape of vanities, as backebytings, slaunders, leasings, raylings, besides a thousand sortes of slipperdeuices and idle woords, which euen by their onely idlenesse doe well bewray our vanitie? And sith it is euident that whereas speech was giuen vs to procure and maintayne societie, we see it is commonly applyed to the breaking thereof, by sowing of discord and debate: who can deny but that there is a notable cor-

ruption

ruption in the mynd, which vttereth forth that speeche: Ageine, seeing it is an vniuersal vyce, ageinst which the better sort do striue with all their force and cannot ouercome it: who can say it is a vice that is incident but to some peculiar persones, and not to the whole kynd of man: What is to be sayd then of our thoughts and witts, whereof whole thousands passe through our mynd in an howre, which our mynds can neither represse nor expresse: O how many doe we esteeme to be good men, whome we should see to be wicked men if their thoughts lay open, or if we had eyes to see into them: O what a sort of wilde beastes should wee see harbered in a mans heart as in a Forest: And what is then our skil, but ignorance; our wisdome, but vanitie; and our holines, but hipocrisie: Wherein consisteth our vertue, but in concealing our vyces, whenas in truth (as sayth Aristotle) it were both more for our behoof and more approching to rightuousnes, if we layd them open: Moreouer, what is all our inforcing of our selues to vanquish our vices, but a laboring to outronne our owne shadowe, which (doe we what we can) will alwayes accompany vs whether wee will or no: And surely we ought to be ashamed, not so much for that wee bee such, as for that either we knowe not our selues to be such, or be not sufficiently ashamed that we be such. Neither is there a stronger proof of our corruption, than that: in like maner as we deeme them to be filthie and stinking, which are raking in Priuies and feele not the stinche of them: and those to be more sick which feele not themselues sick, than those which are most peyned with their disease: and those to be more frantick which find not themselues to be braynsicke, than those whiche seeke to the Philition for the curing of their frenzie. For had we the wit to consider our chaunges, to feele the vnéeuennesse of our Pulses, and to obserue the steamingvp of our humors with the impressions which they make in our brayne: wée should by such discerning of our diseases, become halfe sikfolke and halfe Philitions. But surely considering the state wherein wée now bée, how we liue as it were by a borrowed Soule; I wote not whereunto I should compare vs, except it be to certeine diseased persons, of whom Hippocrates maketh this expresse Aphorisme, saying: When such as are very sore sicke, do feele no payne, but fall to playing with their Couerlet, pulling out the heares, and picking out the motes; the case goeth very hard with them, and there is small hope or lykelihod that they shall liue. And what els is this life of ours, but euen such: We lay sticke to sticke, stone

καρφολογέσι.

to

to Stone, and Penny to Penny, no more minding the life of our Soule, than if wee had no Soule at all. If any man doe yet still doubt hereof, I offer him a condition, which if he will put in tryall, I dare assure him hee will doubt thereof no more. Let him but set downe in writing, all the thoughts and imaginations that come in his head by the space of one day, and at night let him reuiew them and take the account of them; And I dare undertake he shall fynd in them so many vanities, so many crymes, so many Hobgoblins, and so many Monsters; so straunge, so fond, so foule, and so ougly; that he shalbe afraid of himselfe like the beast that starkleth at the sodeine sight of himself in a lookingglasse; and that he shal not stand gasing, enamored at his owne beautie as Narcissus did; but ronne away ashamed of his foule deformitie, to seeke where to wash away the myre that he hath wallowed in. What a thing then were it, if he considered it thus all the weeke long without putting it in writing. And how much more were it, if hee should doe it a whole yere; and finally all his whole life: To be short, to set man in fewe words before our eyes, we reade comonly that there are fower powres or abilities in mans Soule, namely, Wit, Will, the abilitie of beeing angrie, and the abilitie of lusting, and in these fower wee lodge fower vertues, that is to say, in Wit, Wisdome; in Will, Rightfulnesse; in the abilitie of being angrie, Hardinesse; and in the abilitie of Lusting, Stayednesse. Now, Wit is maymed with ignorance; Will, with wrongfulnes; Hardinesse, with Cowardlines, and Stayednesse, with Licentiousnes; so as in this woorke they can neither be cured without skarre, nor be brought to a skar. Also we perceiue there are in man the outward sences, Imagination, and Appetite, which three the brute beasts haue as well as he, ouer and besides the which, hee hath also wit and will as peculiar giftes giuen him of God. And if we be men, we esteeme our selues better than beastes, and looke to haue them to be our vnderlings. Contrariwise, whereas Imagination ought to rule the Sences, and Reason to rule Imagination, and will to rule Appetite: now the outward sence carieth away Imagination, Imagination Reason, and Appetite will, insomuch that the onely sence being bewitched or beguyled, carieth a man headlong into all euill after the maner of Phaeton whom the Poets speake of. It is a playne case therefore, that man hath made himselfe an vnderling to the beast, and consequently that mankind is turned strangely vpsidedowne, and doubtlesse farre more monstruously, than if we sawe him goe

vpon

vpon his head with his heeles vpward. Nowthen, seeing that man is so ouerturned, whereof can he brag, but of offending God vncessantly in this life, and of infinite punishment in another lyfe, according to the infiniteneſſe of him whom he hath offended? And to what purpose therefore shall his immortalitie serue him, but to dye euerlastingly and neuer to be dead?

But let vs leaue this matter to another place. And forasmuch as by considering man what he is to Godward, to the worldward, to Manward, and to himselfe, I haue euidently proued his corruption & frowardneſſe; namely, that he is vtterly contrary to the ende to which he was created of God, to the order of the whole World, to the welfare of all Mankinde, and to his owne benefite: Let vs henceforth cõsider from whence and from what tyme this mischief may haue befalne him, and what may haue bene the cause thereof. Certeſſe, if we say it came of God and that he had it of his creatiõ; we blaſpheme God twtw grossely. For God is good, and the very goodneſſe it selfe: and therfore he cannot haue made any thing euill. Also it appeareth throughout the whole gouernmẽt of the world, that he is the mayster and mainteyner of order. And therefore how is it possible that he should make the little world (namely man) to be a mould of confusion and disorder? Agayne, no other thing than his owne glorie and the welfare of man, moued him to create man; and yet man beeing in case as hee is, forbeareth not to blaſpheme Gods name, and to purchaſe his owne destruction. Nædes then must it be that Man was made a farre other creature at the beginning, than he is now: as in very dæde the Husbandman createth not the wiuell in the Corne, nor the Vintener the sowerneſſe in the Wine, nor the Smith the rust in the yron; but they come in from elswhere. Neuertheleſſe, the man that neuer dranke other drinke than Vineger, would think it to be the naturall sap and taste of the Grape. And wee likewise who neuer felt other in ourselues than corruption, and are bred and brought vp in darkneſſe like the Cimmerians, would beare ourselues on hand, that GOD is the cause and author thereof. Now, let vs which haue tasted both the Wine and the Vineger, iudge what maner of creatures we may haue bin in our first creation: in doing whereof there is yet notwithstanding this great difference, that the palat of our bodily mouth is able to discerne the swæte frõ the sower; but the palat or taste of our soule, is vnable to do eyther of them both; the one, because corruption can not iudge of cleanneſſe; and the other, because it cannot iudge well

Whence mans corruption cõmeth.

of

of it selfe. In Wine and Vineger we discerne a liquid nature common to them both: but as concerning their qualities, the Wine is swæte, warme, and friendly to nature; whereas the Vineger is sharpe, cold, and corrosiue: yea and the very colours of them are vnlike one another. Lo here two things vtterly contrary; and yet notwithstanding, the Vineger is nothing els but Wine altered from his nature. And because we haue seene the one as wel as the other; we will neuer bee made to beléeue, that the Vineger was Vineger from the very Grape. Let vs iudge of our Soules with like discretion. We finde there a spirituall nature, immateriall and immortall; and that is the onely remaynder of her first originall. But yet this Spirit of ours is forward to nothing but euill, nor inclyned to any other than base and transitorie things. It clingeth to the earth, and is a bondslaue to the body. To be short, in stead of flying vp, it crauleth I wote not how, contrary to the nature of a Spirit, which mounteth vp on high, and cannot bee shut vp in these vyle and drossie things. Therefore it must néedes bee sayd, that this nature of ours was not so of nature; it departed not such as it now is from the hand of the workmayster: but contrarywise, good, frée, pure, and indewed with farre other qualities than it hath now: for now it is steyned with naughtinesse, bondage of sinne, and corruption. May will some man say, seeing it was created cléere from all corruptiõ, who was able to corrupt it as we see it to be now? Sure wee be that it is a spirituall nature: and therefore neyther the Elements nor any other bodie, could naturally do any hurt vnto it; and as little also could tyme doe any thing thereto: for tyme is nothing but the mouing of bodies. Moreouer it was free of it selfe, and Ladie of the bodie, and therefore could not receyue her first corruption from the bodie. And yet notwithstanding wee see, that as now it is subiect to be corrupted, both of her owne flesh and of the vanities of the world, which by nature had no power ouer it. Néeds then must the maker of nature himselfe, haue giuen a power to these things aboue their nature, whereby they might preuayle agaynst the nature of the Soule; the doing whereof surely could not but haue bin rightfull in him, considering that he is the very rightuousnesse it selfe. For Justice layeth not any punishment, but where some fault or offence hath gone afore. Therefore it must néedes bee sayd, that man had committed some heynous crime against his maker, wherupon such penaltie and bondage were appoynted iustly vnto him. And therefore let vs say, that the Soule of man being the first corrupter

rupter of it self, did of it owne accord vanish away as Wine turneth in it selfe and of it self into Vineger: whereas if the Soule had hild her selfe in awe and vnder couerture, and had rested on her Lees as is sayd of Wine; that is to say, if she had abidden stedfast in beholding her maker, without seeking her welfare in her selfe: she might haue continued vtterly vncorrupted still. And agayne, that by turning so away from GOD to her selfe, she offended her maker, and forwent the gracious giftes which she had receyued of him; whereupon followed the curse of the Creator, and the sentence of his iust wrath vppon his creature; wherethrough it came to passe, that the same was not onely bereft of all the grace wherewith it was replenished by beholding it selfe in him, but also was made an vnderling to the selfesame things which were made to haue done it seruice. Now what this time was, wee cannot better vnderstand, than by the punishment thereof. For punishment and sinne haue a mutuall respect one to another, as a sore and a salue, and may after a sort be knowne the one by the other. Order would that our wit should obey GOD, and that all our sences and appetites should obey our reason: but wee see that as now our sences and appetites hold reason vnder foote. This punishment ought to set our fault before our eyes, when as wee see our selues faine downe and thrust vnder our selues; namely, that man intended to haue mounted vp aboue God. The same order would also that all the whole world and worldly things should haue serued man, and man haue serued GOD; that God might haue bene the marke of man, as man should haue bene the marke for all other things to haue amed at. But wee see that at this day man is an vnderling to the least things that are: insomuch that euen those which haue neither sence nor life doe resist him, and he pitcheth the ende of all his desires in earthly things, as if they were of more valewe than himselfe, accordingly as all of vs know, that the end is alwaies better thã the things that tend to the same. Seeing then that nature is reuolted from man, it is certeyne that man is reuolted from God: for it is the ordinary punishment of rebellious Subiects, that their owne seruaunts and vnderlings also do kicke and spurne agaynst them. And moreouer, seeing that man not only findeth all maner of mischiefe and misfortune in himselfe, but is also so blynd as to seeke his felicitie in the myre, and in the durtie dunghils of this world; it is a token that he sought his happinesse in himself, and elswhere than in God? To bee short, wee bee striken in our Soules with ignorance of the things that are most

nedfull for vs; and in our bodies with continuall infirmities, and finally with death: and that is because we haue bene curious in seeking trifeling things, as not contented with the lesson that GOD had giuen vs; and would needes haue made our selues immortall, howbeit not by the euerlasting power of Gods quickening spirit, but by the forbidden vse of transitorie things, yea euen which had no life in them. Thus see we now whereof the corruption of mankynd is come, namely euen of our owne transgression, and of the punishment that followed vpon the same.

How long ago corruption came into mā.

But it is demaunded of vs yet further, how long it is ago since this befell. If wee had espyed this corruption in vs but from some certeyne hundred yeres hence; it were not for vs to seeke any further for it. But let vs hold on our course vp the streame of Mankynd euen to the Riuers head, and wee shall finde it still alwaies foule and muddy; and we shal from age to age heare these outcryes euen among the best, I loue well the good, but I cannot doe it; and (to bee short) that man is inclyned to doe euill, and subiect to receyue euill; which are in one word both the fault and the punishment. Agayne, were it but in some households, or but in some Nations only, men would not sticke to father the fault vppon the Clymate and the Soyle, or vppon the misteaching or miserample of the Parents. But when we see that in that respect all men are in one selfesame taking, aswell the men of old tyme as the men of our daies, sauing that sinne increaseth continually, as well vnder the Equinoctiall lyne as betweene both the Tropicks, and as well on the further side as on the hether side of them, sauing that some take more payne to keepe it from sight thā others, and that those which haue most wit are worst; forasmuch as I haue alreadie sufficiently proued the creation of the world and of the first man: wee be driuen to mount vp agayne to the same man, and to say that as he is the rote of our offspring, so is he also the welspring of this corruption which reigneth in vs, as in whom our whole race was both attainted with sinne, and attached with punishment. In this behalfe it is not for vs to pleade against GOD, but to submit our shoulders to his Iustice, and to lift vp our eyes to his mercie. For necessarily from poynt to poynt doth this consequence ensewe: The Soule is corrupted in all mankynd: Who is so corrupted that he feeleth it not? This corruption cannot proceed from the Creator. For when did euer pureneſſe yeld forth corruptiō? The other creatures could not haue defiled it. For what maketh a thing vncleane, but the taking

king of vncleanneſſe vnto it? and what cauſeth the taking of vncleanneſſe vnto it, but the touching thereof: and what touching one of another can there be betweene a Spirit and a Bodie? It remayneth therfore that our Soule corrupted it ſelf by forſaking her duetie, eyther of her owne accord, or by the admitting vnto it of ſome wicked Spirit, that is to ſay by perſwaſion of that Spirit, which perſwaſion is vnto Spirits, as touching is vnto bodies. And agayne, this corruption is from all tyme: then comes it not of trayning. And in all Nations: then comes it not of Conſtellation. And in all ages, both old young and middle ſort: then comes it not of imitation or exampletaking. Therefore it muſt needes proceed both from one only man, and from the firſtcreated man, who turned away from God through pride, whervpon God alſo did iuſtly turne away from him, as wee reade of our firſt father Adam in the holy Scripture. Now then, what remayneth more for vs, but to conclude that thing by nature, which wee beleeue through Scripture? namely, That God created man good: That he told him his will: That man choſe to liue after his owne lyking, and would needes become equall with God: That thervpon he was baniſhed from Gods preſence and fauour: That the Earth became rebellious againſt man, and man againſt himſelfe: and to bee ſhort, that man was wrapped in the wretchedneſſe of this world, intangled with ſinne in himſelf, driuen to liue euer dying in this life, and (were not Gods wrath appeaſed towards him) ſure to dye euerlaſtingly in the life to come.

The xvij. Chapter.

That the men of old time agreed with vs concerning mans corruption and the cauſe thereof.

IT followeth that wee gather the voyces and iudgements of the wiſeſt ſort, yea & of all men in generall; the which in myne opinion ought to beare the more ſway with vs, becauſe it is a kindly thing with vs, both to loue our ſelues, and alſo to thinke ouerwell of our ſelues. For what cauſe hath a man to complayne, if being

made Iudge in his owne case, he frame his owne indytement, and willingly beare witnesse against himselfe, by his owne voluntarie confession? Surely, that man is straungly infected with vyce; it is witnessed sufficiently by the Histories of all ages, which in effect are nothing els but registers of the continuall Manslaughters, Whoredomes, Guyles, Rauishments, and Warres? And when I say Warres, I thinke that in that worde I comprehend all the mischiefe that can be imagined. And that these vyces were not created in mans nature, but are crept into it; it appeareth sufficiently by the bookes of the Ceremonies of al Nations; all whose Churchseruices are nothing but Sacrifices, that is to say, open protestations both euening and morning, that we haue offended God, and ought to bee sacrifized and slayne for our offences according to our desarts, in stead of the sillie Beastes that are offered vnto him for vs. Had man bene created with vyce in him, he should haue had no conscience of sinne nor repentance for it. For repentance presupposeth a fault, and conscience misgiueth the insewing of punishment for the same. And there can be neither fault nor punishment in that which is done according to creation, but onely in and for our turning away from creation. Now, the Churchseruice and Ceremonies of all Nations, doe witnesse vnto vs a certeyne forthinking and remorce of sinne against God. And so they witnesse altogether a forefeeling of his wrath, which cannot bee kindled against nature which he himselfe created, but against the faultinesse and vnkindlynesse that are in nature.

The Conscience of Sinne.

Also what els are the great number of Lawes among vs, but authenticall Registers of our corruption? And what are the manifold Commentaries written vppon them, but a very corruption of the Lawes themselues? And what doe they witnesse vnto vs, but as the multitude of Philitions doth in a Citie; namely, the multitudes of our diseases; that is to wit, the sores and botches whereto our Soules are subiect, euen to the marring and poysoning of the very playsters themselues? Againe, what doe the punishments bewray which we haue ordeyned for our selues, but that wee chastise in vs, not that which GOD hath made or wrought in vs, but that which wee our selues haue vndone or vnwrought: nor the nature it selfe, but the disfiguring of nature? But yet when we consider that among all Nations, that Lawmaker is beleeued and followed by and by, which sayth, Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false witnesse; wheras great perswasion is required

in

in all other lawes which are not so naturall: It must nedes be concluded, that the Consciences of all men are perswaded of themselues, that the same is sinne, and that sinne deserueth punishment; that is to wit, that sinne is in nature, but not nature it selfe. But to omit the holy Scripture, which is nothing els but a Lokingglasse to shewe vs our spots and blemishes; what are all the Schooles of the Philosophers, but instructions of the Soule? And what els is Philosophie it selfe, but an arte of healing the Soule, whereof the first precept is this so greatly renowmed one, know thy selfe? Aristotle in his Moralles, sheweth that the affections must be ruled by reason, and our mynd bee brought from the extremes into the meanes, and from iarring into right tune. Which is a token that our mynd is out of tune euen of it owne accord, seeing that it nedeth so many precepts to set it in tune agayne. And yet is not Aristotle so presumptuous as to say, that euer he brought it to passe in his owne mynd. Theophrast his Disciple was wont to say, that the Soule payd wel for her dwelling in the bodie, considering how much it suffered at the bodies hand. And what els was this, but an acknowledgement of the debate betweene the bodie and the mynd? But (as sayth Plutarke) he should rather haue sayd, that the bodie hath good cause to complayne, of the turmoyles, which so irksome and troublesome a guest procureth vnto him. Plato who went afore them, sawe more clerly than both of them. He condemneth euerywhere the companie and fellowship of the body with the soule, and yet he condemneth not the workmanship of God. But he teacheth vs that the Soule is now in this bodie as in a prison, or rather as in a Caue or a graue. And that is because he perceiued euidently, that contrarie to the order of nature, the Soule is subiect to the bodie, notwithstanding that naturally it should and can commaund it. The same Plato sayth further, that the Soule crepeth bacely vpon these lower things, and that it is tyed to the matter of the bodie: the cause whereof he affirmeth to be, that she hath broken her wings which she had afore. His meaning then is, that the soule of her owne nature is winged and flyeth vpward, that is to say, is of a heauenly & diuine nature, which wings she hath lost by meanes of some fall. But to get out of these bonds, and to recouer her wings, the remedie that Plato giueth her, is to aduaunce her selfe towards God, and to the things that concerne the mynd. By the remedie we may coniecture what he toke the disease to be; namely, that our Soule hauing bin aduaunced by God to a notable digni-

The opinion of the Auncient Philosophers.

Aristotle.

Theophrast.

Plato in his Phedrus.

tie, the which it might haue kept still by sticking vnto God; fell to gazing at her gay feathers, till she fell headlong into these transitorie things, among the which she crepeth now like a sillie worme, reteyning nothing as now of her birdlike nature, saue onely a rowsing of her feathers and a vayne flapping of her wings. Now he sayth that he learned all this of a secret Oracle, the which he had in great reuerence. And of a trueth, in this doctrine of the originall of our corruption, wee haue to marke the same poynt which wee haue noted in some other things afore; namely, that the nearer wee come to the first world, the more cleere and manifest we finde the matter.

Empedocles and Pythagoras. Philolaus.

Empedocles and Pythagoras taught that the Soules which had offended God, were condemned and banished into bodies here belowe. And Philolaus the Pythagorian addeth, that they receyued that opinion from the Diuines and Prophets of old tyme. Their meaning is, that the body, which ought to be the house of the soule, is by Gods iust iudgemēt turned into a prison to it; and that which was giuen it for an instrument, is become Manicles and Stocks. So then, there is both a fault and the punishment: and the fault must needes procede from one first man, euen in the iudgement of those men of olde tyme, which acknowledged the Creation of the world. Also those auncient fathers seeme to haue heard what prouoked the first man to sinne. For Homer speaketh of a Goddesse whom he calleth Até, (that is to say Waste, Losse, or Destruction) which troubled heauen, and therefore was cast downe to the earth, where she hath euer since troubled Mankynd. And hereupon Euripides calleth the Fœndes οὐρανοπετᾶς, that is to say, Falne from Heauen. And the Ægiptians, who bee of most antiquitie, hild and taught the same in their Misteries. It is a meetly cleere shadowe of that which we reade in the Scripture concerning the fall of the deuill, whereunto he drewe mankynd afterward by his temptations.

Pherecydes alledged by Origen against Cellus. Hermes in his Pœmander.

But when as Pherecydes the Syrian agreeing therein with Sibil, telleth vs expressly that this Deuill which hath marred and destroyed the whole earth was a Serpent, (whom he calleth ὀφιογενῆ or ὀφιόνιον, that is to say, Snakebread or Adderbread,) which armeth men by whole troupes against God: we by gathering al these testimonies together, shall haue the whole storie of the fall of man. Hermes being auncienter than all these, doth plainly acknowledge the corruption of man, yea and that so farre, as to say that there is nothing but euill in vs, & that there is no way for vs to loue God, but by hating our selues. And to keepe vs from accusing the Creator

tor, The workmaister (sayth he to cut off all quarelling) is not the procurer of the rust, neyther is the Creator the author of the filth and vncleannesse that is in vs. On whom then shall wee father the cause therof? God (sayth he) created man after his owne likenesse, and gaue him all things to vse. But man in stead of staying vppon the beholding of his father, would needes bee medling and doing somewhat of himselfe, and so fel from the heauenly contemplation into the Sphere of Elements or of Generation. And because he had power ouer al things, he began to fall in loue with himselfe, and in gazing vpon himself, to wonder at himself; whereby he so intangled himselfe, that he became a bondslaue to his bodie, whereas he was free and at libertie afore. Now he intangleth this trueth with his accustomed speculations. But yet what is this in effect, but that the first man being proud of the grace which he had receyued, drowned him selfe in the loue of himselfe, whereas he might haue liued euerlastingly by drinking still of the loue of GOD? And if we mount vp yet higher to Zoroastres, who (as is written of him) was Noes graundchild: wee shall finde that in his Oracles, he bewayleth the race of Mankynd in these words. Alas alas, the Earth mourneth euen vnto Children! which words cannot be otherwise interpreted than of originall sinne, which hath passed from the first man into all his offspring; after which maner the Cabalistes and namely Osias the Chaldian interpret it; wherevnto Gemistus the Platonist is not repugnant. And as touching the originall of this mischief, he denyeth in these words that it came of creation; The thing that is vnperfect (sayth he) cannot proceede of the Creator. Zoroastres. Gemistus.

Now that we be come as it were vp the streame to the first man Adam by whom sinne entered into the world, and by sinne, death: let vs see hereforth what the opinion of the Philosophers hath bin, since the comming of the second man Iesus Christ. We haue a little booke of one Hierocles a Stoick, vppon the golden sayings of Pythagoras, which shall answer both for the Pythagorists and for the Stoiks. Man (sayeth he) is of his owne motion inclyned to follow the euill and to leaue the good. There is a certein stryfe bred in his affections, which stepping vp ageinst the will of Nature, hath made it to tumble from Heauen to Hell, by vndertaking to fight ageinst God. He hath a free will which he abuseth, bending himself wholy to incounter the Lawes of God: and this freedum itself is nothing else but a willingnesse Hierocles the Stoic against Atheists.

to admit that which is not good, rather than otherwise. What els is this, but as the holy scripture saieth, that al the imaginations of manes hart are altogither continually bent to euill: and which wee dayly dispute of, namely that our freedome is fresh and forward vnto euill, but lame and lasie vnto dooing well? If yee aske him the cause thereof, Let vs not blaspheme for all that, (sayeth he) nor say that God is the author of our sinnes: but rather that man is of his owne accord become vntoward; and that whensoeuer we fall into sinne, we do that which is in vs, but not which was in vs from God. How then shall we make these propositions of his to agree; namely that God created man; that man is froward and corrupted; and yet that God created not man such a one: vnlesse we say that God created man good, and that afterward man degenerated from his nature? But it is the very thing whereunto he commeth of himself. Ambition (sayth he) is our bane; and this mischeefe haue wee of ourselues, bycause we be gone away from God, and do giue ourselues to earthly things, which make vs to forget God. And that this mischeef is comon to all mankynd, he confesseth sufficiently in that he giueth vs an vniuersall remedie that is to wit Religion: the which alonly is able (sayeth he) to rid vs from earthly ignorance, without the riddance whereof, we can neuer come again to our former shape, and to the lykenes of our kynd, which was to be lyke vnto God. Now if all the whole kynd be defiled as he sayeth it is; surely we must resort backe to one first father, frō whom it is spred out into the rest by naturall generation. Plutarke wryting of Morall vertue, findeth it a very hard matter to make our affection subiect to reason, and the body obedient to the spirit. And he is driuen to maruell greatly, That our feete should be so ready to goe or to stand still whensoeuer Reason loseneth or pulleth backe the Bridle; and that on the contrarie part, our affections should carry vs away so headlong for all the restreint that wee can make. Also hee thinketh it strange, that in our discourses of the greatest matters, as of Loue, of the bringing vp of our Children, and of such like, we be driuen to take the brute beastes for our Iudges, as who would say that nature had stamped no Print of them in our selues; And he findeth himself so sore graueled in his consideration, that he preferreth the brute beastes before vs in all things, sauing in the capacitie which wee haue to knowe God; vndoubtedly as perceiuing a continuall following of their kind in all of them, whereas in vs only

Plutarke in his booke of Morall vertue, and in his booke of the mutuall loue betweene Parents and their Children. and That Beastes haue Reason.

ly there is contrariwise such an vnkindly and Bastardly Nature, that not euen the best of vs haue any whit of our former nature remayning in vs, sauing onely shame that we haue it no more. And this very gift of knowing God which remayneth to man, grauleth Plutarke more than all the rest. Man (saieth he) is a reasonable Creature; God hath set him in the world to be serued & honored of him, and he hath made him to be borne to common ciuill Societie. Whereof commeth it then that in his doings he is more vnreasonable, more contrarie to Gods will, and more against the Lawe of Nature, then the very brute beastes? In this perplexitie, one whyle he saith that man had receiued fayre and sound Seede, but that he corrupted it afterward: Another while hee sayth that he delt with reason as perfumers doe with Oyles, which neuer ceasse medling and mingling of them, till there remayne no sent of Oyle at all: And in one place, perceiuing (by all likelihod) this corruption to be so vniuersal: he saith further, that at the very beginning and from their first comming into the World, men intangled and confounded themselues with sinne. Whereby we may perceiue, that had the thing bin declared vnto him in such sort as wee beleeue it; surely hee would willingly haue imbraced and receiued it, as the only solution of so many perplexities wherein he was intangled.

Let vs come to the Platonists. All of them agree in these points; That the Soule of Man is a spirit; and that a spirit cannot naturally receiue any affection from a body, neither which may cause it to perish, nor which may doe so much as once trouble it. Yet notwithstanding, on which side so euer they turne themselues, they cannot deny but that our mynds are trubbled with infinite affections and passions in this body, and that they be subiect one while to starting besides themselues through pryde, anger or enuie; an another while to be cast downe with Riottousnes, Gluttonie, and Idlenes; yea and to receiue diuers impressions not only from the body, but also from the aire, the water, and from Mistes, and finally from euery little thing in the world. Now how can this contrarietie be reconciled, except their meaning be as ours is, that naturally our Soules are not subiect to any of these things, but that they bee put in subiection to them beyond the course of nature? If it bee beyond the course of nature; by whome is it done, but by him that commaundeth nature, to whome it is as easie to put a spirit in Prison, as to lodge a man in a house? If it be done by him who is the

righteousnes it selfe; doth it not followe that it was for some fault committed by the Soule? If for some fault; then seeing that the punishment thereof is in all men, in whome should that first fault be, but in that man which was the originall of all men, as in whom all of vs (say I) were materially? Now againe, this fault cannot bee imputed to the body, for it is in the will, and the body of it selfe hath no will: neither can it be imputed to any infection receiued first from the body; for the Soule could not be wrought into by the body. In the Soule therefore must the fault of mankind needes be, and for the soules offence doth the Soule itself suffer punishment, and make the body also to suffer with her.

Howbeit, that we may the better iudge of their opinions, let vs heare them in the chief of them one after another. Plotine hauing considered that the Soule is of nature diuine, heauenly, and spirituall; concludeth that of itselfe it is not wrought into by the body. But afterward perceiuing how it is defiled, ouermaistred by sinne, and by force of necessitie linked vnto lust; he commeth backe to this solution, That hir being here beneath is but a banishment to her, which he termeth expressly a fall, and otherwise (as Plato doth) a losing of hir wings: That the vertue which she hath, is but a Remnant of hir former nature; That the vice which she hath, is taken by dealing by these base and transitorie things: and too bee short, that al the vertue which is learned, is but a purging of the Soule, which must be fayne to be as it were newfurbished, to scoure of the greate Rust that hath ouergrowen it. In these Contradictions therefore hee maketh this question to himselfe: What should bee the cause (sayth hee) that our Soules being of a diuine nature, should so forget both God their father, and their kinred, and themselues? Surely (answereth he) the beginning of this mischeef, was a certeine rashnes & ouerboldnesse, wherethrough they would needes plucke their neckes out of the collar, and be at their owne commaundement; by which abuse turning their libertie into licentiousnes, they went cleane backe, and are so farre gone away from GOD, that (like Children which being newly weaned, are byanby conueyed away from their Fathers and Moothers, they knowe neither whose, nor what they be, nor from whence they came. Now in these words he agreeth with our Diuines, not only in this, ỳ corruption came in by sin, but also in ỳ kind of sinne, namely Pryde, wherby we be turned away frō our Maker. In another place, The Soule (saith he) which was

Plotin: Enn. 3. lib. 2. Also Enn. 1. lib. 6 Cap. 5. Also Enn. 1. lib. 8. Cap. 14. & Enn. 6. lib. 9 Cap. 9.

Plotin. lib. 1 Enn. 5. Cap. 1.

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 8. Cap. 4.

was bred for heauenly things, hath plundged itselfe in these materiall things, and matter of itselfe is so euill, that not onely all that is of matter or matched with matter, but also euen that which hath respect vnto matter, is filled with euill, as the eye that beholdeth darknes is filled with darknes. Here ye see, not onely from whence we be turned away, but also to what: that is to wit, from God, to vanitie, from the Creator to the creature, from good to euill. But of this inclyning to the materiall things, he sometymes maketh the body to be the author, as though the body had caried the Soule away by force of his imaginations; and he acquitteth the mynde thereof as much as he can, insomuch as hee sticketh not to affirme, that notwithstanding all this marrednesse, yet the Soule liueth and abideth pure and cleane in God, yea euen whyle the Soule (whereof the Mynd is as yee would say the very eilight or apple of the eye) dwelleth in this body. Howbeit, besides that he is reproued for it by Porphyrius, Proclus and others; his owne reasons whereby he proueth that the Soule is not naturally subiect to the body, be so strong; that it were vnpossible for him too shift himself from them. In this the great Philosopher is ouershot, that he will needes seeke out the cause of sinne in Man as Man is now. Where finding Reason caried away by Imagination, and Imagination deceiued by the Sences; he thought the fault to haue proceeded of that; wheras in deede he should haue sought the cause in Man as he was first created, when he had his Sences and Appetites absolutely at commaundement, whose wilfull offending hath brought vppon vs the necessitie of punishment which we indure. And in good soth, this saying of his in another place cannot be interpreted otherwise; namely that the cause why the Soule indureth so many trubbles and passions in this body, is to be taken of the life which is led afore out of the body: that is to say, that the subiection of the Soule to the Body is not the originall cause of the sinne therof, but rather a condemnation thereof to punishment. Neither also can he scape frō these conclusions of his owne, namely that the Soule beeing separated from the body, hath her wings sound and perfect: and that the Body being ioyned to the Soule, hath no power to breake her wings, and yet that she findeth her self there to be weake and without wings: except he hold with vs, that the Soule hath by her fall forgone her strength, and that the body by the feeblenes of the Soule and the sentence of the Creator, is strengthened in his weakenesse: that is to wit, in so much as the body

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 5. Cap. 5.

Enn. 3. lib. 3. Cap 4.

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 8. Cap. 14. & lid. 3. Cap. 4

body (as I haue sayde afore) is of a House become a Prison to the Soule. To be short, graunting Gods Justice, as he doth; hee can neuer wind himselfe out of this question which he himself maketh; namely why the sinnes are imputed to the Soule, seeing it doth them not but by infection of the body; vnlesse he make this infection to be a punishment of the fault which the Soule had committed afore in the body.

S. Austin in the Citie of God, lib. 10. Cap. 23. and 32.

But Porphyrius, who perceyued these inconueniences, hath spoken more distinctly of the matter than his Mayster did, agréeing with him neuertheless in the corruption of man, and in the cleansing of the Soule; Which cleansing of the Soule (sayth he) is so needfull a thing, as that it cannot possibly bee but that God hath prouided some vniuersal meane of cleansing mankynd. How is it possible then (sayth he) that the fall of the Soule, should come of Imagin- tion which knitteth the Soule to the bodie, seeing that the higher things are not drawne downe by the lower, but contrarywise the lower are drawne vp by the higher? Nay rather (sayth he) the higher substances come downe in themselues from vnderstanding into imagination, from spirituall things to bodily things, from high things to lowe things, fró perfect things to vnperfect things. And wheras by sticking fast vnto God they might haue abidden firme, not so much by their owne strength as by his, and might haue liued and wrought as vnder his forme; they bee come to a fall of themselues by stooping to matter. And therfore (sayth he) in the substaunces which are inclinable to such things, there is befalne (as men say) a sinne, and a certeyne vnbeleef which is condemned, because they fell in loue with the Creatures, and turned away to them from the Creator. To be short, he commeth to this poynt, that the fall of mens Soules, is like the fall of the Fiendes that is taught by the Iewes, and that through the fault of the wit and the will, which he termeth vnbeléefe or vnfaithfulnesse, man is falne into the folly of concupiscence, that is to say, from the fault into the punishment thereof, from the rebellion of the Soule, into the bondage thereof to the bodie. And ye must not thinke wee speake contraries when wee say, one while that man sinned by aduauncing himself too high, and by presuming to become as it were equall with God; and another while that he sinned by stoping downe to these base and lowe things. For in very déede, the lifting vp of a mans selfe to Godward, is the true a-

Porphyrius in his booke which sheweth how to do the things that are to be conceyued alonly by reason and vnderstanding. Also in his third booke of Abstinence.

bacing

bacing and humbling of himselfe: for who is hée that can rightly looke vp to God, and make account of himselfe, or rather not bee abaced in himselfe? And to inclyne to a mans selfe, is in very trueth a presuming to make himselfe equall to God. For it is a seeking of that thing in our selues, which is not to bee found but in GOD, namely of welfare and felicitie; and what els is pride, but a selfestimation or an ouerweening of a mans selfe?

Proclus doth ordinarily call the inclyning of our nature vnto euill, a descending or comming downe; and the corruption thereof, a fall, because the highest that our Soule can atteyne vnto, is the beholding of God; and the descending, stoping, or comming downe thereof, is to fall into estimation of our selues; and the fall is to bee thrust downe [in subiectiõ] vnder our selues, like a body that falleth from some high place. But as touching the cause of the corruption, he fathereth it vppon our Mynd, that is to wit, the highest part of our Soule; saying that if the same had continued sound, and sticked fast vnto God, (as sayth Plotin) it had also hild reason sound still, which is the Sunbeame thereof, and consequently all our actions should haue bene sound, so as wee should not haue bene subiect to sinne. Séeing then that the punishment is come euen to the highest part of vs, which we sée combered with so many passions, dimmed with so much darknesse, and defiled with so many vices: surely the fault procéeded onely from thence. Herevnto we might ad many other sayings; but wee will content our selues as now with onely Simplicius the famous interpreter of Aristotle. As long as mans Soule (sayth he) cleaueth fast vnto God the author thereof, it abydeth sound, and holdeth her perfection wherwith she was created of God: but fall she once to shrinking away from him, by and by she withereth as hauing lost her roote, and comes to nothing; neyther can she recouer her former liuelynesse, except she be reunited agayne to her former cause. Now perceyue we euerychone of vs, that our nature is withered; and therefore let vs say that we be slipped from our rote. And the rote leaueth not the braunches, but contrarywise the braunches leaue the rote. Let vs say then that we haue bereft ourselues of the gracious goodnesse of God, who would haue mainteyned vs still: for to nourish and quicken, is the propertie and nature of the rote. In one only thing doe the Philosophers differ from vs in this behalfe: namely, that they vphold all mens Soules to haue sinned euery one in himselfe; and wee say, That the onely first man sinned, and thereby

Proclus concerning the Soule and concerning the Feend. cap. 4.

Simplicius vpon Epictus.

thereby hath bound all his whole offspring to the punishment. But yet doe both come backe agayne to one poynt, seeing that euen by their owne reasons I proued the creation of the world, which of necessitie leadeth vs to one man the father of vs all, whereas the Philosophers hang wauering still vnresolued in that poynt.

Vniuersall consent,

Among all people wee see there were prayers to craue pardon for sinne, Sacrifices to appease Gods wrath, Mistical washings, and Satisfactories or Votaries that were charged with the sinnes of some whole Realme, Citie, or State. All these (as I haue sayd afore) are publick protestations of a publick corruption. The Philosophers were sore combered in finding a meane to cleanse Mankynd from his filthinesse; some would haue done it by the Morals; some by the Mathematicals; and some by Religious Ceremonies: but in the end they confesse that all these things can doe nothing in that behalf. They be fooles in their remedies, but wise in discerning the disease. Wee reade of the people of Affricke at this day, (who bee giuen enough to contemplation,) that they fall into great conceyts of mynd, and are not able to perswade themselues that all their Churchseruices are sufficient to make them cleane. And that is a proofe that they feele a mischiefe within them, whereinto neither the eye of the Philition can see, nor the medicine that he ministreth can attayne. Also the Persians were wont to hold a holyday euery yeere, which they called The Death of vyces: In the which Feast, for a token of deuotion, they killed of all sorts of Serpents & wyld Beastes. And doubtlesse that was because they had learned, that man doth couertly carie in his breast all maner of Beasts, ꝑ which it behoueth him to kill in himselfe, according to this saying of the Platonists, That the readiest way to returne vnto God, and consequently to a mans first nature, is to kill his owne affections. But what shall we say to that which we haue learned in these our daies among the barbarous Nations of the West Indies? There came a man into their Countrey (say they) which called himself the Sonne of the Sonne, who by his word and power repleniſhed the Land with men and women whom hee created, and gaue them great abundance of fruits. Who doth not hereuppon call by and by to remembrance the creation of man and woman in the Scripture, where God sayth vnto them, Increase and multiply and fill the earth; I haue giuen you al hearb bearing seede, and all trees bearing fruite, and so forth? But (sayth the booke of their Diuinitie) because some men prouoked his displeasure, he afterward

Agathias in his secõd book of the Persian Warres.

The generall Historie of the Indyes ca. 122.

terward chaunged the good soyle which he had giuen them, into drye and barreyne sands, and bereft them of Rayne, and left them nothing but a few riuers to helpe themselues withall by their great labour and trauell. Who espyeth not here agayne the sinne of man, Gods curse vppon the earth, and namely these woyds, In the sweate of thy browes shalt thou eate thy bread all the daies of thy life? And who should bee ignoyant of God, when as euen those knowe him, whom wee estæme to bee almost of another kynd than we be?

But here the wicked perceyuing themselues to want matter to replye, do fall to rayling against God. Seeing that man (say they) sinned through the free will which GOD gaue vnto him; how can God be called good, hauing giuen man wherewith to sinne? By the same reason I say at once for all, if God be good; why hath he made Man, or any thing for Man? If he should take from thée all that thou abusest, I pray thee what should bee left thée? Thy Reason? What is there in thée that maketh thée more vnreasonable? Thy Sences? To what other seruice doest thou put them, than to the marring of thy Sences? Thy Tongue? How much more eloquēt is it in speaking euill, than in speaking good? To bee short, where shal the good things become which he hath giuen thée for the maintenance of thy health and life? May, on the contrary part, which of them is it that thou turnest not to thy death and to thy bane? Now is the founder of them to blame, if thou kill thy self with the things without the which thou couldest not liue? Or if thou become euill by the things without the which thou couldest not be good? GOD hath giuen thée a will, and without will thou couldest not bee good. Unto will hee hath added a good wit to guyde it: and without wit thou couldest not be wise. If thou be loth to be eyther good or wise, it is but because thou art loth to bee a man. Thy will was giuen thée to loue God withall. Now, loue delighteth to bee fréehearted; neither would God bee loued of vs as inchaunted to it, but freely and vtterly vnconstreined. Therfore it behoued this will to be frée. Likewise thy wit was giuen thée to behold God withall. And haddest thou but onely thy Sences, what haddest thou more than the brute Beastes? And if thou haddest no more than they; why were they and all the whole world made for thee? Now then, which of these two canst thou finde fault with, seeing that without them both, thou couldest be neither good, nor wise, no nor a man? Thou wouldest haue bin created vnchaungeable; howbeit, not as a Rock

Obiections.

or

or a Mountayne, but as a Man. Surely the vnchaungeableneſſe of Spirits, was created to depend vppon their linking in with their maker. Thou wouldeſt peraduenture haue bin an Angel: but there are euen of the Angels that are falne; and as thei were farre higher than thou, ſo was their fall more daungerous than thyne. O man, acknowledge the goodnes of the Creator in creating thée good; and acknowledge the vanitie of the creature, which cannot ſtand in his owne goodneſſe, but in the goodneſſe of the Creator. But eſpecially aboue all things commend thou his goodneſſe and mercie, in that he hath not onely releaued thée in thy fall, but alſo as it were vphild thée that thou mighteſt fall the ſofter.

Another taketh exception to Gods Juſtice. What Juſtice is it (ſayth he) to puniſh a man ſo rigorouſly for ſo ſmall a fault? May, what is more iuſt than nature? What is more naturall than to runne into darkneſſe, when a man turneth away from the Sunne? Or (as Plotin ſayth) to impayre and wex naught, when a man departeth from the ſouereyne good? But O thou man which thinkeſt thy ſelf iuſter than God, what puniſhment wouldeſt thou appoynt to thy Sonne, not being a babe or a yong childe, but being come to yéeres of diſcretion, and a mangrowen; not pinched and pyned, but flowing in all wealth: if vpon a brauerie and luſtineſſe of courage, he would diſobey thée for a thing of nothing? Thē ſet thou Adam alſo before thyne eyes newly come into the world by the goodneſſe of the Creator, not ſtarke naked, but furniſhed with ꝑ whole world to ſerue him; not witleſſe, but with a pure ſound and ſkilfull mynd; not ſubiect to his luſtes, but able to holde them in awe to his will, and hauing his will obedient to reaſon. Now, whether thou conſider his ſinne, his rebellion, his vnfaithfulnes, and his pride; or whether thou haue an eye to the eaſines of abſteyning from ſinne: what puniſhment wilt thou not déeme him worthie to haue?

Yea (ſayeſt thou) but why vſeth he this rigour againſt his children? May rather, ſay, why is he ſo mercifull, why is he ſo gracious, as to kéepe them low in their fathers fall, leaſt they ſhould fall [more grieuouſly] through the ſame raſhneſſe? Thou buildeſt a Citie, and the cuſtome is to beautifie it with Priuiledges. Afterward this Citie rebelleth; thou takeſt away their priuiledges, their Belles, their Armour, and their weapons; and this puniſhment of their Inſurrection extendeth to all their poſteritie, albeit they were but fewe at the beginning, and grewe to bee mightily multiplyed afterward. The graunting of the Priuiledges to the firſt, was a

poynt

poynt of goodnesse; for otherwise they might haue had occasion to complayne of thee. Likewise it is Iustice to take them so from thē, and mercie to withhold them from their posteritie who haue the same rebellious mynd in them, and had els runne headlong into extreme punishments. God gaue thée the priuiledge of freedome, and inriched thée with singular gifts both of body and mynd: praise thou his goodnesse. Now, because thou hast abused them, he eyther taketh them cleane away, or els diminisheth them: acknowledge thou his Iustice. And because thy children might doe as thou hast done, and would not be amended by thine example, he taketh them from them also and diminisheth them in thée: commend thou still his mercie in his Iustice, but specially honor thou his Iustice in his mercie, in that of this rebellious race hée causeth the partie to bee borne, which can appease his Iustice.

Yet for all this, they giue not ouer. If by the sinne of the first man (say they) nature be corrupted in all men: why be not the children more corrupted than their Fathers, by meanes of so many sinnes committed by their Fathers? In this behalfe they misslyke of Gods clemencie, and yet could not Gods Iustice haue contented them. Now the Lords intent in punishing the rebellious Citizens, was to make them submit themselues againe vnder his gouernement, and not to destroy them vtterly. And it was Gods intent to humble mankind by making hym to feele the smart of his fall; and not to breake him in peeces in his wrath, but to reclayme him by his mercie. We bee falne into a Pit, we be falne from our highnes: now what would a second fall be? We haue broken our Wings already against the Earth; whether would wee fall at the next fall, being vnable to make a second flight? We be falne (say I) from the goodnes of our nature into naughtines, from Gods fauour into his wrath: how can wee fall any lower? May rather by creeping halfebroken vpon the Earth, we knowe that we be falne; and feeling the losse which we haue susteyned, wee crye vnto God for relief, and like little Nurcechildren we beseech him to stay and vphold vs with his mightie hand.

Now therefore let vs conclude for these twoo last Chapters, That mans nature is corrupted; and that it was not so created of God; but that man abusing Gods grace, did cast himselfe downe from goodnesse into naughtines, and from Gods freefauour into his iust displeasure; and that the man in whome the sayd Nature was first corrupted, was the first man: from whom we haue recei-

ued our corruption, as well as our nature. But let vs not so much muse to take an account how we be falne into this pit of infection, as earnestly bethinke vs by what meanes we may get out againe, which is the thing that we haue to treate of next.

The xviij. Chapter.

That God is mans souerein welfare, and therefore that the cheef marke which man should ame at, is to returne againe vnto God.

WE say that the cheefe poynt wherein fooles differ from wisemen, is that fooles shoote out their dooings at allauenture into the aire, and that wise men direct all their dooings to some certeine end. And againe, that the poynt wherein good men differ from euill men, is that good men determine with themselues vpon the good things, and euill men vpon the euill things, the good vppon that which is good in deede, and the euill vppon that which is good in showe. Therfore it standeth vs greatly on hand, both to haue some one certeine marke, and the same to be good: & to haue but one, because God hath giuen vs but one wit, and the perfection of wit is wisdome: and to haue the same good, because he hath giuen vs but one will, and the perfection of the will is goodnes. Surely God being the very goodnes and wisdome it selfe, was not without this one marke and the same very good, when he first created al things. For Nature (say the Philosophers) doth nothing otherwise than well and to a good ende. If they spake so of the Handmayd, what shall we say of the Maysker of the house? But forasmuch as he himselfe is the beginner, the holder on, and the ender of all things: he in all his doings did not set downe any other end than himselfe. We his creatures, who take our beginning and continuance from him, can haue none other end than him. Yet notwithstanding, the reasonable creature wisheth well to it selfe, and doth alwaies purpose a certeyne end with it selfe, which it thinketh to be behouefull. For the end of euery thing, is the peculiar good, benefite, or welfare therof: and

Things are said to be good, either by cause they come to good end, or were purposed to a good end.

and this desire being in vs by kynd, cannot be in vayne. Therefore it must needes be that the true welfare of man consisteth in his true ende or in his true amingpoynt: and that the true amingpoynt of man, and the ende which the Creator intended, must meete iumpe together: That is to wit, he must implope himselfe to the glorie of God, whose creating of all things was for his owne glorie, and by tending thitherward attayne to his owne welfare, which is ỹ thing that all things doe naturally seeke. And therefore if we finde either mans chiefe amingpoynt, or his souereyne welfare; we finde them both: for they be both but one selfesame thing; which in respect that his witte loketh thereat, is called his amingpoynt, and in respect that his will resteth thereon, is called his welfare, both of them together being the restingpoint of the whole man. And vnto this end is he to applye himselfe and all his motions, all his indeuers and all his desires, as to his highest felicitie benefite and welfare.

Mannes end & amingpoynt and his welfare consist or rest both in one thing.

Now, had we continued in our originall nature, we should haue had no payne at all to seeke them: for our wit was inlightened with the sight of our marke, and our will was drawen by our welfare, that is to say, by GOD by whom and for whom we were created; whereas now through our pride our eyes are gazing at all things, sauing our right way and our chief welfare. Yet notwithstanding, wee may trace it out by certeyne markes, specially if wee beare in mynd that we be falne: for then wee will not stand groping for it in the filth of the things that are here beneath, as folke amazed at our fall; but wee will seeke for it in the grace and in the face of our maker from whence we be falne. For like as when we seeke to knowe the vse and goodnesse of a tole (as for example, of a Sawe,) wee consider it not by the rustinesse thereof that hath eaten away the teeth, or by the breakes that it hath taken by some falles; but by the teeth thereof which are sound, sharpe, and smoth, such as they were when they came newe out of the Sythemakers shop: euen so must we doe with man; we must not iudge of his end by the blyndnesse, ignorance, naughtinesse, and corruptnesse that is come vpon him, but by the excellencie, goodnesse, and light that was in him at the first when GOD created him. Also wee iudge not of the vse of the Sawe by the mettall thereof in that it is Steele, or in that it hath a handle, or in that it hath an edge to cut withall: for a knife hath all things, which yet notwithstanding is neuer the more a Sawe for all that: but we deeme thereof by some peculiar shape, and by some propertie of the teeth therof, which make it to differ, not only from

The Markes whereby to knowe the amingpoynt and welfare of Man.

a Knife, the which hath no teeth, but also from a Fyle which hath teeth, howbeit of another sort. Then let vs doe the like still in man. If wee deeme of the vse whereto God hath appointed him, by that he liueth, or by that he hath sences; what needeth man to be made, seeing that the Plants are indewed with life, and the brute Beasts both with life and sence? But now hath he made Man, and he hath not made him in vayne. The vse of him therefore is to be taken, of that part which GOD hath giuen him specially and peculiarly to make him a man; of that (I say) which maketh him to differ from the things which haue but onely being, life, and sence: I meane the very highest part of his Soule. Againe, the sayd perticular shape which giueth a perticular vse to the Sawe, is common to all toles which beare the name of a Sawe: and therefore the special propertie of Man which giueth him a peculiar vse which no other Creature hath, must needes bee after such a sort peculiar vnto him, as it may neuertheless bee common to all of the same kynd: that is to say, as al men are created with that propertie, so all men must tend to that end. And forasmuch as that end is the souereyne welfare of Man; it hath consequently certeyne markes or tokens whereby it is to bee knowne. Man feareth nothing more than his end, neither desireth he any thing so much as to continue for euer: and yet notwithstanding the souereine welfare is the end of Man: and therefore it must needes bee an end without end; an end which doth not consume or waste, so as the thing which tendeth to it should therby be fordone: but which perfecteth & fulfilleth it, so as beyond it there is not aught that can bee desired or be. If there were any other beyond it, it were neither an end, nor souereine or chief. But for such a one doe we seeke. And if it could eyther waste or perish, we might be afrayd to lose it: and the greater that the pleasure were, the greater also should the greefe thereof bee. But the propertie of felicitie or happinesse is, to content the desire & to exclude feare. Nowthen, as touching the thing which we seeke; in respect that we seeke it as our end, it behoueth it to bee agreeable to the very nature of Man, peculiar to the whole kynd, and common to all that be of the kynd: and in respect that it is our souereine welfare, it behoueth it to bee vniuersall, perfect, and continuall. And now let vs see what that may be.

The world is not the end to which man was made.

Surely if we consider man and the world; in man the Sences, and in the World the sensible things: man as the beholder, and the world as a Theatre: man as the guest, in the world the Feast prepared

pared of all things conuenient for him: we will say hyandby, not only that they be made the one for the other, but also that in very deede the World was made for man, and not man for the World or for any thing therein. And ageine, if we consider how that in the World there is wherewith to content the eye the eare and all the sences; but nothing that can sufficiently content the mynd, the which (as earthly as it is) passeth from the things visible to the inuisible, from the bodily to the gostly, and from the creatures to the maker: shall we not easily conclude (which thing I will treate of more at large hereafter) that as the worlde cannot be mans ende, so can it not also be his contentation: And yet notwithstanding man is not created for nought; neither is the desire of his owne welfare planted in him to no purpose. For as say the Philosophers, nature hath made nothing in vayn, neither is she maymed in things needfull. Therefore it must needs be, and otherwyse it cannot be, but that the creator is the end and contentment of man, whose mynd cannot be satisfyed nor his will contented to the full, if any part of him do rest vppon these vyle and transitorie things. By the way whereas we comonly affirme that God is both the end and the welfare of all things for that they be guyded and led whithersoeuer he listeth by his prouidence, and also be made partakers of his goodnes: we must vnderstand that this is verified of man after a more high and excellent maner. Of the Creatures here beneathe, some haue but sence and appetite, and other some but only a bare inclination of nature: only man hath witte and will, which make him a man. Now all these are vnfallibly directed whethersoeuer it pleaseth God, as the arrowe is leueled at some marke by the Archer, who shooteth the Arrow streyght though it haue no eye to see with. But man by a peculiar priuiledge hath an vnderstanding wit which was giuen vnto him cleere sighted and cleane, that he might see the marke whereat he is leueled; and will, which he receyued frank and free, that he myght repose all his delyght therein: the one to knowe and discerne it, the other to loue and imbrace it; the one to see, and behold it, the other to obteyne and enioy it. Nowthen, as the hither end of all Creatures here beneathe is man, and the furthest end of them is God: so the neerest and immediat end of man is to knowe God, and his only welfare is to sticke wholy vnto him.

Let vs imagin man as much as we list, to be stil as sound as euer he was: yet what end, or what contentment could he haue but only God? We make greate account of riches; what could he be the bet- God is the end or Marke that Man aimeth at.

ter which had gotten all, or which had all riches gotten for him all ready to his hand: for what els is the getting of this world, but a proofe of want and pouertie: we esteeme highly of honor, of vaine tytles, and of dignities: And what els are all these but a vayne gasing and wonderment of people, which can be none at all where no people are: Surely then was not man set in the world, to the intent that that should be his mark to ame at; and much lesse could he seeke his contentment there. Yet notwithstanding he had receyued more wit than we haue, and not to no end. And therefore we must needes say it was to direct him to some further thing than vanitie, which at that tyme could haue no place at all. Some will say, his souereine welfare consisted in his health. What was his health, but his very being, and what maketh helth to be esteemed, but sickenesse, and who longeth for it, but he that is diseased? But whereto serueth so excellent a wit, if it be to haue nothing more than ỹ bruite beast? Another saies it cõsisted in vertue. How in vertue, seeing ỹ vertue is nothing els but the subduing and conquering af affection by reason; whereof he was in possession already by nature, [and had hild it still without cõtradictiõ] if he had not of his owne accord yelded himself to euil? now then what remaineth, but that forasmuch as man had not any thing to doe, either within himself or without himself, his wit was giuen him to stye vp both aboue the world & aboue himself, that is to wit, to the beholding of the Creator, to yeld him thanks and seruice for his innumerable benefits, & to be wholy inflamed with the loue of him? now looke what was the end and souereine welfare of ỹ first man; the same must we think to be of al other men, notwithstanding that our wit be weakened & our will besotted, & all our nature couered ouer with rust, & marred lyke the teeth of a Sawe. Therfore as the end of the first man whẽ he was in his perfect soundnes, was to atteine vnto God; so the end of vs in that small soundnesse which remaineth vnto vs, must be to tend vnto him; & like as ỹ first mans souereine welfare was to sticke vnto God; so cannot we hope to atteine to our souereine welfare, but by returning vnto him. In this welfare and vtmost end which we set downe vnto man, let vs trye whether we can find al the markes which we haue required therin. First, it ought to be peculiar to ỹ kind of man, & consequently placed in ỹ noblest part of him. Now in all these lower things, where is there an vnderstanding wit, but only in man; and in man, what is more noble, than his vnderstanding? and what is it (to speake properly) that maketh him a man, but vnderstanding? Moreouer,

who

who sees not that many brute beastes doe passe man in lyuely force both of life and sence? But in this alone he (as Plutark saith) doth passe them all. Secondly, it must neuertheles be comon to all men. Now (as vtterly blinded and corrupted as we be) what is more common among vs all, than the knowledge of God? If Riches and Honor bee the marke we shote at; how feawe of so many men which leuell at it with Heart, Eye, Hand, and Sinewes, doe hit it? If our welfare consist in hauing our health, in being vertuous, in dealing vprightly, or in calmenesse of mynd; how feawe do inioy it? On the contrarie part, who is so blynd, that he seeth not God, as soone as hee doth but looke out with his Eyes? or which findeth him not within him selfe? or which attepneth not to him, if he looke about himselfe? And who seeth not this marke, so cleere that the world is but a shadowe to it? so great that the whole world is nothing to it; and so nére, as that we be not nérer to our selues? Or who can be afrayd to bee shut out from it, whose greatnes hath roome inough for all, and whose sufficiencie is such, as the former shotte can be no impediment to the latter to haue a lighting place? Surely therefore we may wel say, that if we had continued sound, we could haue had none other marke or end but him; for all things els had bin nothing. And now also for all that we be corrupted; we ought not to tend or intend to any other than him; for he alone can be all to all, and this poynt can be nowhere but in him. To be shore, like as the Soule is the shape of man, so is the knowledge of God the true shape of al vnderstanding of man. Neuertheless, although the shape of man was disfigured in the first man, yet there remayneth a certeine comon conceiuing of God, howbeit so defaced and beslubbered, that either wee discerne him no more to bee our ende, though hee put vs in mynd thereof on all sides; or els imagining our selues to leuell at that marke, we swarue aside one while to vngodlynes, and another whyle to superstition; or at least wise we had leuer for the most part, to roue at euery thing that our sences méete withall, and too wallowe in these bace things like Beastes which haue no more but their sences.

Thirdly in our souereine welfare, I required that it should bee vniuersall. Now where shall it be found to be so but in God, who is in deede the very good of all goodnes, and the very welfare of all welfare that is in the world? Also that it should be perfect and full. And what desire wee but the things that are? And what can hee want, which possesseth him in whome all things are? Againe, I

added that the same must be euerlasting and vnchaungeable. Now who can bee so, but the maker of order and chaunge it selfe: and what thing see we heere in this world, yea euen in our selues, which abydeth in one state by the space of two moments: To be short, if wee desire to content our sences, hee hath made sensible things for the nonce; and if we desire to content our mynd, he himselfe is the things that are to be mynded. Where then is the thing to be recouered which we couet, but onely in him: Now as touching this vniuersall souereine good, true it is that all of vs are able too desire it, but for the most part of vs, vnable to discerne it, and none of vs able to atteine vnto it. There remaineth nothing to vs at all, I meane euen to the best of vs since our fall, but a greef that we haue it not any more, and that we be not able of ourselues to recouer it ageine heere belowe. Then let vs say, that as it had bin a happy case for vs, to haue continued still in our first state: so is it now for vs to returne thither againe; that is to say, to be set againe in Gods fauour, that we may onepay see his face yet againe. And because this blessednes cānot be brought to perfection in this life so full of wretchednes: we must dispose our lyfe in this world, not to liue still in the world, but to dye in respect of these dead things, and to liue vnto God; at leastwise if wee intend to liue the true lyfe, and to liue euerlastingly in him.

The false ends and the false Welfares.

Now then wee see that wee haue found our true restingpoynt and our true welfare, that is to wit the turningageine vnto God, from whose fauour and fellowship we be departed. For proof therof, we neede but to examine from point to point the other ends and welfares which worldly men doe set downe to themselues, by the tokens & proofes which I haue made of the other already. Wherby as we shall find a common desirousenes in all men to seeke the welfare; so will we doubtlesse wonder at such diuersitie of tastes, which like to the lustings of them that haue the greene Sicknesse, (who be greedy of Dust, Coales, Ashes and such other baggage) cannot but bewray vnto vs a straunge distemperature and corruption of our whole nature. Most men haue in all ages spent their whole life, either in raking together of riches, or in Ambition, or in purchasing of Lands, or in puffing vp themselues with the wind of Pryde. And what can bee more contrarie to the lyking of our vnderstanding, than those things? The end whereto things tend, is better than the things themselues. What is it then for a man too bend himselfe to these outward things; but too shewe that wee be

worse

worse then Earth and Dung: And who would not beléeue that the Soule of man were infinitely lesse made for such things, than cloth of Gold to wrap vp myre and dirt in?

Also wee seeke the vttermost end of man. Now who is he that desireth not Riches for some other end, than for the Riches themselues: namely that hée might spend them either wantonly or honorably, or necessarily? May who would passe for them at all, if he might haue the other things without them? Were it not so; what were more wretched than man in whose end consisteth his welfare; seeing that either the Wind, or Fyre, or robbing may bereue vs of that felicitie; that is to wit, ouerwhelme vs with miseries in one moment? Againe, how can Riches be the common marke for all men to shoote at, seeing that the inriching of one man is the impoerishing of another? Yea and that the very béeing of them consisteth but in the opinion of men, some counting Gold, some stones, some Shelles, and some Nuttes to be Riches; and all resembling young children, which set al their felicitie in Checkstones & pinnes? And what is it for men to set their felicitie in things which are neither Man nor of Man, as if they should set the goodnes of a Knyfe in the Sheath, or of a Horse in his Foteloth or Saddle? To bée short, how can that bee the souerein God, which is no good at all? which is common as wel to the bad as to the good, and doth rather impaire men than amend them? Or howe can that bee our chéefe marke to shoote at, which of all things turneth vs most frō the true marke, that is to wit, from God; as in trueth there is not a readier way to driue vs quite and cleane from God, than to drawe vs néerer and néerer to worldly riches? Riches.

And what is Ambition? We might discourse of that tyme without end: for in very déede it hath no end. Some atteyne to some certeyne poynt: othersome be quite excluded. Which of them in our opinion are the happiest? Soothly they that are excluded are disappoynted of their pretensed felicitie. That is al the harme they haue by it. They that atteyne to honor, are in continual torment, spightfull or spighted, doing mischiefe or receyuing mischiefe, ouermated or ouermating. What is this but many euilles for one, and a multiplying of miseries without number, for the obteynement of ons sillie shadowe of felicitie? We will leaue the residue to declamers: what are the fruites of these hellish torments, what are they? Forsooth Honour, Reputation, and Power or Authoritie. What is all this but wynd, which cannot fill vs, nor scarsly puffe vs vp? I shall Honor.

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be saluted as I goe abroade, I shall sit highest at meetings. In having these things, what haue I, which a wicked man may not rather haue than I? And if it be a good thing, how is it giuen to euill men? I shall haue reputation. If it bee among euill men, O how shal I be blamed among good men? Perhaps I shal haue it among good men. If for vertue: who seeth not that reputation is but a shadowe, made to followe vertue? And who will runne after the shadowe, to forgoe the body? If freely for nothing, (as men say) vpon Credite: who knoweth not that thing to be nothing worth, which is giuen for nought, and by such as are nought worth? And who will beléeue that we be borne to such an end as that? May rather, how many be the slaunders wherewith good men be charged: insomuch that diuers tymes they bee fayne to forgoe their reputation, for the preseruation of their Conscience?

Powre Authoritie and Souereintie.

Finally, I shall haue obteyned power and authoritie. If that be the end of Man; how happeneth it that for one mans hauing of it, so many millions are fayne to goe without it? And if it be his souereine good; whereof commeth it, that not only it is turned to euil, but also commonly turneth the possessors thereof to euill? But let vs put the case that all this is good. To whom? For euery one that is honored as a Prince, ten thousand are fayne to knéele: For one that trymmpheth, a hundred thousand are led in captiuitie: For one that reigneth, ten hundred thousand serue as Slaues. By this reckoning, some only one man should be the end of many men: and the felicitie of three or fower should bee the infelicitie of a whole world. Now our séeking is for the end and felicitie, not of some one or two men, but of all the whole kynd. What will ye say then if euen those fewe haue it not? I take to witnesse the happiest Courtiers that are, whether one wrye loke of their Prince do not sting them more at the heart, than a thousand flatterers and as many crouchers and cappers can delight their eares and eyes? May, I report me euen to the greatest Princes themselues, whether one Rebellion of their Subiects against them, doe not vex them more than all their honorable trymmphs doe reioyce them? And were it not a shame to say, that mans souereine good should stand in awe or depend vpon a grim loke? What els then are all these things, but resemblances of the Apples that grow about Sodome, which being pleasant to the eye, and prouoking to the appetite, doe vanish into smoake or into sote as sone as a man puts his téeth to them?

Besides this, the felicitie of man ought to abyde in the thing it selfe.

selfe. But the contentment of the ambicious person, dependeth vpon another. Also it ought to be euerlasting: But ambition endeth with the body, and is buryed with it in the same graue. Againe, the things that ambition craueth, are sought sometymes for some other things sake: but wee demaund an end whereupon to rest, and not a meane to an ende. To bee short, so farre of is ambition from being a way to bring vs to souereine good or felicitie; that in very trueth (as I haue sayd afore) it casteth vs miserably downe, and maketh vs to fall quite and cleane from it.

Now, seeing we cannot finde the thing we seeke for, neyther among men, nor in these worldly things; doth it not follow that we must seeke it in our selues? Surely the world is not of it selfe, nor for it selfe, but was made by another, and for another; neyther hath man his owne beginning of himselfe: and therefore he cannot be the end of himselfe. The maker of a thing maketh it not for the things sake, but for his owne sake: and therefore he himselfe is the ende of his worke. Againe, the thing that is made is not good in respect of it self, but for the vse or end whereto the maker maketh it: and therfore the maker himself is the souereine good thereof. But let vs discouer the matter yet more largely. Man is composed of Bodie and Soule; the Bodie mortall, the Soule immortall. Now, if wee set mans felicitie in his bodie only; we doe too great wrong, both to the Soule, and to the whole man. For if it consist in the bodie, it perisheth and fadeth away with the bodie. And then what remayneth to the Soule which ouerliueth, but wretchednesse? But wee seeke for a felicitie which belongeth to the whole Man, and to his whole life both together. Againe, what should be this felicitie of the body, vnlesse perhaps it bee Beautie; which gladdeth more the beholder than the hauer thereof, and yet within a while after, is lost by some wound, some sore, some pimples, or some Sunburning? In the Soule ioyned with the bodie wee haue three abilities, namely of life, of sence, and of vnderstanding. Let vs see in which of these three mans souereine welfare and end may be harbered. The Soule giueth life to mans bodie, and the perfection of life is health. If our life serue to none other end than that; what had the first man to doe with it, who was created healthfull? If it must bee the end of vs now after our corruption; what is more vnhappie than man? May, what is more vncapable of happinesse than man? A bodie subiect to a thousand diseases, a thousand harmes, a thousand daungers; weake, fraile, fraught with miseries within, wrapped in them without;

The vtmost end & souereign good of Man are not in himselfe.

Beautie.

Helth

without; alwaies vncertayne of life, alwaies sure of death; whom a Worme, an Heard, a grayne of dust may kill: who if he loked for none other happinesse than that, were much better to bee a Plant than a Man. Againe, who is so sound and healthie of bodie, or so diseased in mynd, which (if he were put to the choyce) had not leuer to haue a sound mynd in a sicke bodie, than to bee out of his wittes hauing perfect health of bodie? Swthly then it is a very clere argument, that our chiefe happinesse resteth in our mynd, seeing wee can finde in our harts to redeeme it with the miseries of our bodie.

Bodily Pleasure, Voluptuousenes, or Sensualitie.

Let vs come too the sensitiue parte. The happines thereof seemeth to consist in Voluptuousenes or Sensualitie. If that make vs happy; then happy be brute beastes, as who doe vse it both more freely and with more delyght than wee: and vnhappy is man, who cannot wholy become a beast, do what he can. The beast taketh his pleasure, without regard who sees him, without remorse of conscience, and without any argewing againste himselfe. Contrarywise, what man is hee which feeleth not a Lawe in himselfe that goes about to bridle him; which feeleth not a hartbyting in the midds of his pleasure; or whose greatest delyghts leaue him not a sting of repentance behind them? And what happynes can that be whereof we be ashamed, and which compelleth vs to seeke couert for the dooing thereof? Also what a fond woorkman was he, that framed vs so farre vnfit for such a purpose? insomuch that wheras al our body is apable too aches & sickes both within & without and on all sides; we scarsly haue aboue two or three parts vpō vs capable of pleasure, and euen those also subiect to greef and peyne. Let there be a man (sayeth Plutarke) that hath led his whole lyfe in pleasure and sensualitie; and about a two or three howers afore he drawe towards death, let him be put to his choyce whether he had leuer too delight his sences by lying with his Lais, or delyght his mind with deliuering his Country from some greate peril. wil he (think you) be so very a beast, as to dout which of them he shal chose? who seeth not then that the pleasure of the mind, is both greater than the pleasure of the body, and more peculiar to man, and more agreeable too his end? We seeke a souereine good; if it be good, it will amend vs. But what doth marre vs and impayre vs more both in bodie and soule, than fleshly pleasure? Also we meane it should be perfect. If it be so, it will make vs perfect too. But what consumeth vs, what decayeth vs more than sensualitie? Agein, we seeke an end; but yet an endlesse end, not which maketh an end of our pleasures, but

which

which doth still feede our desires. Contrarywise, what is there which is soner at an end in it selfe, which soner maketh an end of vs, or which soner wearieth vs and lesse contenteth vs, than the bodily pleasures; considering that (as the Poet sayth) the pleasure and payne goe both together? Moreouer, how may that be the souereine good, which is not so much as a meane good? For who can denye, but that abstinence is taken for a vertue, euen among the vicious sort? And what maner of good is that, which may become euill by increasing, if it were not euill of it selfe afore? Finally, al bodily pleasures consist in the Sences, and are executed by the sensitiue parts. Now, the Sences are oftentymes forstalled in vs, either by diseases or by oldage: and the sensitiue parts are dispatched at the least by death.

Now albeit that a man haue a dubble life, the one in this world, the other in another, the one dying, the other immortall; the first which is here tending to the second as the worse to the better; yet is not our seeking for such an end or such a felicitie as dyeth with vs, but for such a one as maketh vs happye, quickeneth vs, and refresheth vs euerlastingly; the which surely is not to be found in mortall things. Now followeth therefore the Understandingpart, which is occupied one whyle in itself, another while in the gouernment of the world, and another while in contemplation of heauenly things: and of theis three operations spring three perfections; namely Vertue, Policie, and Wisedome. Let vs see yet in which of these three consisteth our souereine felicitie and contentation. Sothly it is not to bee doubted, but that our end will bee found to consist in that part: for whether can the mynd of man reach, beyond the world and man and him that made them both? But let vs see if we come neere it in this world. I pray you what is Vertue? The calmenesse of our affections. What are these affections of ours? The waues and stormes of our Soules, raysed with euery little blast of winde, which doe so tosse and turmoyle it vpside downe, that euen the best Pylots are fayne to strike Sayle, and reason it selfe is driuen welnere to forsake the Helue. If Man were created to this end, why was he created with calmenesse of mynd? Or if his souereine good consist now in ouermaystering his affections; what more contrarietie can there bee, than to bee voyd of affections and to be a man? Let vs put the case that some man attayne thereunto: shall he also stay there? No: for valiantnesse hath an eye to warre, warre to peace, peace to the prosperitie of the Common-

Vertue.

wealt,

weale, and so forth of others. Now, that which tendeth vnto another, cannot be the vtmost end. But wil man at leastwise be contented therewith? Nay, let vs commend Vertue as much as wee list, and let vs bulie our selues in making bookes of it; yet if it extend no further than to the things on earth, I dare well say there is not any thing, I say not so happie, but so wretched & miserable as man. Folke will say he is an honest man; but yet as honest as he is, they will let him starue for hunger. The Prince will say he is a faithfull, a sound, and an vpright dealer, neyther led by couetousnesse nor caryed away with ambition: but yet he will not put him in trust with the managing of his affayres in this world. The foulest vice in the world shall finde a mate: but if Vertue runne through the whole world, she shal scarce find a husband. Now then, if we seeke our felicitie in this life; what is Vertue but very miserie? And if we seeke it in the other syde; what shal become of this vertue where we shall haue no affections to encounter with? Surely then is not Vertue our end: for the end that we seeke, hath not an eye to a further thing; neither dooth the souereine good thereof which goes ioyntly with it come to any end.

Policie. What then? Is Policie that end? We call Pollicie the right vse of reason in the gouerning of worldly affaires. Besides that, it may also properly be defined, to be an art or skill of guyding mens doings to a certeine end. Now the skill and the end that it ameth at, cannot be both one thing. But (to be short) what is this world? Strife, Warre, Discord, Enuy, Rancor, Burning, Sacking, wasting, Spoyling, and destroying; a miserable ground for man too build his felicitie vpon. What is the gouerning and disposing of al these things, but a dealing with Byles, Botches, and Cankers, whereof if we haue no feeling, they can (to go the best way) doe vs no good; and if wee haue feeling, they worke vs nothing but sorrowe, grife, stinch, and lothsomnesse? Yea, but the happines or felicitie is in healing them. Happy then is that comonweale which receiueth good by thy peyne; but not thy peyne happy which thou hast taken to heale it. For when a Phisicion healeth a man, who receiues the benefite, the Phisicion, or the Patient? And if the Phicion did his Cure for gaine, and the Magistrate his duety for honour; who sees not that the skill of curing was not the end of the one, nor the skill of gouerning the end of the other; seeing that they tended either of them to a further end, and that so silie a one? Notwithstanding all this, in the end Man dyeth and the World perisheth

sheth; but the Soule liueth still, and yet giueth ouer the dealings of the world. Therefore needes must some other thing then Policy be our soueren good, seeing that this Policy is limited within the bounds of this world.

Now then, let vs examine Wisdome. It is the beholding of God and of things belonging to GOD. This requireth a man to lift vp himselfe aboue the world, and aboue himselfe; I meane that a man should retyre from all outward things into his owne soule, the Soule vnto her Mynd, and the Mynd vnto God. Surely there is great lykelyhod that our doings ought to bee referred to this wisdome, and that our end and welfare should consist therein. For the perfecting of such a contemplation, wee say there are required Wealth, Health, Vertue, and Policie. For want and pouertie, bee as Fetters of Yron to a weldisposed mynd: a sickely and diseased body, is as a torture to it; vnruly affections dazle it and make it see one thing for another; Policie is the stablisher of Comonweales, & whosoeuer giueth himself to contemplation, it behoueth him to be settled in a quiet place, that he may hold the Plommet of his mind steddy without shaking or stirring. Thus doe all things seeme to serue to that vse. But when they come all to the forenamed poynt, to helpe vs; yet I pray you how farre doe they further vs? It is naturally bred in man to beleeue that there is a GOD: and his workes doe put vs in mynd of it euery howre. But shall we enter into our woorkemaysster, seeing that the very outside of the least of all his workes doth stoppe vs? Again, who knoweth not, that if there be not a God, there can bee no happines atall? And sith wee knowe it, euen (as ye would say) from our birth; why take we so much peine in seeking that which wee haue alreadie? Reason telleth vs further, that God is good and iust; that is to say, that he loueth that which is good, & hateth that which is euill. And our owne conscience telleth vs, that we doe little good or none, but much euil. And if the little good which we do be done amisse, what happines is there, or rather what vnhappines is there not in that knowledge which maketh vs to feele a continuall torment in our selues? But the partie that is giuen too contemplation, mounteth vp yet higher, and considereth that God is immortall, vnchangeable, and not to be wrought into; which is as much to say, as that he is not as we men are, who doe dye, moue, and chaunge: and when hee comes to that poynt, he is at the highest that his wit can reach vnto. And what is all this flying vp, but a creeping still vpon the earth?

Wisdome or Religiousnes.

earth? For, to say that of a thing which it is not, or to say it is not this or it is not that; what els is it but a protesting that we knowe not what it is? as if a man should boast that hee knowes an Elephant, vnder pretence that hee knowes it is not a Snayle? What then is our highest contemplation but deepe ignorance? And who would make ignorance his highest felicitie & furthest end or shoteanker? Yet notwithstanding how feawe be there which atteine so farre? And if any through rashnes aduenture any further; into what error and blyndnesse doe they fall, no lesse than they which forgo their sight by looking against the Sunne?

Faith or Beleef.

It remaineth then in the end, that wee must atteine to that by Fayth, which wee cannot atteyne vnto by Reason; that wee must mount vp by liuely beleef aboue our vnderstanding, vnto the things whereunto the eye of our mynd is not able to reach. And Algazell the Arabian proceeded so farre, as to say that the rote whereby the felicitie to come is atteind vnto, is faith. And what is this fayth in God, but a beleeuing that our welfare lyeth in him? What is the beleeuing, but the hoping for it? What is hope, but the desiring of it? What is the desire of it, but the not hauing of it? And to bee short, what is the continuall beleef of it heere, but a bewraying that heere we can neither haue it nor see it? If we haue not faith, what haue we but ignorance? And if we haue faith; what haue wee but onely a desire and longing; considering that the greater our fayth is, the more wee despise these base things; and the greater our desire is, the more we hate our selues, and the more earnestly doe we loue God. To be short, What is fayth? Welfare behighted. But we would see it. Again, what is faith? The way vnto felicitie. But we would possesse and inioy it. Loke then what proportion is betweene that which is present, and that which is to come; such proportion is there betwixt the hope which we haue heere (yea euen aboue the world and aboue our selues,) and the perfect and full fruition of the good which we seeke to atteine vnto. But let vs in feaw words gather togither what wee haue said heretofore. Whereas wee seeke for an ende or restingpoint, the world is made for man, man for the Soule, the Soule for the mynd, the mynd for a much higher thing than it self, and what els can that be but God? As for that which we vnderstand here as concerning God by our naturall wisdome; it is but ignorance; and that which we conceiue by our supernaturall power, is but beleefe; and beleefe maketh not things perfect, but only moueth the vnderstanding. It followeth then that

Algazel in the beginning of his Supernaturalles.

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our doings can haue no end to rest vpon here, but only in the life to come, which is the beholding and knowing of God. Againe, if wee seeke the souereine good; our appetites owe obedience to our will, our will to our reason, and the perfection of our reason is the knowing of God. And so the contentment of our will is our possessing of God. Now we possesse not God, but so farre forth as wee loue him: we loue him not, but so farre forth as we knowe him: and neither can ignorance ingender earnest loue, nor beleefe ingender full and perfect fruition, but onely a certeyne hope, which hope is matched with impatience euen in the best of vs. It followeth therefore that we cannot inioye our souereine welfare, vntill we bee come to our vtmost end; nor haue our full contentation, vntill wee haue full knowledge: that is to wit, wee cannot haue it in this world, nor in man, which two cannot content the mynd or satisfie the will of mã, forsomuch as eyther of them both is a world of wretchednesse: but though wee haue a dubble life, yet can we haue our vtmost restingpoynt and our onely souereine welfare, nowhere els but onely in God and in the euerlasting life.

Here I should declare what that felicitie of man shalbe, when he is come to his vtmost restingpoynt. But who wilbee so rash as to open his mouth in ỳ behalf, after him that hath told vs that neither eye hath seene it nor hart can conceyue it? And how should we knowe it here, being vnable eyther to see it or to haue it here? Now therefore at one word, let vs be contented with this, that all our desires shalbe satisfied at that day, seeing they extend not but too the things that are; and that in God we shall at that day see, haue, and knowe all things. But yet for a more larger confirmation of this former poynt, it is now tyme to here what the Philosophers say thereof.

The xix. Chapter.

That the wysest of all ages agree that God is the vtmost end and souereine good, felicitie, or welfare of man.

SVrely man dooth naturally desire, for the contentment of his will, to be well: and for the exercyse of his wit, to haue some certeine end. And therefore there is not a syter nor a larger place in Philosophie, than the serching out of the cheef end and souereine good of man; insomuch that Cicero saieth that the whole authoritie

ritie of Philosophie, consisteth in that poynt alone. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as by reason of our fall, we find our selues astonished here by loue lyke folke faine out of the Clouds, and moreouer benighted with very deepe darknesse in a place that leadeth many sondrie waies cleane contrarie one from another; wee knowe not in this perplexitie which way to take, and yet euery of vs thinks himselfe wise enough to direct his companion. One calles to the right hand, and another to the left: One poynts ye vp the hill, and another sets ye through the playnes: and yet all of them can as little skill of the right way one as another: and at the last the most part of them perceiue in the end of their trauell, that the more haste they made, the further they wandered from their way. But what wonder is it if blynd folkes, or such as are guyded by blynd folkes, or such as haue no guyde at all, doe goe astray? May rather, were it not to bee esteemed for a myracle, if any of them all, howbeit being guided from aboue, should happen to hit vpon the right way? Naturall desire causeth men to seeke their welfare. And all Philosophie lyeth in that poynt of seeking out the welfare of man. Sinne hath put vs from it, and maketh vs to lose it. And therefore the wiser sort haue laboured to recouer it by eschewing sinne. But most men knowing not that this sinne is come vppon vs by a high fall, and therefore imagining themselues to bee nestled still in their former place: doe busie their heads about the seeking of it there, not perceyuing that they be throwne downe very low, farre from GOD, and vnderneath themselues. That is the cause why wee to no purpose doe seeke by groping round about vs, for that which is not to be had there, nor is to be found there. Varro sayth that in his tyme there were twohundred fowerscore and eight opinions, concerning this poynt in the bookes of the Philosophers: that is to wit, two hundred fowerscore and eight Sects: for that was the badge or Cognisance that made the difference betwixt them. It was a wonder to see so many diuersities, and a more wonder that of so many, so fewe could hit vppon the trueth. Yet notwithstanding they tryumphed one ouer another, and were curious in confuting one another; as in deede it is alwaies more easie to reproue a fault, than to amend it; and to conuince a lye, than to finde out the trueth. But yet at least wise we haue wonne thus much at the hands of them al, That there is one chiefe ende and one souereine good, whereat all men ought to aime: and wee finde euen by the contrarietie of their own reasons one against another, that it is none of all those things wherein

Austin in his xix booke and first cap. of the Citie of God.

wherein they haue sought it: whereupon wee may easely conclude, that it cannot bee anywhere els, than where wee seeke it. Had they well considered, that Man is falne from his former dignitie, and compared the glorie of his former state with the wretchednesse of his present state; they would haue sought none other happinesse or felicitie than to returne thether, that is to say, than to bee linked againe vnto GOD: and they would neuer haue followed so many fond fancies, more worthie to be pityed than to be laughed at. Neuertheless there are some fewe to be found in all ages, which haue leueled at this marke, like as among all the rest, wee see that some haue had a certeyne knowledge of our first originall nature.

The Epicures sought this souereine good in the pleasures and delights of the bodie: and the Stoikes mocked them for their labor, perceyuing well, that there is not here so fayre and sweete a Rose-bush, which hath not very sharpe prickes, and that it was the next way to make a man a beast. To be short, the Epicures themselues were so much ashamed of the matter, that to make Lady Pleasure to goe for an honest woman, they were fayne to disguyse her as much as they could, and to say that by Pleasure they ment the delights of the mynde, and not the feuerous pleasures of the bodie, which passe away in the turning of a hand. But in the ende, what were their pleasures? Forsooth (say they) to bethinke a mans selfe how oft he hath made good chere, or how oft he hath seene his trull. O straunge beastlinesse. As who would say (sayth Plutarke) that the pleasures of this world were to be kept in Conserues, or to bee layd vp as Restoratiues in the closet of mans memorie: or rather (say I) as though the remembrance of troubles past, yea or of some greeuous sickenesse recouered, were not more delightfull than the greatest ioyes that are possible to be had. The Epicures. Antisthenes answered μανείμυ μαλλονὴ ἡδείμυ.

The Stoikes therefore doe giue vs another kynd of happinesse or welfare, namely Morall vertue, which cõsisteth in the quiet reigning of reason in vs. But what is this els than a mere imagination? How will they answere to the Peripateticks, which say that man is not made for himselfe alone, but for common societie: That his vertue must ame at a further ende: That vertue neither in respect of that whereat it ameth, nor of that whereon it worketh can make men happie? To bee short, what will they say to their owne companions, who for the vpholding of this their surmysed felicitie, do vnderprop it with wealth, health, courage, and measurable pleasure, as vnsufficient to stand alone without ayde? But I haue rip- The Stoiks.

ped vp this poynt sufficiently in the Chapter going last before

The Peripatetikes or walkers.

What then do the Peripateticks set vs downe? As the Stoiks left the Bodie to mount vp to the Soule, so these mount vp from the Soule to the Mynd. There are (sayth Aristotle) two sorts of

Aristotle in his Moralles. lib. 5.

Blessednesse. The one ciuill and publike, called Policie; which consisteth in action: and the other priuate & of household, called Wisedome, which consisteth in Contemplation. He thinkes verely that he hath sayd somewhat. But how can Policie be this blessednesse, considering that according to his own saying, Policie is but a cunning or skill to leade things to a certeyne end, and is not the end it self? Or how can Wisedome be it, seeing that (as he himself saith) our vnderstanding seeth as little in matters concerning God, as the eye of an Owle doth when she commeth nere the Sunne? Our vnderstanding is dull, our iudgement vncerteyne, and our memorie deceptfull. The deepest of our knowledge (sayth Socrates) is ignorance; and all Philosophie (as Porphyrius vpholdeth) is but

Porphyr. in his first booke of the Soule to Byrithius and Anebon.

mere coniecture, easie to bee ouerthrowne with euery little push. Now then, how may this bee a happinesse, vnlesse we will graunt that the Owle is happie in comming neere the Sunne; or a blynd man happie in beholding colours?

His Disciples Alexander and Auerrhoes, perceiuing that all our contemplation is but veration of mynd, most commonly to no purpose; haue found vs out another deuyce. Which is, that all our happinesse consisteth in ioyning the capacitie of our mynde, or rather of our imagination, vnto certeyne separated substances, to be informed by them in all maner of knowledge: for the which deuyce they bee reproued of most Philosophers, and as I beleeue, in the end they laughed themselues to scorne for it. But as I haue sayd alreadie, what are these separated substances of theirs? Or rather why did they not set our felicitie in being knit vnto GOD, whom they confesse to be better than all these things? Againe, who is he, were he neuer so fantasticall, euen though it were Auerrhoes himselfe, that could vaunt himselfe to haue euer atteyned to that imagined Coniunction of theirs in this life? And seeing that (as they beare vs on hande) the knowledged of the nature of all sensible things, is required to the atteynment of that felicitie of theirs; how shall we atteyne to the full heyghth thereof, if wee stop at the very beginning?

The Academiks. Plato in his Commonweale lib. 10. In his Epinomis. In his Theetetus.

The Academikes therfore, who take vpon them to weare Platoes liuery, mounted vp one step higeher, and considered very well

that

that all our contemplation is but a continuall wrestling, onewhyle against the darknesse of the things, and anotherwhyle against the darknesse of our owne mynd. And as they acknowledged our hurt to proceede of a fall, whereby we brake our wings, which (as Plato interpreteth them) were Morall vertue and contemplation: so conceiued they thereupon, that it were a great good turne for vs to recouer them againe. But whether to bee caried by them? Let vs heare that of Plato. All the things in this world (sayth he) which we cal goods, as Beautie, Riches, Strength, Nobilitie, and such other; are so farre off from being goods in deede, that they be rather corrupters and hinderers of good. Then are they very farre of from beeing the Souerein good of man, or consequently the End whereat he out to stay. Againe, It is vnpossible (sayeth Plato) that men should be happy in this lyfe, doe what they can: that is to be had in another lyfe, where the vertuous shal receiue felicitie for a reward. In vayne then doe wee seeke that here beneath, by our deedes and contemplations, which is not here to be found: and in vayne doe we set our vtmost end heere, where is not the furthest end of our lyfe. But in the end, what is this felicitie? It is (sayth Plato) to be ioyned vnto GOD, and to become lyke vnto him, who is himselfe the highest top, the furthest end, and the vtmost bound of all felicitie. Thus yee see that (by Platoes iudgement) the two things which we seeke, doe meete both togither alonly in God. The end of our life is to be ioyned vnto God. And our Blessednes or felicitie which ought to content vs, which consisteth in the full fruition of all good things, is the possessing of God, who is the very felicitie itselfe. Yet neuertheless, Aristotle seemeth to haue come at length to ỹ same point, in that he sayth, That God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things: and againe, that mans felicitie consisteth in the same thing wherein the felicitie of the Gods consisteth, that is to wit, in perfect contemplation of that which is aboue all moueable things.

Laertius in the life of Plato. Plato in his Phœdon.

Aristotle in his booke of the World: And in his Morals; and in his first booke of the Heauens.

Pythagoras sayde that the ende of this lyfe is Contemplation; that the end of all Contemplation, is God; and that the felicitie of man is to be lifted vp vnto God. Also he taught vs that we be but as Pilgrims in this world, and as folke banished from Gods presence: and what doth the banished man desire more, than to be restored home into his owne Country? And Mercurie sayeth, that our end is to liue in Soule, which in this world is as good as buryed

The Philosophers of old tyme. Pythagoras. Mercurius Trismegistus, otherwise called Hermes.

ryed; That in this world there is not any thing that is worthy to be sayd to bee well or good. It is in another place therefore that man must liue and inioy his welfare, namely (as he sayth) in being become one againe with God. And Zoroastres saith, that we must trauel with al our power towards the brightnes of the father, who is the giuer of our Soule. Also he hath told vs that we be falne away from this brightnesse of light into thicke darknesse, and haue lost Gods fauour by going about to set our selues free from his seruice. But as the world hath taught vs more and more that there is no good in the world: so the later Philosophers haue discoursed yet more largely thereof, than those that went afore. Here therefore wee might rehearse a good part of Seneca and Cicero and others, whose opinion forasmuch as I haue alledged already in the Chapter of the Immortalitie of mans Soule, where it may be knowen wellynough: I will content my selfe for this tyme with a fower or fiue of them.

Zoroastres.

Plutarke.

Surely Plutarke is wonderfull in confuting the beastlynes of the Epicures and the awk opinions of the Stoicks; setting against the Epicures, the pleasure that a good man receyueth in seeing God well serued here on earth, and in hauing hym for his Leader from aboue: and against the Stoiks, the stryfe which man hath ageinst hymself, which all their Philosophy is not able to appease, and therefore he resolueth hymselfe in the end, that as in the misteries of the men of olde tyme, the looking vpon them was the ende why they tooke the orders of them vppon them; so the end of true Philosophie is the Contemplation and beholding of the myndly and immortall nature, that is to say of God the Creator.

οἷον ἐπόπτεια τελετῆς.

Iamblichus.

Iamblichus was surnamed the Diuine: and it is sayd that he was so called, because he spake so Diuinely of this matter. Thus therfore doth he say: Shal we say that to be healthy, to be faire, to be riche, to be honored, to be of a good wit, and such lyke are mans happines? No surely. The strength of man is but a iest, and his honour a mockery. Yea, Man himself and all that he maketh account of, are but a fleeting shadowe. Neuerthelesse, vnto good men, they be good possessions; but vnto wicked men, they be euill and daungerous. What then? shoulde not the possessing of them for euer, and not as in a Dreame that vanisheth away, be the true happines? No: the possessing of them for euer, if it were without vertue, were a very greate mischiefe, and the sooner they were taken from vs, the lesse harme

harme it should be. Nay, the very true meane to atteine to the heauenly felicitie, is praying and calling vpon the Goddes, & cheely vpon the great God which reigneth ouer them all. And therefore he sayth in another place, Whatsoeuer a man doeth or leaueth vndone, ought to be referred to the Godhead, and all this lyfe is ordeyned for nothing els but to followe God; the knowledge of whom is perfect vertue, Wisdome and Blesfulnes, which maketh vs lyke the Goddes, that is to say (after his maner of speaking, like the Angels. Let vs heare yet more of him. The time hath bene (saith he) that man was fast tyed to the beholding of God: but afterward he was made subiect to the body, and tyed to the necessitie of Destinie; & therfore it behoueth him to be well aduised, by what meane he may be rid of it. Now, other knowledge there is none that can deliuer him, but onely the knowledge of God. For the paterne of felicitie, is to knowe the good, and the knowing of good, is the holy gate whereby to come to the maker of all things. Now (sayth hee againe afterward) the care of these inferiour things which maketh vs to forget God, cānot be separated from this transitory lyfe wherein we be: for this body will neuer suffer vs to play the right Philosophers in deed. **It followeth then that this knowledge of God vnder the which he comprehendeth all vertue, all wisedome, and all studie of Philosophie, cannot be atteind vnto nor become perfect in this lyfe, but onely in the life to come.**

The finall end of Man (sayth Plotin) is the pure Good, that is to wit God; and all other things are but appurtenances to that end, and not the end, itself. Whosoeuer possesseth this good, can haue no good taken from him, nor any good put vnto him. For it is not only an vniting vnto God, but almost a being of God himselfe. Now who is he that can take such possession of it in this lyfe? And therefore he addeth, There our mynd beholdeth the fountayne of life, of vnderstanding, of being, the cause of good, and the roote of the Soule. There lyeth our welfare after such a sort, that to be farre from it, is as good as not to be atall. There is the beginning and end of lyfe. The beginning; for from thence doth it proceede; and the end; for there is the welfare whereon it resteth. The welfare, say I; for in atteyning thether, it becommeth agein that which it had bin afore. For as for the being which it hath here, what is it but a downfall, wherby it hath lost hir wings? Here reigneth

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib 4. cap. 15. 16. Plotin. Enn. 6. lib. 9. Cap. 10.

a bace and vile Venus; but there reigneth a heauenly one. Here a loue of the World; there the loue of God. And what a greefe ought it to be vnto vs, to be wedded to the earth? And on the contrary part, how desirous ought we to bee to feele God in all parts aboue? Yea and to be so ioyned vnto him, as one centre is within another, so as both of them may be but as one? Now he is full of such and larger sayings; and alwayes he concludeth blesednes & euerlastingnes follow one another, wherby he excludeth them, both out of this world and out of this lyfe.

Porphyrius in his worke of abstinence. lib. 1. cap. 2.

But for the more speede, let vs come to others. What is the end of Man (saieth Porphyrius)? It is vndoutedly to liue in Mynd. And how is that? By contemplation in this lyfe? No (sayeth he in another place). All Philosophy is but gessing, a lyght beleefe receyued from hand to hand, and which hath nothing therein which may not be called in question. What maner of Contemplation then shal the true one be? Not a heape of words (sayth he) nor a patching together of precepts; but a true vnion of the beholder and the thing that is behild, that is to say of our Mynd and of God.

Porphyrius concerning the Soule, to Byrithius and Anebo the AEgiptian. Simplicius vpon the Naturalles and vpon Epictetus.

Simplicius the Peripatetik, whether he learned it of Epictetus or some where els, speaketh of it thus. The greateft good that is in the knowledge of Nature, is that it is a fayre path to leade men to the knowing of the Soule, of the seperated substāces, and of Gods beeing. Moreouer it inflameth vs to the seruing of God, leading vs by the effectes to the Maiestie of the Creator; wherevpon followeth an onement with God, with assured fayth and hope, which are the things for which philosophy is cheefly to be vsed. And in another place; The beginning (sayth he) and the end of happy lyfe, and the perfection of our Soule, consisteth in being bent and turned vnto God, as well by acknowledging that he gouerneth all things with Iustice, as by consenting to all that he doth, as proceeding from a rightfull iudgement. For so long as our Soule abydeth in him as in the roote, it abydeth in the perfection wherein GOD created it. But if it fall to starting out of him, it becometh withered ānd droopeth, vntill it turne backe and bee vnited againe vnto him. The cause then of our vnhappines, is our seperating of our selues from God; and the cause of our happineſſe is our linking in againe with him; and man seeketh a happineſſe agreea-

ble

ble to his kynd, as all other things doe. The end of man therefore is to turne againe vnto God, that he may become one with him.

Syrian the Scholemaister of Simplicius wryting vppon Aristotle, hath comprehended the matter in one word; we deale with Philosophie (sayth he) for our owne benefite; that is to say, for our owne welfare; which welfare is to be vnyted vnto God. Vpon these words, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἕνεκα.

And Alexander of Aphrodise commeth not farre behind when he sayth, that our souereine felicitie consisteth in deuotion towards God, beyond whom there is not any further reward to be desired. For seeing (sayth he) that the worthiest operation of the Soule is contemplation; & contemplation properly is the knowing of the best things; & none are so good as the things that concerne God: our end and felicitie ought to be the contemplation of things belonging to God. To be short, the best estæmed interpreters of Aristotle, do make him to yéld to this poynt whether he will or nill, as mē ashamed in his behalf, that hauing sought so much for the true end of man, he hath not set it downe more certenly. Alexander in his booke of Prouidence, cyted by Cyrillus.

Now, the Philosophers of old tyme knew in all tymes, not only that those which atteyne to the sayde ende for which Man was created, are happie; but also that those which despise it doe fall into extreme wretchednesse: the one sort receyuing euerlasting felicitie, the other sort being by Gods Iustice condemned to endlesse paine. Also it is an article expressly set downe in the Créedes of al people, as a poynt that is probable to all men at the very first sight, That God is righteous and good; and that euill is accompanied with punishment, and good is accompanyed with reward. As for the Cabalistes of the Iewes, it is no wonder though they haue handled this matter well: for they haue drawne matter out of the fountaines of the holy Scripture. And therefore let vs heare but the Heathen. The ends both of the good & of the bad. In their booke of shame concealed.

Those (sayth Hermes) which haue obteyned the fauour of God, are of mortall become immortall, and conceyne the only Good, which maketh them to fall into a misliking of these inferiour things, that they may indeuer with all their power to returne to him the more speedily. Hermes Trismegistus in his Pœmander.

Orpheus speaking yet more cléerely, bringeth good men into Gods presence, to the seate of felicitie, and to the feast of the righteous, where he maketh them dronken with the perfect and euerlasting contemplation: but as for the wicked he buryeth them in a quamyre, tormenting them with vayne thoughts, & making them Orpheus.

to

Pythagoras. Pindarus Diphilus. Sibylla.

to drawe water into a Siue: that is to say, he assureth the one sort of perfect contentation, and putteth the other sort in extreme dispayre.

Of Pythagoras we haue these verses.

If reason here thou followe for thy guyde,
Then at thy parting hence thou shalt be sure,
In Heauen a God immortall to abyde,
No death thensforth for euer to indure.

And these verses were followed by all Poets, who commonly represented the receiued opinion: among whom Pindarus and Diphilus procéede so farre, as to describe an excellent Garden replenished with all things, & appoynted to be a reward for good men, as if they had heard speaking of the Paradise of the Iewes, or els had read Sibilles verses concerning a certeyne greene Garden which she also calleth Paradise, affirming it to be assigned for an heritage to such as followe the way of God: that is to wit, which take him for their shootanker, with whom they shall haue euerlasting life and light: whereas on the contrary part, the wicked (sayth she) shall lye burning like firebrands and Torches in endlesse paynes.

Also Timeus of Locres hath not forgotten this poynt in his little booke, where he sayth thus. There is a certeyne vengeance both according to the Lawes and according to the Oracles, which maketh vs to feare both heauen and earth. For strange and vnintreatable punishments are prepared for the wicked in hell.

Assor Plato, he taketh so greate pleasure in this matter, that he cannot be drawen from it: and he scarsly passeth any one dialog, wherein he hath not some speeche thereof; meaning doutlesse to do vs to vnderstand, that without that, all Philosophie and all Diuinitie be maymed; and it should seeme that the constancie of Socrates his teacher, had confirmed him not a little therein; in whose defence of himself, which was as it were his last wil, we reade these woords. Death would be greeuous to me, if I were not sure, first that when I am departed hence I shal go to the wise Gods (so did they terme the Angells or Created mynds) and secondly to the men that are deliuered out of this life, who out of dout are in better case than those that are here. And vnto Cratylus ageine he sayeth, when the good man departeth this world, he commeth to great honor and to a greate inheritance; for he becommeth a Demon according to the true signification of

οἱ δὲ θεὸν τιμῶντες, ἀληθινὸν ἀεννάον τε ζωὴν κληρονομουσι τον αἰωνος χρόνον αυτοὶ οἰκοῦντες παράδεισον ὁμῶς ἐριθήλεα κηπον,

That is to say, they that worship the soothfast and euerlasting God, shall inherit lyfe for euer time without end, dwelling in Paradyse alyke euer florishing greene. But of the other sort she sayth thus.

λαμπασιν ἐπιμόνως ῥούμενοι ποινῶν.

That is to say, rosted cōtinually with syrebrāds of peines Socrates in defence of himselfe.

the

the word, that is to say, skilfull and wyse. That then is the perfection of a Philosopher, whose end and profession is to haue knowledge and skill. And in his Theetetus hee sayeth, that with the Gods there is no euill, but euill walketh heere beneath among these transitorie things, and therefore that we must hye vs thither and flee from hence, that is to say, we must become ryghtuous and wyse. For (sayth he) such as shall haue followed the way of folly and wickednes, shalnot be admitted into the restingplace of the blessed sort which are exempted from all euill; but according to their leawd lyfe, they shallbe condemned to dwell for euer with the euill. In his Gorgias he maketh mention of an auncient Lawe vnder Saturne, which he affirmeth to haue bin then still in vse, namely that when good men depart out of this lyfe, they be sent into the fortunate Iles (which Iles Pindarus also descrybeth verie curiously) and the wicked into the Iayle of Vengeance, which he calleth Tartar; vndoutedly betokening these vnknowen places, by places knowen vnto them, which they toke comonly to be eyther most pleasant or most horrible; lyke as the Iewes betokened the Restingplace of the blessed sort by a goodly Gardyne, and Hell by the valley of Onam or Ghehinom, which was an irksome place nere Ierusalem. In his Phedon he bringeth in a certeyne Prophet raysed from the dead, which reporteth that those which are iustified, go on the right hand, pure, and cleane, and are sent vp to Heauen; and that the damned sort go on the left hand, besmeared with filth and mire, wéeping and gnasshing their téethe, and in the end are sent into lowe deepe places. Yea and he descrybeth there the blessed Countrey in such termes, that some men haue taken the peynes to conferre it, with that which is written thereof in the Apocalips. To be short, in his Axiochus he calleth ẏ place of Iudgment the féeld of truth; from whence (saieth he) they which haue followed the inspiration of the good spirit, shalbee sent into a Paradyse or pleasant Gardyn, which he descrybeth there in the delyghtfullest maner that he can deuise, to represent the things which he cannot conceyue, by the things which we see here on earth: and that they which haue bin led by wicked feends, that is to say by the instinct of the deuill, shalbe condemned to darknes and confusion, where he describeth a greate nomber of endlesse torments. Neuertheless he sheweth that these things are not to be takē according to ẏ letter, when he saith in his Comonweale, that neither the punishments nor the rewards of this world are any thing atall eyther for

Plato in his Cratylus.

Plato in his Theetetus.

Plato in his Gorgias.

Plato in his Phœdon, and in his tenth booke of Lawes.

Plato in his Axiochus.

ἐπὶ ἔρεβος ϗ χάος διὰ ταρτάρου.

Plato in his Commonweale.

nomber or for greatnesse, in respect of those which are prepared for eyther sort in the lyfe to come.

Plutarke, concerning the slowe punnishing of the wicked.

Cicero who would needes be as a Plato in Latin, followeth him as it were step by step; and so doth Plutarke also, who counterfetting Plato, bringeth in one Thespesius raysed from the dead, and maketh him to discourse of the lyfe to come. And without calling in Plotine, Porphyrius, Proclus, Hierocles & such others, whome it would be ouerlong to heare, only Iamblichus shall suffice, whose words are these: The good Soule shall dwell with GOD, and walke vp and downe in Heauen, where it shall haue a dwelling place. But the Soule that is defiled with cursed deedes, shalbe sent vnder the Earth, to the iudgements which are there executed vpon Soules. Now what can we demaund more of the Philosophers, than that which they confesse? Namely that the happines and the ende of man, are not in this lyfe but in the other, and that the marke which man should shoote at, is to imploy this in the knowing of GOD, that in the other lyfe he may euerlastingly enioy all good things in him.

So then, let vs conclude both by mans reason and by the authoritie of all Philosophie. That as the body of man relyeth vpon his Soule; so his mortall lyfe relyeth vpon the immortall lyfe that is to come: That the end whereto man was created in this world, is to know and serue God, and to possesse him wholy aboue. Howbeit forasmuch as by our fall wee bee falne from knowledge into ignorance, and therfore although we haue some little glimmering sight of our end which wee ame at, yet wee wote not how to shape our selues to it; And again, by the same fall we be falne from our souereine welfare into a bottomlesse pit of misery, where we creepe so lame as it is not possible for vs to returne ageine to our former state: Let vs see whether God of his mercie, haue not left vs some remnants whereby to get vp ageine, and to bee directed into our right way; and whether hee himselfe also doe not reache vs out his fatherly hand, through the cloudes of darknes wherewith we bee ouerwhelmed, to pull vs backe and to call vs home ageine to him, as very Bastards, Rebelles, and vnworthy Captifes as we be.

The xx. Chapter.

That the true Religion is the way to atteyne to the sayd end, and souereine welfare; and what are the markes of that Religion.

I Haue proued alreadie, That there is but one God the father of Mankynd: That he created the world for mans vse: and that he gouerneth both the World and Man by his prouidence. Hereupon the least man among all will conclude by and by, That sith he is our father, we owe him obedience; sith wee hold all things of him in fee, wee owe him fealtie and homage; sith he prouideth all things for vs, we ought to call vpon him in all our doings and in all our necessities. Also I haue shewed, that Man is of nature immortall: and therefore he must applye himself withall his heart to immortall things. That by sinne he is falne from God and from himselfe: and therefore he must craue forgiuenesse of him, that his wrath may bee appeased: That this offence was a certeyne pride and ouerweening of himselfe; and therefore he must acknowledge his frayltie and wretchednesse, and humble himself before GOD. Now in one word, what is all this to say, but that as there is but one God and one Mankynd; so there ought to be but one Religiõ, that is to say, one ordinarie duetie & seruice of man towards God? For what els are all the exercises of Religion, but appertenances of the Articles which we haue proued; that is to wit, of the creation of the world, and of Gods Prouidence; of the Immortalitie of the Soule, and of Mans fall; and of Mans souereine welfare? In Religion men crouch, men kneele, men haue ordinances to obserue: this is done in token of obedience. Againe, they giue thankes and praise vnto GOD, and they giue him the firstfruites both of their Cattell and of their Corne: that is a signe of acknowledgement that they be but as his Tennants: They call vpon him in their aduersitie, and they aske prosperitie of him in all their doings, be they neuer so small: It is properly a commending of themselues to his prouidence. Also in Religion there is weeping, sorrowing, fasting,

putting

putting on of sackcloth, and besprinkling of themselues with dust. This is in token that wee ought to humble our selues beneath the very earth. Againe, there be Sacrifices both generall and particular; and what are those but protestations that all of vs and euery of vs haue deserued death? In the end of all this, there commeth a promise and a pretence of euerlasting life, to such as discharge their duetie towards God: which is as much to say, as ỳ those Ceremonies and obseruations are not the things that wee must rest vpon, but are meanes to leade vs to our right end, which is to lift vs vp on high. But betwéene these two last Articles, namely betwéene the death which wee protest our selues to haue deserued, and the euerlasting life that is behighted vs to inherit, there is a maruelous wide distance to bee filled vp: and yet notwithstanding eyther it must néedes bee that man is set in the world in vayne, or els that there is a way or a bridge ordeyned for the passing thereof. Therefore Religion, which hath brought vs to the pits brim, must also shewe vs this bridge; that she may vnyte and linke vs againe vnto God, from whom we be gone so farre and so strangely by our fall; and that she may reconcyle vs as bastardly children to our father, and as rebellious Subiects to our Prince: without which reconciliation or (according to the Latin deriuation) Religion, God ceaseth to be our father, and wee to bee his children; and all Religion, how gay and glorious show soeuer it haue, is vtterly vnprofitable and vayne. Now, the end that man should ame at in this life, is to returne vnto God, and it cannot be in vayne: but in vayne it should be, if there be no way to leade man vnto GOD, or rather to bring God vnto man. To the intent therefore that neither GOD be defrauded of his glorie, nor man of his end and felicitie, there must according to my former profes) néedes bee a way, that is to say a meane to reconcyle man vnto God, and to vnite him againe vnto him, that he may bee saued; which way wee will (according to the common spéech) call Religion.

There is but one true Religion.

Now, all the auncient men agree fully, that there ought to be a Religion among all men; as in déede there is not a thing that doth more necessarily followe, than a GOD, a Man, and a Religion; a Father, a Sonne, and an Obedience; a Mayster, a Seruant, and a seruice: a Giuer, a Receyuer, and a reward: or rather a Lender, a Detter, and a Bond. And therfore full well doth one say, The Philosophers ought to haue bin the first Diuines. For, inasmuch as we make towards GOD with two wings, that is to say, with

Marsilius ficinus cõcerning the Christian Religion.

Wit

Wit and Will: Wit can no sooner conceyue that God is our father, but by and by Will inferreth thereupon, Ergo wee ought to obey him and to serue him: yea and it proceedeth yet further, that sith he is our father and we his children, it is for our most behoof to returne vnto him. O Lord (saith Hermes) What thankes shal we yeeld thee? And byandby he answereth, Lord, there is but only one thanke, and that is the acknowledging of thy Maiestie. And agein: The only way to come vnto God, is godlines matched with knowledge, that is to say, to knowe how he wilbe serued, and thereupon to serue him. And Pythagoras was wont to say to the same purpose, forasmuch as wee be nothing without God, it becommeth vs to liue vnto God. Plato commendeth Religion in a thousand places, whereof I will not take past two or three sayings here. It is mans felicitie (saith he) to be like vnto God. As how? By being rightuous and holy. How may that be? By Religion towards GOD, which is the greatest vertue that can be among men. Aristotle (by many mens report) was Religious, and as for Auerrhoes his interpreter, he was vtterly irreligious. Neuertheless see how nature swimmeth ouer vngodlines. Aristotle sayth it is graffed in nature to do sacrifice. And Auerrhoes sayth that we be bound by nature to magnifie God with Prayers and Sacrifices. What is this to say, but that it is natural to man, yea euen in respect of his shape and substance, to haue a Religion? And why? Alexander professeth himselfe to be the interpreter of Aristotle, and therefore hee shall interprete him for vs here. It is (sayth he) becaufe our whole felicitie consisteth in deuotion towards God. For wee looke for none other reward but God himselfe, and him being the very souerein good, we obteyne by seruing him. Now when we heare these words, wee may thinke it was a strong torment of conscience that wrong this trueth out of them. For all men knowe, that chiefly Auerrhoes digeth the eternitie of the world, and the vniuersalitie of one onely Mynd, which yet notwithstanding cannot match with godlynes.

In the last cap. of his Esculapius.

Plato in his Epinomis and in his Theetetus.

Aristotle in his fifth booke of Moralles: and in his first of Heauen.

Auerrhoes vpon that first booke of Heauen.

Alexander of Aphrodyse, concerning the prouidence of God, cyted by Cyrillus.

Epictetus maketh not the like flourishes of Philosophie, but yet he playeth the Philosopher much better in deede. If wee had wit (sayth he) what should we doe but prayse God continually, and sing Psalmes of thankesgiuing vnto him, euen in digging and tilling the ground, and both in iourneying and in resting? As how? Euen saying thus: Great is God which hath giuen vs these tooles to till the earth withall; Great which hath giuen

vs hands to woorke withall; Greate which hath giuen vs too growe euen not woting it, and to breath euen being a sleepe, for these are things that cannot be imputed to our owne cunning. Such (sayth he) ought to be the Songs of euery of vs. And againe: If I were a Nightingale, I should doe as Nightingales doe: but being a reasonable Creature, what shall I doe now? I will euermore prayse God (saith he) without ceasing; and I will exhort you all to do the lyke. And Simplice his interpreter hauing first made many goodly discourses, addeth that hee which is negligent and slothfull in seruing and honoring God, cannot be diligent in any other thing, how needfull so euer the same be. Of all vertues (saith Hierocles) Religion is the guyde, for it concerneth the matters of God, and therfore Pythagoras beginneth his precepts thereat. And the woord which he vseth there for a guyde signifieth a Queene, which one woord importeth very much, namely that al the vertues which we make account of, as Hardines, Wisdome, Iustice, and Temperance, are nothing if they be not referred vnto God, and vsed in respect of him, that is to say, if Religion do not direct and leade them to God the principall end whereto all our doings ought to tend. But what is Religion? It is (sayeth he) the obeying of God, the moother of all vertewes, and the disobeying of all vyces. And our obeying of God must be of such a sorte, that we must rather disobey our parents, yea and lose our lyues to, than disobey him. For our obeying of our parents must be for the loue of God; and it is of his goodnesse that we possesse our lyues. Iamblichus sayeth thus. Let vs begin at the best and most precious; namely the obseruing of Religion, which is the seruing of God. And in another place. Thou surmisest (saith he) that there is some other way than Godlynes to atteyne to felicitie, and thou askest of me what that way may be. But surely (say I) if the very substance and original power of al goodnes and welfare be in the Gods: onely those are happy which consecrate and vnyte themselues to God after our example. For in that state are both contemplation and knowledge accomplished; and besides the knowledge of the Goddes, there is also the knowledge of ourselues, which is gotten by casting backe our vnderstanding towards ourselues. To be short, Proclus as wel vpon his owne iudgment as vppon the opinions of Plato, Iamblichus, Porphyrius, Plotin and others, saieth that Religion and the calling

Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

Hierocles in his first chapter against Atheists.

Hierocles. cap. 5.19.11.

Iamblichus in his 45. Chapter of Mysteries,

Proclus in his booke of praying.

calling vpon God are proper and peculiar to man after the fourth maner as Aristotle termeth it; that is to say, a naturall propertie which agreeth fitly to the whole kind of man, and only to man, and without the which he cannot bee a man. Now I am not ignorant that they speake sometimes of the seruing of the Gods in the pluralll number, as though there were mo Gods then one; insomuch that some of the Philosophers turned aside to arte magike, and all of them yeelded to the Idolatries & Superstitions of their tymes. For in deede, to knowe that God ought to bee serued, and to knowe after what sort he wilbe serued, and to serue him thereafter, are things farre differing. But it is inough for this tyme that we win thus much at their hands, that of necessitie there is a Religion; which thing euen the Nauigations of our tyme doe shewe to be imprinted in all the Clymates of the world, and in all kinds of men; as which haue discouered Nations that wander in Woods, without Law, without Magistrate, without King, but none without some kynd of seruing of God, none without some shadowe of Religion.

That there is but one true Religion.

Herby then we know that there is a Religion, that is to say, a way to Saluation, or a way whereby to come home againe vnto God. But are there many wayes, or but onely one? It is a high question, but yet easie to be decyded, if we consider what Religion requireth of vs, and what it is to get for vs. Religion (as the men of olde time themselues haue taught vs) requireth of vs in effect, that we should yéld full obedience vnto God: ful obediẽce say I, so as we should dedicate our selues to his glorie, both our thoughts, words and deedes, in such sort that our selues and all that euer is in vs should bee referred to his honour. If Religion require this, how can it be any other then one? Or what diuersitie can it admit? And if any require lesse of vs, cõtented peraduenture with the outward man, (which is all one as if they would rob God of one halfe of a Man;) what is their dooing but Hipocrisie or high treason against God? But now ageine, séeing that Religion byndeth vs in so great a bond, euen by nature, that there is not any man which is not inforced to confesse the dette so witnessed by the whole world: surely there is no man that féeleth himselfe able to pay it, or which doth not willingly pleade giltie, yea and which is not inforced to say, that the most part of his thoughts, words and deedes, are not only farre of from God, but also tending directly to offend GOD. Now then, if Religion offer vs not as well a meane whereby to

discharge and cancell the bond, as it offereth vs the bond it selfe: It is so farre of from being the way to welfare which it ought to bee, that it is rather a definitiue sentence of death, and an expresse condemning of vs. Therfore let vs see whether there be many wayes of satisfaction, or but onely one.

What shall the deuoutest man in the world offer vnto God for his owne discharge? Shall hee offer his first fruites? God gaue him both the seede and the whole crop. Sacrifices? The Wood, the Fyre, and the Cattell, are all of Gods gift. The whole world, if a man had it? Hee hath lost the inheritance and the right thereof in seeking to infranchise himself from the seruice of God. May (which more is) God not onely gaue the world vnto man, but also man to man himself. The world then and all that euer is therein, cannot discharge man against God. What may man himself doe? Surely an acceptable Sacrifice should man be to GOD (as Hierocles saith) if he were such a one as he ought to be. But what should the best of all men offer vp in sacrificing himself? Soothly nothing but enuy, hatred, rayling, backebyting, vaine thoughts, vntrue words, wrongfull dealing, and (to go yet further) faynt thanks, with cold and counterfet prayers. Now these are so farre of from amounting to a discharge, that they turne to a huge heape of worse and more vndischargeable bonds, according to the infiniteneſſe of the Maiestie of the Creator that is offended by them. Now then, if neither ỹ world nor man can dischardge man against God; what remayneth to doe it, but God himselfe, whom Religion must offer to man for his discharge; euen God mercifull, to God iust; God a paymaster, to God the creator: Verily, that hauing shewed vs how deeply wee be indetted to GOD; it may also teach vs the woonderfull meane ordeyned by God and in God, wherby he and his souereine Iustice may be satisfied, and our extreme iniquitie be therewith relieued? Now the dette of vs all is all of one sort and nature; namely that we owe our selues all wholy vnto God; and our vnabilitie to discharge it is also all alyke; namely that all that euer commeth of our selues can deserue nothing but death vpon death. Our common bond (say I) entred into of vs all by Gods benefites towards the first man, is by his disobedience become forfeted, both in respect of himselfe and of all mankind. Besides this, the creditor and the payer are both one, and cannot be but both one. For it is onely God that both doth and can satisfie himself. It followeth then, that the true Religion can be but one; namely euen that only one which

sheweth vs the onely one meane of saluation: and that all other Religions, if they abate any whit of mans debt vnto God, are traiterous to his maiestie; and if they set not downe a sufficient meane of discharge, they be but vayne and vnauayliable ceremonies: and so as well the one sort as the other, vtterly vnworthy of the name of Religion. Furthermore, if there be diuers true Religions, I meane diuers, as in respect of the substance of them, whereof riseth that diuersitie? Of the thing which they poynt at? Nay, in God (whom Religion loketh at) there is such vnitie, that all other maner of vnitie is diuersitie in respect of that. And then if it bee so that one Religion relye vpon one God, and another vpon another, we be sure that there is but one God, and that all other Gods are either Creatures or Vanities, insomuch that (as Proclus himselfe saith) mo Gods and no God differ nothing atall. And so what shal those other Religions be, but either Idolatrie or Atheisme, that is to say, vtter Godlesnes? Whereof then? Of their ground? Nay, Man which is the ground whereon Religion worketh, is but one kind of thing. Also as the disease being in all men commeth of one roote, so is it of one selfsame nature. Likewise the remedie thereof (as I haue sayd already) is but only one. Now where the ground is all one, the disease all one, and the remedie all one too: who will euer say that there should bee diuersitie of Artes in the handling or ministring of them? If a man bee too humble himselfe, I would fayne haue them to tell me, what other way there is than to know himselfe: what other way to knowe himselfe, than to behold himselfe: what other way to behold himselfe, then to loke into a faire cleare glasse? And what clearer glasse is there, than the Lawe of God, and the perfect obedience which GOD requireth at mans hand? And seeing that this lawe, and the perfect obedience required by the same, can be but one, How may Religion be diuided into mo than one? Ageine, if man be to be lifted vp vnto God, what other way is there than to make him knowe God as his Creator, that he may honor him; as his gouernour, that he may call vppon him; as his father, that he may obey him; and altogither iust, that hee may seeke to appease his wrath? Which thing sith hee cannot doe of himselfe, what shift hath he but to haue recourse to the remedie? And seeing that the remedie can bee but onely one; doth it not follow that saluation lyeth in that onely Religion which sheweth it vnto vs, and that to haue any mo Religions, is but confusion and vanitie? And to speake properly, what is Religion? An arte or

skil(if I may so terme it)how to saue men. And wherein consisteth this arte? First in shewing men their disease; secondly in shewing them that it is deadly; and finally in teaching the fit and conuenient remedie. In deede the very Law of Nature leadeth vs well to the first poynt. For who is hee which euen of Nature acculeth not himselfe, and whose conscience nippeth him not when hee hath sinned? Reason also leadeth vs to the second poynt. For who is hee that concludeth not with himselfe, that the Creature which offendeth his creator deserueth to be rooted out, that is to say, that sinne ingendreth death? And thus farre may all Religions come, and all Ceremonies ordeyned by man, as Prayers, Sacrifices, Washings, Cleansings, & such others. But what is all this but a bringing of vs to Hellgate, or rather a shewing of Paradise vnto vs a farre of, howbeit with such a horrible and infinite gulfe betwixt vs and it, as man and all the whole world can neither fill vp nor passe ouer? Yet must there néedes be a passage; For the end of Man is to be vnited vnto God, and this end is not in vaine; the meane to be vnited aboue, is to be reconcyled here beneath; and the meane to be reconcyled here beneath, is(as I haue sayd alreadie)but onely one, which is, that God himselfe acquit vs without our discharging of the debt which wee owe vnto him. Onely that Religion then(and none other)which leadeth vs streight to the said passage, and by the following whereof we find it, is the true Religion, as that which allonly atteineth to the ende of Religion, which is the sauing of man. May not men(will some say)worship God diuersly, some lifting vp their eyes to heauen, and othersome casting their faces downe to the ground? Yes, for the worshipping is but one, and the humbling of mens selues is but one still, though there bee difference in the signes. But our disputing here is not of the Ceremonies, but of the substance of them. Also may not men offer Sacrifice diuersly? Yes. But if thy Sacrifices haue no further ende then the sheading of the blud of a beast; then (as sayth Hierocles) they be to the Fyre but a feeding thereof with fewell and vapors; and to the Préestes, a superfluous maintenance of butcherie. It is requisite therefore that sacrifices should bee referred to somewhat; namely that by them thou shouldest protest, that whereas the sillie innocent beastes do suffer death, it is thou thy selfe that hast deserued it both in body and Soule. Againe, if thou haue nothing els in thy Religion, but Sacrifices and prayers; how goodly a showe soeuer they make, thou hast nothing but a confession of thy fault, and a sen-

a sentence of death against thee for the same. For if those Ceremonies aime not at a certein marke, they be trifling toyes; and if that be the end whereat they aime; then come they short, as which doe but leade thee vnto death, and there leaue thee.

There are some that would beare vs on hand, that Religion is but an obseruation of certeyne Ceremonies in euery Countrie; by which reason, that which is holy here, should be vnholy in another place; and that which is godly in one Land, should be vngodly in another. To be short, they make it lyke the Lawes that depend vpon Custome, which passe no further than the bounds of the place where they be vsed. If Religion be nothing else but so; what science, art, or trade is more vayne than that? Or rather what is to be sayd of it, but that in deede it is no Religion at all? Leachecraft is vncerteine in many respects, as of aire, of water, of age, and of clymate: but yet, ỳ which is Leachecraft in one Countrie, is not manquelling in another. Lawecraft hath almost as many sundry Lawes as cases, and the cases that are in the world are infinite. Yet notwithstanding who seeth not that all these diuersities of cases are brought vnder one vprightnes and reason? and that they which yeeld not thereunto, are not reputed for men, but rather, for enemies of mankynd and wyld beasts? Also vertue hath the affections to worke vpon, a ground more mouable than the Sea and the wind. And yet who will say, that that which is hardines betweene the two Tropiks is Cowardlines in all other Countryes; or that ỳ which is stayednesse in one half of the world, is vnstayednesse in the other half? To be short, what thing is more subiect to rising and falling, or to be cryed downe or inhaunced, than coyne of siluer and gold, as which seemeth to followe the willes of princes? And yet notwithstanding, for all their ordinances and proclamations, both gold and siluer do alwayes keepe a certeine rate and valew. What shall we say then to Religion, which hath a firmer and substantialler ground than all these; I meane not mennes bodies, goods, affections, or fantasies; but the very soule and mynd of man, who also hath such a rest to stay vpon, as is settled, vnmouable, and the Lord of all Chaunges, that is to wit, God? How much more wysely doth our Pythagorist Hierocles teache vs, that Religion is the gouernesse of all vertewes, and that all vertewes tend to her as to their certeine end, as who would say, they be no vertewes if they swarue from her; insomuch that hardynesse being referred to any other than godlynesse, becommeth rashnesse; wisedome becommeth wylynes;

An obiection.

lynes; and Iustice becommeth Iuggling; and at a woord, all vertue is but maskyng and hipocrisie: If Religion be the end of all vertewes, must it not needs be fixed and vnmouable: Or if it be mouable, what is there then that is iust, good, or vertuous: And if the case stand so; what thyng in the woorld is more vnauaylable than man, or to speake more ryghtly, what thyng is to lesse purpose in man, than his mynd: But there is vertue, and the wickeddest man that is, will auow it. Therefore there is also a certeine Religion, which maketh it to be vertue, and whereunto vertue referreth itself; and the vngodlyest man that is cannot scape from it.

Let vs looke yet further into the absurdities of this opinion. Who can denie but that among the diuersities of Religions, there were many sorts of wickednes and vngodlynes openly executed; some woorshipping the creatures in Heauen yea and on earth, as the Egiptians did in old time, and as the Tartarians do at this day; some offering vp men in Sacrifice, as the Carthaginenses did in old tyme and as the Westerne Iles do yet at this day: and othersome permitting things not only contrarie to all Lawes, but also euen horrible and lothsome to nature: If all this be good; I pray you what good is there, or rather what euill is there in the woorld: But if it be euill in itself; who can deny but that there were wicked and vngodly Religions in the woorld, (I vse the woord Religion after the comon maner) and that a man had neede of a Rule whereby to discerne the good Religion from the bad: And in verie deede it is so rooted in nature to beleeue that there is but one Religion to be had, as well as to beleeue that there is but one God; that (as we may daily see) a man will rather indure the change of a temperate aire into an extreme whot or into an extreme cold; of freedom into bondage; and of Iustice into Tyrannye, than any alteration atall (though neuer so little) in the case of Religion: verily as who would say, it were not so naturall for a man too loue his native Countrie, to be free, and to be at his easie; as to haue some one certeine Religion to guyde him to saluation.

Now my meaning hath bin to say forth this trueth after the mo sorts, of purpose to take away the doubts, and to auoyde the krinks inuented anew by certeine Libertines. But forasmuch as there are many Ceremonies which disguise them selues in the attire of Religion to deceyue vs: it is more needfull for vs to haue sure and infallible marks, whereby to discerne the true Religion. First of all therefore let vs lay this foundation which I haue layd and settled already

The first mark of the true Religion.

alreadie heretofore, namely that Religion is the right Rule of seruing God, and of reconcyling and reuniting man ageín vnto God, that he may be saued. Now mans Saluation is nothing els but his felicitie, happynes, soueryne good, or welfare: and his welfare (as I haue declared afore) is to be knit vnto God. For neither the world, nor any creature in the World can make man happye, but only he that made man. And it is a cleare case that wee ought to serue him heere beneath, who is to make vs happie aboue, and none other but him. All Religion therefore, (how goodly a showe so euer it haue to the eye,) which turneth away from seruing God to seruing the Creature, is but Idolatrie and vngodlynes vnto vs. Also all Religion which causeth vs to seeke our welfare anywhere els, than only in him that is the maker of all welfare; wilbe vnto vs not only vanitie and a thrusting of vs out of the way; but also a murthering of ourselues, and a casting of vs headlong into all wretchednes. They may well haue in them an offering of first fruits, of thanksgiuings, and of other seruices: but all these are but iniuries and blasphemies ageínst God, if wee think ourselues beholden too any creature for the things which we neither haue nor can haue of any but the Creator. Also they may well haue prayers, and sacrifices, but those prayers shalbe both vayne and vngodly, being made to him that cannot here them, and which impute the gouernment of the world vnto Creatures, or to such as see them not, or can scarsly see the things that are afore them. And affor their Sacrifices, they shalbe but smokie sauours, yea ful of crafterous trecherie to God, in that they confesse their lyues before dead things and make amends to Creatures for the offences which they haue committed ageínst the Creator. Now therefore let the first marke of the true Religion which we seeke, be this; that it direct vs & all our Churchseruices vnto the true God the maker of Heauen and earth, the only searcher of mens hearts, which are the things wherewith he wil cheefely be serued; that it may distinguish it from all Idolatries, which seeke vnto wood, to stone, to the Sunne, to the Moone, to Men, to Angells, and to all the Creatures that are in Heauen and in earth. And it is not needfull to heape vp here greate nombers of proofs, or to repeate ageín the things that haue bin discourſed in the second and third chapters of this woorke. For sith there is but one God, and but one Religion; there is not also any thing more agreeable to nature, than to referre the same wholly to the creator. And in verie deede Plotin, Porphyrius, Proclus, Iamblichus and

such others; which worshipped the Angels or good spirits as they thought; sayd that their so doing (wherein neuertheleſſe they were more vnexcusable) was to atteyne by degrees to the highest God.

The second marke of true Religion.

But will this sayd marke alone suffice vs? No: wee must not only serue GOD, but we must also serue him aright. Now then, what is the Rule of this seruice, or who is he that can set it downe in writing? That we may serue him aright, it behoueth vs to know him aright: and which of vs can vaunt of that? How many bee there which after long studie, can but so much as tell vs what it is not? And what followeth then, but that lyke as the wisdome of the world, cannot without the ouerthrowe of it selfe, atteyne any further concerning God, than to say what hee is not: so the same wisdome may well atteine so farre as to discerne what seruing of God is false; but it can no more set downe and poynt out the true seruice, than it can atteyne to the knowledge of the Godhead. The Country cloyne shalbe skorned for his labour, if he take vpon him to appoynt how his Prince is to be serued; and yet is he a man as well as the Prince, differing from the Prince in state and calling, but not atall in nature and kind. What is to be sayd then of Man, who is but a worme, yea and lesse than a worme in respect of the euerlasting God; if hee will needes shape him & serue him after his owne fancie? The Philosopher will say that GOD ought to bee serued. And if he be a Diuine, he will passe somewhat further, and say, that he is not serued with vapors and smoakes, nor with the sheading of blud. But which of them hath euer sayd, God is a spirit and serued in spirit? And if any of them haue come any thing neere it; how wyde hath he wandered away ageine when he came to the particular poynting out of that seruice? Of a trueth, what are all the worshippings of God which man hath ordeyned of his owne head, but childish imaginations, not onely vnbeseeming the Maiestie of God, but also inferiour to the discretion of a man: as Gamings, Showes, Stageplayes, Ronnings of Horses, Iusts, a thousand sorts of Combats, Swordplayings, Wrestlings, Buffetings and such other? And what doth all this betoken, but that man mounteth not aboue man; and that when he thinketh himself to flye his lightest pitch, he scarce heaueth himselfe vpright vppon his feete, but neuer riseth aboue the earth? For what man is hee which calling his witts about him, and loking aduisedly vnto him selfe, could find in his heart to bee honored and serued after that maner? Surely then let vs say, that looke how farre God voutsafely

feth to stoope vnto vs, so farre be we able to mount vp vnto him: for his comming downe, is our mounting vp. For if we cannot see the Sonne but by helpe of the Sonne, how wellsighted so euer we be: much lesse can God be seene or knowen of vs, without the help and light of God himselfe. To be short, we cannot serue God except we knowe him nor knowe him except he voutsafe to discouer himselfe to vs, and therefore wee can not knowe how to serue and worship him, furtherforth then he listeth to shewe it vnto vs by his word. And yet for the discouering of himself vnto vs, he needeth neither to drawe vs vp to his brightnes, nor to come downe to vs in his majestie. For our myndes could no more abyde it than our eyes can away with the beholding of the Sonne: but hee must be fayne too stoope to our small abilitie, by telling vs what seruice he requireth at our hands, not according to his spirituall nature which we cannot possibly comprehend, but as it were through a glasse or a scarf, according to ỹ fleshly nature which we beare about with vs. Thus haue we found our second marke of Religion; namely that the seruice of God which Religion is to teach vs, must be grounded vpon his word, and reuealed vnto vs by his owne selfe.

Let vs heare what the heathen say in this case, who knewe very well that all the Ladders of their Philosophie were too short to reache thereunto, and that it behoued men to be inlightened and instructed from aboue. Diuinitie (saith Plato) cannot be laydforth after the maner of other kinds of seruing, but hath neede of continuall mynding. And then our wit is foorthwith kindled as with a fyre, which afterward gathereth light more & more, and mayntaineth it selfe. Finally (sayth he) we know nothing of Gods matters by our owne skill. If he which of all the auncient Philosophers saw most cleere, confesse here that his sight faileth very much if it be not ayded from aboue: what may we deeme of others? And in good soth, in matters of Religion he sendeth vs euermore to the auncient Oracles, that is to say (according to his meaning) to Gods word. Aristotle in his Supernaturals rehearseth and commendeth a certeyne answere of Simonides too Hieron Kyng o Sicilie; which is, that it belongeth to none but onely God, to haue skill of the things that are aboue nature; and howe much lesse then to be skilfull in Diuinitie, and to dispose of Religion, that is to say to shewe the meane how to ouercome and surmount nature? And whereas Cicero in his Lawes sayeth, that there is not any lawe among men wherto men are bound to obey, vnlesse

Plato in his second Epistle: and in his Parmenides.

Aristotle in his Supernaturals.

Cicero in his first booke of Lawes.

vnlesse it be ordeined by GOD, and deliuered as it were with his owne mouth: if he had bene well examined, he would haue sayde no lesse concerning Religion. It is certaine (saith Iamblicus) that we be bound to do the things that please God. But which are those? Surely (sayth he) they be not possible to be knowen of any man, but of him that hath heard God himselfe speake, or which haue learned them by some heauenly instruction. And Alpharabius the Arabian agreeth thereunto in these words. The things that concerne GOD, and are to be beleeued through holy sayth, are of a higher degree than all other things, because they proceede from diuine inspiration, and mans wit is too weake, and his reason too short too attayne to them. And therefore we reade that as they which haue ordeined and stablished any Religion in any Nation, haue giuen it foorth as proceeding from God; verily because nature taught them, that it belongeth to none but to God alone, to appoynt how hee shalbe serued; neither would the ordinance therof otherwise be obserued, because the parties that were to obey it, would make as great account of thēselues as of the partie that should inioyne it. Thus by the definitiue sentence of the Philosophers, our second marke standeth firme, which will serue vs to discerne the true Religion from the inuentions of men, so as we may well refuse for vntrueth, whatsoeuer is not grounded vpon Gods word. But in following our former purpose, let vs consider yet further whether this will suffice or no.

Iamblichus.

Alpharabius in his booke of Sciences.

The third marke of true Religion.

We haue néede of a Lawe that procéedeth from Gods mouth: and what may that I pray you be, but the same which proceedeth from holynesse it self, namely that we should be holy as he is holy? And if we cannot of our selues know God, nor how he ought to be serued; alas how shall we performe it when he hath declared it vnto vs? The ende of Religion (sayeth Plato) is to knit man vnto God. The way to bring this to passe, is to become righteous and holy, or (as saith Iamblichus) to offer vnto GOD a cleane mynd voyd of all naughtines and cléere from all spot. What man (as euen they themselues confesse) could euer vaunt therof? And what els then is Religion to all of vs, but a booke wherein we reade the sentence of our death, that is to wit our very death in deede, vnlesse that in the ende wee find some grace or forgiuenesse of our sinnes? Yet notwithstanding Religion is the Pathway to life, yea euen to eternall life; a Pathway that hath a certeyne ende, and which beguyleth vs not. Therefore it must by some meanes or other fill vs

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by the great gulfe that is betweene endlesse death, and endlesse life, and betweene the dwellingplace of blessednes, and the horriblenes of Hell. And therefore let our third marke be, That Religion must put into our hands, a meane to satisfie Gods Justice, without the which, not onely all other Religions, but also euen that which conteineth the true serving of the true GOD were vtterly vayne and vnprofitable. Now, mans reason hath well perceiued that some such meane was needefull in Religion: but to knowe what that meane is, was to high a thing for mans reason to atteyne vntoo. In respect whereof the Platonists busied themselues very much in finding out some meane to cleanse men from their sinnes, and too knit them vnto God beeing reconciled to his fauour, and they set downe certeine degrees wherby to atteine therunto. But yet in the end they confesse all their washings and clensings to be vtterly vnsufficient. There are which say it is to bee done by abstinence, by vertuous behauiour, by skill, or by Iupiters mysteries; and some say it is to be done by al of them successiuely one after another. But yet when they haue bestirred themselues on all sides, Porphyrius conclusion is, That they be Ceremonies without effect, and yet notwithstanding that there must of necessitie needes be a meane to purge and iustifie men, and that the same must bee vniuersall, and that it is not possible (admitting Gods prouidence as we ought to doe) that God should leaue mankind destitute of that meane. And that this remedie ought to be conteyned in Religion, hee sheweth sufficiently in that hee seeketh it in taking the Orders, and in the Consecrations, hallowings and other misteries of his owne Religion, which in the end he letteth go againe. But yet more apparantly doth Hierocles shewe it, who sayth that Religion is a studie of Wisedome that consisteth in clensing and perfecting the life, that men may be at one with God, and become like vnto him: and that to atteyne to that cleanesse, the meane is to enter into a mans owne conscience, and to consider of his sinne, and to confesse it vnto God. Thus farre he is very well. Neuertheless, here they stoppe ouershort euerychone of them: for vppon confession insueth but death, vnlesse God (who is the very Justice it selfe, and more infinitely contrary to euill than we can imagine,) be appeased and satisfied for our offences, whereas in Religion we seeke for very life. To bee short, of the great nomber of Religions which are in the Worlde, some haue no certeine restingpoint atall; as we reade of some people of Affrik, which worship that thing which they meete

Hierocles in his 14. and 24. Chapters, and in his preface.

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first in the morning; and that is but a vaine Ceremonie: Some haue a resting poynt, howbeit an euill one; as for example, all they that direct vs to the creatures; and those are nothing els but Idolatries. Some doe set vnto themselues a good end, in that they aime at the Creator; but they will needes worship him after their owne fancie; and that is a swarming aside to superstition, or rather (which worse is) a seruing of their owne fancie, and not of GOD. And among the residue; there is one which hath an eye to the Creator and honoureth his Lawe, and that is the Religion of the Iewes. This againe is a way that leaueth vs in the middes of our way, leading vs into the wood, but not leading vs out againe. But the true Religion in deede and which deserueth the name of Religion, is only that which hath God for hir shoteanker, his word for warrant of hir worshipping, and a meane appoynted by him to pacifie hym withal; and in that onely and in none other resteth any Saluation.

An obiection. Some tell vs that Religion is nothing els but charitie; that is to say, the performing of a mannes duetie towards his neighbour: and those men would tell vs if they durst, that Religion is but an instrument of ciuil gouernment. But when they haue inlarged the commendations of charitie as farre as they can, what can they (at a word) say more than we say thereof, namely, that Charitie is of such force and weight, that Religion can by no meanes stand without it: Neuertheless, to speake properly thereof, Charitie is not the marke whereby to discerne the true Religion, but rather to discerne who is rightly Religious. To the intent a man may bee happye, he must returne vnto God; therefore he must needs serue him. That is the badge of Religion. But the godly or Religious man vttereth his Religion, (that is to say, that God hath touched him truely in his hart,) in that he performeth all the dewties of vnfeyned freendship and godly affection towards his neybor who is the Image of God. Charitie therefore is nothing els but a rebounding of godlynes or of the loue of God, backe vnto our neybour, or a reflexion or sigh vpon this Image. Also that a man may be happye, he must be linked vnto God; and that he may be linked vnto God, he must be reconciled into his fauor. Now this charitie which they speake of, is but a linking of Man vnto Man. It is not that which maketh a man happie, neither doth the fault which hath destroyed vs all, consist in want of charitie, (I meane that Charitie which they pretend); but in rebelling against God. Therefore it

booteth vs not to be at one with our neybour, except we be at one with God. Neuertheleſſe it is a good ſigne that our hart is feruent in the loue of God, as the child is in ꝑ loue of his father, when being vnable as yet to vnite our ſelues vnto him, we link our ſelues in one body and one mind to al thoſe which beare his Image. To be ſhort, the true marke of fire is not heate; for there are other things which are whot as well as fire: but it is a vertew that is ſo linked vnto it, that as ſone as ye heare of fire, it followeth immediatly that there is heate alſo, but not contrary wiſe. Lykewiſe Charitie is not the true religion itſelf, but a vertue which accompanieth it ſo of neceſſitie, that a man can no ſoner ſay there is Religion in this man or that man; but that it muſt needs followe incontinently, that there is charitie in him alſo. And what maner of charitie? Soothly not ſuch as they take it to be which refreyne from miſdeeling for feare of mannes Lawe; for that is but hipocriſie: nor a deſire of credit that we may haue the better ſpede in our affayres; for that is but a chaffaring. Nor a deſire of honor whereby wee be ſpurred to do wel; for that is but a ſelf loue. But it is a certeine feare and loue of God, which maketh vs to cheriſh and loue all thoſe for Gods ſake, which are of him and hold of him. Now what man is he that dareth vaunt of this perfect charitie, ꝑ he loueth his neyghbor as he ought, and in ſuch reſpect as he ought, that is to ſay as himſelf, and for the loue of God? For how can we haue this charitie, if Religion go not afore? And if our loue towards God be ſo ſhort and feble (as I ſayd afore); what rebounding backe thereof will there be vppon our neyghbour.

Now therefore let vs conclude, That as man hath but one end, namely of returning vnto God; ſo there is but one ryght path to leade him thether, and that is Religion. And that as there is but one God; ſo there can be but one true Religion, that is to ſay, one way that leadeth to ſaluation; which Religion hath theſe three vnfallible marks whereby to diſcerne it; namely that it woorſhip the true GOD; that it worſhip him according to his word; and that it reconcyle to God the man that followeth it. And now let vs conſequently ſee which of al the Religions in the world it is, that alonly is to be diſcerned by theſe marks.

The xxi. Chapter.

That the true God was worshipped in *Israell*: which is the first marke of the true Religion.

THe first marke of ỳ true Religion, without the which it cannot rightly beare the name of Religion, is the seruing of the true God. And the true God (as I haue said before) is the same ỳ created heauen & earth and all things in them; which gouerneth them by his wisedom; which maintaineth them by his goodnes; which weeldeth them according to his wil, and directeth them according to his glorie. By this so notable a marke wee cannot fayle to decipher the true God from the false Gods, and by the selfesame meane to discerne the true Religion which beareth our first marke, from all other Religions how peinted and disguysed so euer it is possible for them to be. This God which hath done those things can bee but one. For seeing he created all things, all the things which wee see heere beneath are but creatures. Now then, whatsoeuer Religion pointeth vs to any mo Gods then one, we ought to abhorre it euen at the very first approche. Again, the same God is also infinite and incomprehensible. For the worke cannot conceyue the workmaister, but contrariwise the workemaister conceyueth the worke. Whatsoeuer worke therefore is made to counterfet him or to resemble him, or to shewe him vnto vs, can be nothing els but Idolatrie and Superstition, inuented by the Diuell or by man.

Now let vs come neerer to the rabble of Religions; and wee shall see there throngs of hudred thousand Gods distinguished by straunge fantasticall deuyces of men, of women, of beastes and of monsters. Yet shall wee not see there any whit of that which wee seeke for. But there is one Religion to be seene among all the rest, which for all the rest, beareth this marke graued in her forehead, In the beginning GOD created the Heauen and Earth: and soundeth out this speech alowd euerywhere, The Lord our God is but one God; and in the middes of all the rout that barketh and byteth at her on all sides, cryeth out corragiously, All your Godds

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are but error and vanitie. Therefore without staying vppon the others, which are not worthie so much as to be loked on, wee will procede to that onely one Religion which alonly in truth professeth the true way, and the knowledge of the place whereunto wee would come. Now, to shewe the way, the end whereto it leadeth must be knowen: and the end which all of vs tend vnto, is a happy lyfe. And to leade a happy lyfe, is to liue in God who is the very happinesse it self. And the same God (as I haue made the heathenmen themselues to confesse) is but one. The Religions therefore which were not the liuery of that, but of many, cannot bring vs to the happynes which we seeke: for it is but one, and to be had at the hand of that one. Which then is the one Religion that shall leade vs to the one God? Shall we seeke for it among the Assyrians? They worshipped as many Gods as they had Townes. Among the Persians? They had as many Gods, as there be Starres in the Skye and Fyres on Earth. Among the Greekes? They had as many Gods as they had fancies: Among the Ægiptians? They had as many Goddes as they sowed or planted Fruites, or as the Earth brought forth fruites of it selfe. To be short, the Romanes in conquering the worlde, got to themselues all the vanities in the Worlde, and they wanted no wit to deuyse others of their owne brayne. What shall it auayle vs to aske the way of these blynd Soules, which go groping by the Walles sydes, and haue not so much as a Child or a Dog to leade them as some blynd folk haue, but catch hold vnaduisedly of euery thing that comes in their way? But yet among these great Nations, we spye a little Nation called the people of Israel, which worshippeth the maker of al things, acknowledging him for their Father, calling vpon him alone in all their nedes, as (for al the small account that others made of them) abhorring all the glistering glorioulnes of the greate kingdomes that were out of the way. It is in the Religion of this people and not elsewhere, that that we shall find our sayd former marke. And therefore we must seeke it onely there, and leaue the damnable footsteppes of the rest, as being assured that wee may more safely followe one man that is cleereslighted, than a thousand that are blind. For what greater blindnes of mynd can be, than to take the Creature for the Creator, a thing of nothing for ỹ thing that is infinite?

Now, that the people of Israell worshipped the true GOD in such sort as I haue described him; the continuance of their whole Hystorie sheweth well ynough. All men knowe in what reuerence the

the Byble hath bin had in all times among the Hebrewes. And if any man doubt whether it be Gods woꝛd oꝛ no; that is a queſtion to be decyded otherwiſe. But yet foꝛ all that, it is out of all doubt, that the Hebrewes themſelues tooke it to be ſo, and that wee cannot better iudge of their Beléef and Religion, than by the Scriptures, foꝛ the which they haue willingly ſuffered death. And what els doe thoſe Scriptures pꝛeach from the firſt woꝛd of them to the laſt, than the onely one God the maker of Heauen and of Earth? As ſoone as you doe but open the Byble, byandby ye ſée there, In the beginning God created the Heauen and the Earth. At the very firſt ſtep in at the gate of that booke, it excludeth al the Godds made oꝛ deuiſed by man frō that people, to the intent to kéepe them wholy to the true God that created man. Open the booke furtherforth at all aduenture wherſoeuer you lift, and frō lyne to lyne you ſhall méete with nothing but the pꝛayſes of that God, oꝛ pꝛotéſtations and thunderings againſt the ſtrange Gods. God made man excellent, who foꝛ his diſobedience is become ſubiect to coꝛruption. Who could puniſh and impꝛiſon ſuch a ſubſtance, but he that made it? He founded the woꝛld and peopled it, which afterward was ouerwhelmed by the flud, and who could let the waters looſe, but he that held them at commaundement? The people of Iſraell found dꝛye paſſage thꝛough the Red Sea; and who pꝛepared them that way, but hee that founded the Earth vppon the déepes? Alſo the Sunne ſtode ſtill and went backe at the ſpeaking of a woꝛde; and of whoſe woꝛd? but of his whoſe woꝛd is a deede? I diſpute not heere as yet, whether theſe things bee true oꝛ no; but I ſay onely that the Hebrewes beléeued them, yea and that they beléeued them in all ages; and that they woꝛſhipped him whom they beléeued to be the doer of thoſe things; who certeſſe cannot be any other, than the ſame of whom the firſt lyne of the booke ſayeth, That he made
Iob. 38. the Heauen and the Earth. Aſke of Iob who it is whome he woꝛſhippeth; and hee will not ſay it is hee whome the inuention of the Crafteſman, oꝛ of the Imbꝛoyderer, oꝛ of the pꝛoyner of Tynes hath deuiſed; noꝛ that is ſponne, weaued, oꝛ hamered; noꝛ that hath a Tayle cut with a Razoꝛ; noꝛ an Image turned arſyuerſie, noꝛ ſome iuggling tricke to dazle childꝛens eyes withall; foꝛ ſuch (as we ſhall ſee moꝛe plainly hereafter) are the Goddes of the heathen: (but he will ſay) it is the ſame GOD that founded the earth, and ſtretched out his Hetlyne ouer it, which hath ſhet vp the Sea within dooꝛes, and bounded the rage of his waues; which made the

light

light and the darknes; which holdeth backe the Pleyads and vnbyndeth Orion; which hath created the world, and giuen vnderstanding to man. It is he (sayth Dauid) which spreadeth out the Heauens as a Curtaine, and maketh him Chambers among the the Waters; which hath setled the Earth vppon hir Pillers, and chaced away the Sea at one only threatning of his; which maketh the Windes his messengers, and the Elements his seruants. It is hee (sayeth Esay) which is the first and the last; His hand hath grounded the Earth, and his right hand hath measured the Heauens. As soone as hee called them, they appéred together before him: Heauen is his Seate, and the Earth is his Fotestoole. Yea and besides all this, Moyses will tell vs, that streine we our selues to say what we can of him, we can say no more of him but that it is he whose name is I am that I am; euen he that alonly is, of whom all things that are haue their being, and in comparison of whom al things are nothing, whom neither words nor workes can expresse, onely in effect, and yet infinite therewithall. Plalm.104. Esay.48.& 61.

Some man will say, it may be that this so greate a God, voutsafeth not to stoope downe vnto vs, but hath left the charge both of the world and of men to some Seruants of his whom it behoueth vs to worship. Nay, as he is hygh and greate in power, so is he deepe also in wisdome and goodnes. Art thou sicke? It is he that both maketh helth and sendeth sicknesse; thou séest how he was Ezechias Physition. Wouldest thou haue Children? It is hee that openeth and shetteth the bearingplace. Insomuch that he made the old age of Sara frutefull, and the barrein Anne a mother and a Nurce. Doth thyne enemie vexe thee? He is the God of Hosts, whom Gedeon findeth as strōg with a smal army as with a great. Wouldest thou haue a prosperous wind? It is he (saieth Iob) that sheadeth forth the Easterne wynd vpon the earth, and at whose call the northwynd commeth. Doth thy Husbandrye dye away with drought? It is he that dealeth forth both the morning and the euening rayne; which beget the droppes of the deawe; and which maketh it to rayne vppon the ground, yea euen where nobody dwells. To be short, art thou afrayd of famine? He prepareth foode for the Rauens to pray vpon, and their yong birds crye vnto none but him. The Lyons whelpes rore vnto him for foode, and all things that liue in the aire, on the Land, and in the water, do wayt vppon him for the supplying of their needs. And what is all this in effect, but that the God whom Israell worshipeth, is the Creator and Gouer- Iob.38. Psal.104.

ner of all things: The verie true God which mayntayneth all things by his goodnes, as well as he made them by his power. As carefull for all things yea euen to the least, as he is myghtfull and of abilitie to mayntayne them. Al the whole scripture from the one end to the other, that is to say the people of Israell from age to age, sing nothing else but that. Now if we reade ouer the old ceremonies of the Egiptians, Persians, and Thuscanes leafe by leafe, where shall we find in them one word of the true God, but onely in renouncing, and blaspheming him? And what are all their Gods but carpers of Receyts, like these dogleaches which profesſe but the curing of some one disease only, or lyke these comon craftsmen, which profesſe but the skill of some one craft or misterie: But this true God (as I haue said) is the onely one God. What other people haue bin forbidden to call vppon many Gods? Nay rather, what other people haue not bin comaunded to haue infinite Gods, as a token of Religion: He is a quickening Spirit which cannot bee counterfetted nor conceyued. What other God hath sayd, Whereunto will ye lyken me, which do hold the Earth betweene my Fingers? What house will yee build for me which make the Earth my footstoole and the Heauen my seate? And to what other people hath it bin sayd, Thou shalt not make any grauen Image? And what other people hath chosen rather to dye a thousand tymes, than to breake that commaundement: Insomuch that they would not admitte eyther peynter or karuer into any of their Cities. Contrarywyse, which of all the Gods of the Heathen haue not requyred Images: Yea and (as we reade in Porphirius) taught how they should bee peynted: Much more vayne in good sooth than the mē that worshipped them. To be short, the true God which gouerneth the whole world, must also (as I haue said afore) gouerne both men and their witts to his glorie. And to gouerne them so, it behoueth him to knowe them; and to knowe them, it behoueth him to see them; and to see into their harts, it behoueth him to haue made them. For the father which thinketh himself to be the begetter of a Child, seeth not into the hart thereof; nother doth the schoolemayster see into his scholers wit, whereof he thinketh himself to be the framer. And much lesse can an Imaginatiue God do any of those things, hauing not made the one nor the other. What other God shall ye reade to haue sayd, Thou shalt not couet: or to haue required the sacrifice of the hart, or the fasting of the spirit, or a hartbroken and lowly mynd: Who els can forbid Couetousenes

Origen ageinst Celsus. lib. 3.

and

and hypocrisie, but he which is able to punish it: And who can punish it, but he that sees it: And who can see it in man, but he that made man: On the contrarie part, who seeth not that the Lawes which are reported to haue bin inspired by the Godds at Rome, in Athens, and in Lacedemon, extend no further than to the outward man: Insomuch that none of them (as sayeth Cato) is found to haue sayd He ỳ is mynded to steale, but only He that stealeth, shalbe giltie. Which is as much to say, as that they be but Lawes of men, who see not into folks harts; Lawes of Creatures which pearce no further then the Cote or the Skinne. The people of Israel therefore are the people that serued the onely true God that made man, and all other people serued Gods made by men.

Cato in his oration for the Rhodians.

Now this silly people (as we reade in Histories) was strangely despysed and trampled vnder foote, as though all the diuels had conspired and banded themselues against that people, which alonly worshipped the true God. But what are the Heathen compelled in the end to confesse? Varro the best learned of the Romanes, who made a beadroll of all the Gods, for feare (as hee sayth) least they should stray away: concludeth in the end, that those doe worship the true God, which worship the onely one, without Images, and which beleeue him to be the gouernor of the whole world. Yea and (which more is) he saith that the Iewes (by what other name soeuer they call him) do worship the same God truely: and that if after their example all Images had bin forbidden, (as they were a long time in Rome) men had not fallen into so many superstitions & errors. It is not to be doubted but that he which spake so of ỳ whole rabble of false Gods that were in Rome, would haue spoken much more of them, if he had not feared men more than his Gods. And whereas some of the heathen to excuse their owne sacriledge, haue borne the world on hand ỳ the Iewes worshipped ỳ head of a wild Asse, because a beast of that kind had shewed thē a fountaine in the wilderneſſe, at a time ỳ they were distressed with thirst: Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus himself the maker of ỳ goodly report, do witnesse, ỳ in the Temple of the Iewes there was neuer yet found any Penon, Pensil, Relik, or Image, neither at the tyme ỳ Antiochus through couetousnes sacked it, nor whē Pompey for reuerēce spared it. And truely the sayd Assish report of the Asses head, is scarce worth the dispraw. But more rather because the Iewes rested vpon the Sabboth day, which the Gentiles dedicated afterward vnto Saturne, many men haue thought that they worshipped Saturne,

The Heathen acknowledged the true God to be in Israell.

Austin, in the Citi of God. lib. 8. chap. 31. Denis of Halycarnassus. lib. 1.

Tacitus, lib. 5. or (as some editions haue) lib. 2. Appiō against Iosephus.

whereas if the heathen had aſken but ſome Babe of the Iewes concerning that matter, he would haue taught them that the GOD of Iſrael neuer fled away for feare of a man as Saturne did, but that he abydeth in Heauen, and that the whole Earth quaketh at his preſence. Notwithſtãding, the chiefe Monarckeies of the world armed themſelues in all ages againſt this ſmall people: but yet the ſmaller that they were, the greater appeared the mightines of their GOD. Sennacharib King of the Aſſyrians had ſubdewed all his neighbours, and intended to fill vp the Dyches of Ieruſalem as he had done by the ouerthrowe of other Cities. For performance whereof he ſent Rabſaces the Generall of his Hoſte to ſubdue Ezechias King of Iuda. In the opinion of men Senacharibs argumẽt was good and well concluded. If I ſhould ſend thee two thouſand Horſes (ſaith hee) ready furniſhed to Battell, thou couldeſt hardly furniſh as many men to ryde them. And canſt thou thinke then that thou art able to reſiſt my whole armie? I haue conquered Aram, and Arphad, and Ana, and Aua, and Sepharnam, and what ſhall then become of Ieruſalem, if it ſtand wilfully againſt mee? But whenas he ſaid, Conſider what became of the Goddes of thoſe Nations, ſuppoſing the GOD of Iſrael to haue bene of the ſame ſtampe: therein his argument fayled, not for that (as the Logicians ſay) he concluded from the particular to the generall, or from that which is true ſimply to that which is true but in ſome certeine reſpect, but for argewing from that which is nothing at all to that which is all, namely from the vanitie of Idols, to the almightines of the Creator. But what became of this victorious Monarke, and of his men, and of their Idols? Although the holy Scripture had ſayd nothing thereof, Herodotus can tell vs it ſufficiently. The Hoſt of Sennacharib (ſaith he) was miſerably diſcomfited, his ſtate came to decay, his owne ſonnes murthered him in the Temple of his Idols, the Babilonians gathered vp ẏ ſcatterings of his Empire, (which more is) in a certeine Temple of Ægipt, an Image of his was ſet vp with this Inſcription, Learne at the ſight of me to feare God. What more almoſt ſayth the holy Scripture vnto vs thereof? And who can ſay that this was not a very arche of victorie and triumph to the true God, againſt the Goddes of the heathen, in the perſone of that Prince which had deſtroyed ſo many of them? From henforth the Monarchie of the Aſſyrians did neuer proſper, but the Medes and Perſians came to be Lords of it, who at the firſt ſeemed to take warning by the example thereof. For

2. Kings. 18. 19.

ἐις ἐμὲ τις ὁράων ἐυσεβὴς ἔσω.

they

they restored the Iewes home againe into their Countrie, according to the Prophesies, and gaue them leaue to build vp their Temple againe, furthering them by all meanes therein, and giuing them certeine allowances for the maintenance of their Sacrifices, acknowledging in their Letters to their Lieuetenants, that the God of the Iewes was the true God, and none other.

But what shall we say of the Gods of Greece, who in conquering the Persians, came to take a foyle in Iewrie? For Alexander hauing subdewed ỳ Persians, made men to worship him as a God; and hearing that in the Mountaines of Palestine, there was a people whom neither the Assyrians nor the Persians could subdue to their Gods, for all the rigour and crueltie they could shewe; insomuch that at his owne being in Babylon, certeyne Iewes that had him conueyed thether, did flatly disobey him, when he ment to haue builded there a Temple to Iupiter Bele, as Hecateus reporteth, who accompanyed Alexander in that voyage: he turned head towards Ierusalem, with a venemous rancour to that poore people. But when Iaddus the Highpriest of the Iewes came before him in his Priestly attyre, accompanyed with his Leuites about him; Alexander cast downe himselfe at his féete & worshipped him. This *God I say whom ỳ greatest personages worshipped thenceforth, did there worship a man that came to make supplication vnto him. Parmenio thinking this to be a very strange sight, asked Alexander the cause why he did so. It is not the man (quoth Alexander) whom I worship, but the God whose Priest he is: for I sawe him (sayd he) in the same attyre, when I was yet in Macedony; and when I doubted whether I might meddle with Asia or no, he gaue me courage to proceed, assuring me that by his guyding I should ouercome the Persians. Hereupon he went vp into the Temple, and offered Sacrifize vnto GOD, in such maner as the Highpriest instructed him; who shewed him the booke of Daniell, wherein it was prophesied certeyne hundred yéres afore, that a certeyne Greeke should come & conquer the Persians, which now fell out to bee he. Whereupon he suffered the Iewes to liue after their owne lawes, and from seuen yéres to seuen yéres released them of all tributes, which thing he denyed to the Samaritanes. Now, of all the great number of Nations, of whom he conquered many moe than he saw, where reade we that euer he did the like to any of them? And whereunto shal we attribute this déede of his, but to his bethinking him of the thing which he had learned in secret of

Hecatæus the Abderita.

*Moenina, Alexander who vaunted himselfe as a God.

Iosephus in his Antiquities, lib. 11 cha. 8.

the great Priest of the Ægiptians called Leon, namely, that all the Gods whom the Gentiles worshipped, were Kings of old tyme, of whom the memoriall had bin consecrated by their posteritie: and therefore he is a greater King than any of them all, thought also that he might well be the greatest God of them all. But in the God of Israell he acknowledged another maner of thing: namely, that he was God of Gods and King of Kings, the chaunger of Empyres at his pleasure, which vpholdeth Kings with his hand, not to performe their vayne attempts, but to bring to passe his owne euerlasting decrées. By the death of Alexander the Monarchie of the Greekes came to be dispersed, so as the Ptolomies gate the souereintie in Ægipt. And what greater proofe would wee haue of their acknowledging the only one God, than to see Ptolomie Philadelph cause the Byble of the Hebrewes to be so solemnely translated at his owne charges? For what do Conquerours desire, but to giue lawes to those whom they haue vanquished: and therefore what els was this, than a receiuing of lawes at the hands of the Iewes? And seeing that the men of Israell were weaker than the men of Ægipt: what can wee say, but that the God of Israell had subdewed the Gods of Ægipt? And soothly, afterward when Ptolomie surnamed the bountifull had gotten ꝑ souereintie of Syria, he offered not Sacrifize for his victories vnto the Gods of Ægipt (which notwithstanding were very many in number, and seemed to haue giuen law to the Nations round about them): but he went to Ierusalem, and there acknowledging himselfe to haue receyued his prosperitie of the God of Israell, did consecrate the Monumẽts of his victories vnto him. And yet was this in the tyme of the greatest aduersitie of the Iewes, euen when their Countrey was forraged, and their Temple vnhallowed by their enemies and by their owne Priestes themselues; that is to say, at such a tyme as all outward things should haue diswaded him from worshipping of the God of that people, had not the most manifest trueth driuen him to the contrarie.

As touching the Romaines, what tyme they extended their warres into Iewrie, we reade that they reuerenced the Temple of Ierusalem: insomuch that Augustus ordeined certeyne Sacrifizes to be offered there both yéerely and dayly, and that diuers Heathen princes, being prouoked by his sending of offerings thither so carefully, followed his example in doing the like. But seeing the Romaines brought all the Gods of all the Nations whom they had

conquered

conquered into Rome: how happeneth it that only this God could finde no place there? Cicero answereth, that it beseemed not the Maiestie of the Empire. But if I should appose him vpon his conscience, did Bacchus, Anubis, Pryapus, and their shamefull night-wakes and misteries celebrated in the darke, yeeld renowme to the state of the Empyre? May, if he will say the trueth, they knew that the God of Israell (and none other) was the true God, and that for the harbouring of him, it behoued them to driue away all the rest: but they had so long tyme loaded folke with Idolatrie, that they were afrayd (as many Princes are at this day) least they might be deposed by their Subiects in receyuing their rightfull Lord. Cicero in his oration for Flaccus.

Yet notwithstanding (will some saye) this sillie people of the Iewes were caryed away from their own Countrey into the fower quarters of the world, scattered among other people, and parted amõg all Nations of the earth, at the pleasure of their enemies that had gotten the vpper hand of them. Surely Gods wonderful prouidence is to be noted in this case, farre more without comparison, than if that people had conquered ỹ whole world by force of armes. For by the things which the Poets haue written of them, wee see in what contempt they were had of all men. But yet let vs heare the wonderment that was made thereat, not by a common person, but by the great Philosopher Seneca. Yet notwithstanding (saith he) the custome of that Nation hath so preuailed, that it is the rather receyued of the whole world, and they beeing vanquished, haue (I wote not by what meanes) giuen lawes to their Conquerours. Who seeth not here a great motion of mynd in this Philosopher? And what man hauing common reason, is not rauished thereat as well as he? Is it possible for Kings to haue subdewed a people whom they could neuer inforce to chaunge their owne lawes? The example thereof is Iewrie, which hath bin trodden vnder foote by the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes & Romaines; and yet for all their chaunging of their Maysters, they could neuer bee brought to alter their lawe. There may perchaunce some like constancie bee found among other Nations, as in respect of their lawes: but that a people being conquered, caryed away, brought into bondage, vnaccounted of, led in triumph by diuers Empyres, as the Iewes were, should not only subdue the harts of their Conquerours to their GOD, so as the Conquerours could not fasten their lawes vpon the vanquished sort, but contrarywise the vanquished sort haue fastened their lawes vpon their vanquishers, the Seneca in his Booke of Superstitions.

Subiects vppon their Prince, the Captiues vpon their Maister, and the condemned vpon their Iudge: who (I pray you) would beleeue it vnlesse he sawe it? And if a man see it, how can he say that any other can possibly doe it but God? But if Seneca will voutsafe to heare Seneca quietly, it may be that he himselfe shall finde a resolution to his owne wonderment. Namely, that the Gods (as he sayth) which were called inuiolable & immortall, whom the Iewes left to other Nations, were dumbe and senceleſſe Images, disguysed in the shapes of Men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some in vgly and ilfauoured monsters; and that the Feends which possessed those Images, required woorse things of men for their seruice, thā the horribleſt Tyrants that euer were; as that men should gash themselues, mayme and lame themselues, geld themselues, and offer men women and children in Sacrifize to them. But when folke heard speaking of the true God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and that he wilbe serued with the hearts and mynds of men: that word issewing out of the mouth of a poore prisoner, caught men prisoners and ouercame their Gods. And in very deede (as wee shall see hereafter) if we reade the good authors of that tyme; eyther they speak but of the one God, or if they speak of mo Gods, it is but for customes sake and in way of condemning them. What els then were the manifold flittings of the Iewes, but as many conueyings abroad of companies of Preachers, to shewe forth the true God; and as many Armies to destroy the Idols and to rote them out? Wee reade that the Coniurers which were in old tyme amōg the Gentiles, did vse ỹ name of the God of Israell, the God of the Hebrewes, and the God that drowned the Ægiptians, in coniuring such as were possessed of Deuilles, and that the Deuilles trembled at that name. This serueth not to proue that they worshipped not other Gods, but that they knewe those Gods to be of no force. Iulian the Apostata did vnderset his shoulder, to shore vp the seruice of the false Gods as much as he could. But yet durst he not deny, but that the God of Abraham Isaac and Iacob is a great and mightie God; and he sware by all his Gods that he was one of them that were conuerted to his seruice, and that hee knewe him to be very gracious to such as serue him as Abraham had done. Who now could euer make an Israelite confesse that any other God was good, than the same whom he worshipped? And if he be the very God, how can it be (euen by Iulians owne saying) that all the residue should not bee euill, seeing that this good God condem-

Seneca in his booke of Superstition.

Austin de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 6. cap. 10.

Origen against Celsus. lib. 3.

Iulian against the Galileans.

condemneth them, and declareth them to bee all wicked Spirites and enemies of mankynde: But if Iulian himselfe would tell vs what befell him at Antioche, when he asked counsell of his Deuilles who made all his Philosophers to quake, and all his great Sorcerers to runne away for feare: wee should see well enough what stuffe they be: insomuch that euen his owne Historiographer Zosimus, is ashamed to make report of it. Zosimus.lib.4 Socrates.lib.3. cap.11.

Now, I would fayne that the Heathen or their Aduocats should but shewe me one of these two things; eyther where any Author of the Iewes yeeldeth record to any God of the Heathen: or where any graue Heathen author hath condemned the God that is worshipped by the Iewes. Forasmuch then as in a Chapter appropried to the same purpose, I haue alreadie proued by all the auncient Authors, and by consent of all people, that there is but only one God; and by Varro euen now, that the Iewes do worship the same God: what followeth therof, but that al of them be Iewes in that poynt, and that as many as are not so, are al ydolaters and deceiued? And for that cause when Orpheus had prayed God in these and such like verses alledged in the third Chapter.

There is but one perfect God the maker of all things,
Who cherisheth and fostereth all things. &c.

He addeth immediatly,

Neuer man yet knew his incomprehensible being, sauing one of the blud of the Chaldees.

Which saying of his some referre vnto Abraham, other some to Moyses; and some of the Platonists to Zoroastres the graundchild of Noe. And Apollo himselfe being demaunded by the Gentiles, what people was rightly religious from of old tyme: answered him thus.

The Chaldees and the Hebrewes haue all wisdome twixt thẽ twaine,
And of the true God only they the worship doe maynteine.

Whereunto agreeth this verse of Sibilles:

The Iewes are sure a heauenly race, diuine, and full of blisse.

But it will bee yet much more, if wee can by their owne best Authors, proue their Gods to be nothing but vanitie & leazing: which is as much to say, as that they haue not onely allowed the God of Israell, but also condemned all their owne Gods.

The

The xxij. Chapter.

That the Gods worshipped by the heathen, were men consecrated or canonyzed to posteritie.

I Haue sufficiently shewed heretofore in the second and third Chapters, that there is but one God; That both Angels and Fiendes are but Creatures, the one seruãts, & the other slaues; That Nature and Philosophie consent together therein, notwithstanding that ouerrooted custome haue like a waterstreame caryed folke away, and that the wise of the world haue loued better to followe the course of the streame, than to rowe against it. Yet for all that, it shall not be superfluous to see what they themselues haue written of their owne Gods, both generally of them all, and particularly of euery of them. Therefore to begin with Hermes, whome we haue heard so highly commending the onely one GOD; He writeth of them in these words Lyke as the Lord God (sayth he) is the maker of the Gods in Heauen, so is man the maker of the Gods that are content to dwell in Temples, that they might be neer vnto men. Man then maketh Images after his owne likenes, whereunto hee calleth Spirites by Arte Magick, or els they come into them of their owne accord, and foretell vnto men things to come. But the tyme wil come, that all this kynd of Religion of the Ægiptians shalbe abolished, and that all their worshippings shall vanish away. And in very deede (sayth he) Esculapius the Graundfather of Asclepius, and Mercurie myne owne Graundfather, which are worshipped at Hermopolis in Ægipt, were Men, whose worldly men, that is to say their bodyes) lye the one in Lybia and the other in Hermopilis, and vnder their names are worshipped certeine Diuels, whome I allured and drue into their Images. What more substantiall witnesse now could we produce against the Gods of Ægipt, than the very partie himselfe that made them? And what els were they then, than either men, or Diuels shrowded in the Images or in the dead Carkeses of men? But I proceede with these two

Hermes in his Esculapius, translated by Apuleius.

Austin de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 8. cap. 23. The Gods of the Egiptians.

Cyprian concerning the vanity of Idols

two partes the one after the other.

The great Highpriest of Ægipt called Leon, beeing asked secretly by Alexander, concerning the originall of their Gods, and fearing more his power than their wrath; bewrayed vnto him, that all the greate Gods, yea euen those whome the Romanes termed The Gods of the greater Nations, were al of them men. But he prayed Alexander that he would not tell it to any body, saving his Mother Olimpias, and that she should burne his Letter as soone as she had read it. For as for the Beasts which the Ægiptians worshipped, Plutark sayth that some of them were worshipped as Planets and signes celestiall; and othersome because that when Osyris led his people to Battell, hee had diuers Antesignes according to the diuersities of the Countries, as in one a Dog, in another an Oxe, and so forth: which afterward through emulation were turned into Superstition. As touching the Phenicians, their next neighbours, Sanchoniation their owne Chronacler writeth, that they honored such men for Gods as had bene greate among th̄, or had inuēted any thing profitable for the life of man: and that as they were long time Lords of the Sea, and conueyed many companyes of their owne countrifolke into Libya & Spaine to inhabit there: so they peopled them with their Gods also. Concerning the Gods of the Greekes, wee reade that Orphey, Homer, and Hesiodus were the first bringers of them in, and did set downe their Pedegrees in writing, giuing them names and Surnames, and appoynting them honours at their pleasures. Of whō Pythagoras sayth, that their Soules were hanged vpon a Tree in Hell, & there pinched with Serpents on all sides for their so damnable deuices. And what hee himselfe dēmed of those Gods, wee may see in his lyfe written by Porphirius. For he wrote verses vpon the Tumb of Apollo at Delphos, declaring him to haue bin the Sonne of Silenus that was slayne by Pithon, and buryed in a place called Tripos, because the three daughters of Triopus came thither to mourne. Afterward again, comming into a Caue of Ida, where he found a Throne set vp vnto Iupiter, hee wrote this inscription vpon it: Pythagoras to Iupiter. Heere lyeth the great Zeus whom men call Iupiter. Socrates in despite of those Gods did sweare by an Oke, by a Gote, and by a Dogge; and was condemned to drinke poyson, because he taught that there was but only one God. Which is as much to say, as that he dēmed lesse godhead to be in those Gods, than in the least creatures. Yet notwithstanding,

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

The Gods of the Phœnicians.

Sanchoniation traslated by Iosephus.

The Gods of the Greekes.

Herodotus, lib. 2.

Aulus Gellius lib. 3. cap. 11. & li. 17. ca 21

Pophirius in the lyfe of Pythagoras.

Apuleius and Aulus Gellius.

ſtanding, he was the onely man whom Apollo auowed to bee the wyſeſt man of all Greece: wherein he had ſhewed himſelf to haue had leſſe wit than thoſe beaſtes, if he had deemed ſuch a one to bee wiſeſt as had condemned the Godhead. But it is the propertie of the Deuill, both to abuſe men and alſo to mocke them for their labour. They cryed out againſt Socrates that he was a blaſphemer, and made him to drinke his owne death. But within a while after, the Athenians did ſet vp an Image of him in one of their Temples, and in a rage did put his accuſers to death: [which deede of theirs made notably againſt themſelues:] for ſurely they could not better haue condemned their Gods, than by their iuſtifying and honoring of the partie that condemned them. As for his Diſciple Plato, this ſaying of his ſhall ſuffice. When I write vnto you in good earneſt, I ſpeake but of one God; and when I meane otherwiſe, I ſpeake of many. He imployed his Gods about vanitie, becauſe he eſteemed them to be but vayn. To be ſhort, one ſaies, If they be Gods, why mourne ye for them? and if they be liueleſſe, why worſhip ye them? Another ſayes, be of good cheere my Countreymen, men liued afore the Gods, and the Gods dye afore men. And the Poets themſelues, who made the Gods to be ſuch as they be, take as great pleaſure in the vnmaking of them, as little Children doe in playing with their Puppets: inſomuch that there is no Tragedie good, which doth not baffle ſome one of the Gods, as Euripides (among the reſt) doth in theſe verſes.

Thou Neptune and thou Iupiter, and all you other Gods,
So wicked are you euerychone, ſo fell, ſo farre at oddes,
That if due iuſtice for your deedes were iuſtly on you doone,
Ye ſhould be baniſht out of Heauen and from all Temples ſoone.

The Gods of the Romanes.

You will ſay perchaunce that the Romanes may poſſibly haue ſome better ſtuffe. By the originall of them which they themſelues deſcribe, we may iudge what they were. And let vs note that the writers of theſe things were no Greekes, which might haue bred ſome ſuſpicion; but they were Romanes, euen ỹ Idolaters themſelues. The firſt that ordeyned Religion among them, was King Numa; who to authorize it the more, feyned himſelfe to haue had conference with a Goddeſſe called Egeria which was a witch: and vnder that gay pretence, he bewitched the ignorant people with a thouſand ſuperſtitions. A long tyme after, in the Conſulſhip of Cornelius and Bebius, it happened that in the ground of a certein Scriuener named Petilius, neere to the place called Ianiculum, there

Titus Liuius, Decad. 4. libro vltimo.

Valerius Maximus lib. 1.

there were found two Coffins, in one of the which was the body of Numa, and in the other were seuen bookes in Latin concerning the Lawes of their Priesthod, that is to say, their Ceremonies and Churchseruices; and other seauen Bokes in Greeke concerning the studie of Wisedome; whereby hee ouerthrewe, not onely the Gods of other Nations, but also the very selfe same whome hee himselfe had instituted. The Senate hearing thereof, caused the Bokes to be burnt openly before the people; which was as much to say as that they condemned all the Gods and all their Seruices to the Fyre. Among many other Stories, Varro reporteth the same to: and hee concealeth not that Numa vsed Waterspelling, and had communication with Diuels. And as touching the Gods whom the Latins worshipped before the time of this Numa Pompilius; Varro and Caius Bassus say, that Faunus ordeined Sacrifices to his Graundfather Saturne, to his father Picus, and to his Suster and Wife Fauna, whom the good huswiues call Fatua of Fate, that is to say Destinie, because she was wont to reade their Fortunes; and afterward the people worshipped her by the name of Good Dame or Goddesse. And surely of no better value were those whome Æneas brought thither, whome Virgill termeth vanquished Gods, and after a sort putteth them and little Babes both togither in one Basket. Scenola the Highpriest of the Romanes (as I haue sayd afore) made three sortes of Gods: Poetical, worse than the worst men, Philosophical, whom they taught to haue bin men, howbeit ẏ it was not good for the people to know it; and Ciuill, made by Princes to hold their people in awe with; for the which purpose also Varro addeth, that it is good for Captaynes and Gouerners to be perswaded that they bee descended of Gods, that they may the more boldly vndertake and the more happely performe their enterprizes. But who could answere better to the matter, than the Highpriest himselfe? And which are these better Gods, which are no Gods at all further forth than it pleaseth men? Varro sayth likewise, that his writing of humane things afore diuine things, is because there were Cities afore there were Gods made by them, as the Paynter is afore his Picture. How much more reasonable had it bene that the Gods should haue committed themselues to the custodie of the Cities, than that the Cities should haue committed themselues to ẏ custodie of the Gods? Also he deuideth his Gods into certeynes and vncerteynes. The certeyne (sayth he in his second boke) are as much or more subiect

Plinius lib. 13. cap 13. Austin lib. 7. cap. 14. Lactantius. lib. 1.

Austin de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 7. cap. 17.

to

to vncertaintie than the vncertayne. What certayntie will he re-
port of the Gods, if they themselues be vncertayn? But behold the
godlinesse of the man. Hee sayth he will make a Register and an
Inuentorie of them: and wherefore? for feare (sayth he) least they
should be lost, not so much by some sacking of the Citie, as by the
negligence of the Citizens, which began sore at that time to make
no account of them. Soothly the Romanes had bene the more ex-
cusable, if they had deified this Varro that had such a care to saue
and preserue their Gods. But ỹ wise Senate thought themselues
to haue prouided well for the matter, by making this ordinance,
That no GOD should be admitted into Rome without their ad-
uice. As who would say, that to bee a God it was méete that a bill
of petition should first bee exhibited vnto them, and men were to be
sewed vnto for the obteynement of their voyces. By which one ar-
gument of theirs they declared themselues to bee more diuine than
their Gods. And thereupon it came to passe, that they receyued in-
to their Citie all the Deuilles, all the Tyrants, and all the filthie
Rakehelles of the world for Gods. As for the onely one true God
the Creator of men, the founder of Cities, & the remouer of Em-
pyres; he had no name at al among them. Concerning the nature of
the Gods, Cicero hath written three bookes; which to speake pro-
perly, are made to ouerthrowe all the Gods of the Romanes. For
he reckoneth vp their ages, their garments, their deckings, their
offsprings, their auncetors, and their alliances. He sayth that their
Temples are their Tombes; their Sacrifizes and Ceremonies,
representations of their liues; and that from the least of them to the
greatest, they were all men, and all their Religious Superstitions
and olde wiues tales. As touching the true God, he speaketh farre
otherwise. For he sayth that he made al things, that he made man,
that he made the very Gods themselues, and to bee short, that it is
much easier for him to wonder at God, than to vtter what he is;
and to declare what he is not, than what he is. And whereas some-
tymes after the maner of the Stoikes, he goeth about to drawe na-
turall things out of the fables of the Gods; he doth it but onely to
keepe the people in ignorance, and according to his owne saying in
the selfesame bookes, where hauing condemned his owne Gods, he
sayth that yet for all that, those things are not to bee vttered to the
people; and his allegories are so cold, that it is to bee thought that
euen he himselfe laughed at them. As touching the Birdgazers he
himselfe being a Birdgazer doth flatly skorne them, that is to say

Cicero concerning the Nature of the Goddes, the first of his Tusculane questions.

euen

euen his owne profession, yea and all such as sought counsell at Crowes and Rauens, that is to wit, the whole Senate of Rome. Likewise wee reade that Cæsar held still the Province of Affricke against the forwarnings of the Birdgazers; and that Cato wondered how two Birdgazers could meete one another or looke one vpon another without laughing. And Seneca sayth in his booke of Questions, that the Bowelgazers were inuented for nothing els but to hold the people in awe. So little did the Wisemen beleeue the things which they themselues did to be wondered at and worshipped of the common people. And thus much concerning their Gods in generall. Seneca. lib. 2. cap. 4. and 42.

But if wee come to the particulars, the matter will bee yet more cleere, wherein I will bee as briefe as I can, because it is a matter that is treated of expressely by others. Among the innumerable rable of Gods, they haue twelue of principall renowme, whose names are comprehended in these two verses of Ennius. The Goddes of Greater Nations.

Iuno, Vesta, Minerua, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcanus, Apollo.

And vnto these some added Bacchus and Saturne; this latter, because he might seeme to haue wrong, if he should not be counted a God as well as his some: and the other, because it might come to passe, that (being a firie fellowe) he would els make some fray, seeing that Ceres is a Goddesse. To dispatch the chiefe of them quite and cleane of that doubt, Euhemere of Messene will alone suffice; who gathering the historie of Iupiter and the rest, setteth downe their tytles, Epitaphs & Inscriptions which were in their Temples, & namely in the Temple of Iupiter Triphillian, where was a piller set vp by Iupiter himself, whereon the notablest of his doings were ingraued. And this historie being called holy, was translated by Ennius, the words whereof are these. Saturne (sayth he) tooke Ops to his wife, and Tytan being his elder brother claymed the kingdome; but Vesta their mother, & Ceres and Ops their Sisters, counseled Saturne to keepe his possession. Which thing when Tytan perceyued; finding himselfe to bee the weaker, he compounded with Saturne, vpon conditiō that if Saturne had any Sonnes, he should not suffer them to liue, that the kingdom might reuert again vnto his Children. According to which composition, the first child that was borne to Saturne was killed. Afterward were borne Iupiter & Iuno twinnes both at one birth: of whome they shewed but Iuno, Euseb. de prepar. euangelica, lib. 4. Euhemere as he is cited by Lactantius.

and

and deliuered Iupiter to Vesta to be brought vp in secret. After them came Neptune, who was serued likewise. And last of all came Pluto and Glauca; of whom only Glauca (who dyed within a while) was shewed, and Pluto was nurced secretly as Iupiter was. Now this came to Tytans hearing, who assembling his Sonnes to him, took Saturne and Ops and put them in prison. But assoone as Iupiter came to age, he gaue battell to the Tytans; and getting the vpper hand of them, deliuered his father & mother out of prison. At length perceyuing that his father, whom he had set vp againe, was iealous ouer him and sought his life; he deposed him from his estate and droue him into Italy. In this only one historie we see what Saturne, Iupiter, Iuno, Vesta, Ops, Neptune and Ceres were, that is to wit, men and women; yea surely euen men, and among men, but onely mere men. And yet were they the fathers and mothers of the rest of the Gods, and reigned in the Iles of the chiefe Midland Sea; and in Candy, a litle afore the warres of Thebes and of Troy. And by that meanes wee see also, from whence the Poets haue fetched their fables; which are not (as some thinke) mere fancies or imaginations without ground, but disguisings of the trueth, and of the Historie: True in that they report deedes rightly beseeming men; vntrue in that they attribute them as to Gods, and not as to men. Saturne is taken for the father of them al. And loke what is found of the father, is to bee verified of his offspring. The Historiographers therefore haue sayd, that his wife did hide his children from him: and the Poets haue sayd that hee did eate them vp, because a Soothsayer had told him that one of them should depose him. To auoyde the absurditie of the word Krouos which is Saturne, the Stoikes haue turned it to Chronos, (that is to say tyme,) which deuoureth all things. But how will they applye all the rest of the Allegorie vnto the Historie? Who shall bee the daies lost, and who the daies saued? What shall Ops be, and Iupiter, and Pluto? who shall be this sonne of tyme, that perisheth not with the tyme nor afore it? But Hermes (whatsoeuer he be) who knewe this pedegree well enough, holdeth himselfe to the letter, accounting Vranus, Saturne, and Mercurie among the rare men that were in tyme past. And Ennius sayth that this Vranus was the father of Saturne and reigned afore him. Now, because Vranus in Greeke signifieth Heauen; the Stoikes more fabulous (as sayth Plutarke) than the Poets, haue called his sonne, Time; and his graundsonne Iupiter,

Hermes in his Asclepius.

Iupiter, the Welkin or highest region of the ayre; whom Euhemere reporteth to haue ordeyned Sacrifices vnto Vranus. And Ennius his translator reporteth, that he ordeyned them vnto his Graundfather Heauen, who dyed in the Ocean, and lyes buryed in Aulatie. To be short, of all these writers of antiquities, such as Theodore the Greeke, Thallus, Cassius, Seuerus, Cornelius Nepos and others were; none describeth him otherwise than a man: insomuch that euen Orpheus himselfe who canonized him for a God, speaketh of him after the same maner. What reade we of Iupiter? Iupiter (sayth the History) deposed his owne father, held his assemblies in Mount Olympus, stole away Europa in a ship named the Bull, and carryed away Ganymed in another ship called the Eagle: but he forbare Thetis, because an Achilles (which should be a man of greater might than his father) was to be borne of her. Finally, after he had made certeyne Lawes, and parted the offices of his estate among his friends, he dyed and was buryed in the Towne of Gnosus. What a life is this, but the life of a man? yea and of a most wicked man, vnworthie, not to reigne in heauen, but euen to goe vpon the earth? Neuertheless, because his successors inforced men to worship him as well as his Graundfather, yea and he himselfe in his life tyme had caused his Subiects, Vassalles and Confederates to dedicate Temples vnto him; by reason whereof wee see he was called by the names of Labradie, Ataburie, Tryphill, and diuers other: all things were fayne to be applied and referred vnto him: insomuch that of a man, the Poets made him a God; of the Mountayne Olympus, they made Heauen; of a Shippe, an Eagle; and of Thetis, a Goddesse. Yet for all this, his buryall place putteth al out of doubt, and so doth the Epitaph that Pythagoras wrate thereon. For, to haue a Temple in one place, and a Tombe in another; and to be worshipped with prayer in the one, and to be eaten with wormes in the other, are things farre differing. Callimachus will needes taunt the Cretanes for shewing his Tombe with this inscription, ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν Κρόνος, that is to say, Iupiter the sonne of Saturne: and yet hee considereth not, that in saying that Rhea was deliuered of him among the Parrhasians, he himselfe maketh him to dye. For what is birth but a beginning of death? And therefore Sibill speaketh of the Gods in these words.

The fond vayneglory which the Cretanes vse
About their Goddes doth many a man abuse.

They be but gastly Ghostes and feendes of hel,
Or graues of men in whom no soule doth dwell.

To be short, Amalthea, and hir Goate that nurced Iupiter, which were honored in the Capitoll, and all his other misteries, represented nothing els but the trauells of his Childhod and of his lyfe; as, how he was stolen away, how he was hidden, and how he was nurced: all which things are a manifest derogation of his Godhead. And Seneca taketh it to be a matter so worthie to be laughed at, that he forgetteth his owne grauitie to giue a mock vnto it. Seeing (sayth he) that this Iupiter was so lecherous, why begetteth he not Children still, if he be yet aliue? Is it bycause he is threescore yeeres old? Or hath the Lawe of Papie restreyned him? Or hath he obteyned the priuiledge of three Children? Or finally, is it come into his mynd to looke for the same measure at other folks hands, which he hath measured vnto others, so as he is afrayd least some Sonne of his should deale with him, as he himself delt with Saturne? After that manner did this greate Philosopher mocke at his great God; wherein he was so much the lesse to be excused, bycause he worshipped him, knowing so much as he did.

Seneca in his Moralles.

The Lawe of three children.

As touching Iuno, I wilnot stand so much vppon the Poets. Varro himself saieth that she was brought vp in Samos, and there maryed to hir brother Iupiter, by whom shee could not conceyue, in respect whereof, that Iland was called Parthenie, that is to say Maydenland. There also was hir famousest Temple, where shee stoode in wedding attyre; and hir yeerly feastes are in verie deede but playes ordeyned after the fashion of old tyme, to represent hir lyfe, that is to wit, hir mariage, hir iealosie, and hir incest.

And as concerning Minerua Iupiters daughter, wee reade that shee was deflowred by consent of hir father, who had made a promise to Vulcane, not to deny him whatsoeuer he should aske: so monstruouse and Lawlesse was the whole race of them. For as for Venus, whose aduoutries are mo than hir Children; Euhemere reporteth her too haue bin the first bringer vp of Stewes in the world, and that hir worshippers to honor her withall, did call her περιξεραοίαν, ἑταῖραν, καλλίγυτον, χοιρόψαλιν and such other, which names euen a womã that were very farre past shame would take in greate disdeyne. To be short, in the Temple where Cinaras King of Ciprus was buried, who was the first that intertayned her; surely I am ashamed that the Heathen were not ashamed of such

such shamefulnes; but yet much more, that such as beare the name of Christians, are not ashamed too make songs thereof in their bookes.

Let vs procéede to the rest. Neptune (as their holy Historie reporteth) had the Seacoast for his share, or (as othersome affirme) he was Iupiters Admiral, in respect wherof the Poets of our time call Admiralls, Neptunes. Pluto had the gouernement of lowe Countries, which they disguysing turned into Hell. Mars had the Leading of Souldiers in the warres, and should haue bin hanged at Athens for a murther. What maner of Godds (I pray you) be these, which stand at mens courtesie for their grace? And what is the Lawe of that Heauen, which receyueth those for Godds, whom men would haue hanged on the galowes vpon earth? Also Apollo became a Shepeherd for loue, and of a Shepeherd, hee became Laomedons Mason. He playd a feawe Jugglingtricks to deceiue folk withall; but in the end (as Porphyrius telleth vs) hee was killed by Python, mourned for by the daughters of Triopus, and buryed at Delphos. Who euer sawe a thing more against reason, than the transforming of him into the Sonne, which is as much as to shet vp the Sonne into the earth? But yet such are the Godds of the Greeks and Romanes; that is to wit deadfolks, euen kings and Quéenes whom loue or feare hath made to be taken for Gods. And in good sooth, they did not any thing to their Godds, which men do not at this day to their dead & to such as are of reputation. They make them Temples, Chappells, and altars; they apparell them after their age; they set them vp Pensils and Penons according to their degree or trade of liuing; they make them a funerall feast; they celebrate Anniuersaries or Yeermynds all of one sort. Insomuch that (as Tertullian saieth) the Obitfeast differeth not frō Iupiters feast, nor the wodden Canne from his Drinking-cup, nor the Cearer of deadfolks from the Birdgasers; for the Birdgasers also had to deale with the dead. And therefore wee must not think it straunge, that Alexander would néeds be a God, sith he knew that men woorshipped such: or that Scipio Affricane thought that the greate gate of Heauen ought to bee set open for him: for his argument concluded the lyke; saying.

Scipio Affrican in Ennius.

If men for slaughters made, to heauen admitted be;
Then should the greatest gate of Heauen be opened vnto me.

Or that the gentle Ladies Larentia and Flora were Canonized at Roome, for they deemed themselues to haue deserued as much

by their profession, as Venus had deserued at the hands of ꝑ Cyprians: Or that Caligula tooke vpon him to haue Altars erected and sacrifise offered vnto him; for he was both more myghtie and also more mischeuous than those whome he worshipped. Let this suffice for the Greate ones. And for the Little ones, we will content ourselues with Esculapius alone, whom the Emperour Iulian, that greate enemie of Christians, commendeth as his sauior aboue all the rest. He is (sayeth he) the Sonne of Iupiter. Then (say I) he is a man: for men begot not Goddes. But he came downe into the World by the Sonne, and from the Sonne vnto the Earth, for the health and welfare of men. What Author, eyther in earnest or in iest, did euer say so? No, but he was (sayeth the Historie) the sonne of the fayre Coronis renowmed in these verses;

Esculapius.
Iulian against the Galilæans.

A goodlyer Lady was not to be found,
In all Emonia going on the ground.

This Coronis being with Child by Apollos preest, gaue it forth, for the sauing of hir honor, that she was gotten with Child by Apollo himself; whereby it appeareth that hir sonne Esculapius, was not the Child of Heauen as Iulian reporteth, but (as men sayd in old tyme) a Child of the Earth, that is to say a bastard. And Tarquilius a Roman writeth, that he was a Child found in Messine, and learned the vertues of some herbes at the hand of Chyron the Centaure, and playd the Pedlar a whyle at Epidaure; and that afterward being striken to death (as Cicero saith) with Thunder, he was buried at Cyuosures. To be short, what miracle reade wee to haue bin done by him, more than that he shewed men the herbs called Scorpion and Asclepiodotes? By which reason we may as well Deifie the bird Ibis for the Cliffers, or the Stag for the herb Ditanie. But to conclude, what a beastlynes were it to leaue the Creator of all things, and to worship a man for his knowing of some two or three of them?

Among other Nations of the world, the Ægiptians haue vpon the lyke reasons Deified their King Apis; forbidding all men vpon peyne of death, to say he was a man: and I am euen ready to shudder at the remembrance of his misteries. Likewise the Babylonians deified their Bele; the Mawres their Iuda; the Macedonians their Cabyrus; the Latines their Faunus; the Sabines their Saucus; and the Romanes their Quirinus: that is to wit the first founders of their Townes and Citties, or the leaders of them to inhabite in forrein Countries; and the eldest of these their Gods, that

that is to say their auncientest Princes, they called Saturnes, their Sonnes, Iupiters, their Graundsonnes, Herculeses; and so forth; wherevpon it came to passe, that in diuers Nations there were diuers Saturnes, Iupiters, and Herculeses. Afterward the Emperours deified themselues, and their frends, and some, their Mynions, as Alexander did Ephestion, and as Arian did Antinous, and some their Children, and some their wiues. Cicero being but a Citizen of Arpie, was so prowd that he would needes Deifie his daughter Tullia, & he sticked not to say to Atticus, that he would make her to be worshipped as another Iuno or Minerua, considering that she was not inferiour to them in any thing. But he came in too rough a time to make Gods. What more? Euen in one man were a thousand Gods to be found. For they made Gods of faithfulnes, of constancie, of wisedome, and of all the other vertues; and likewise of Loue, of Pleasure, of the instruments of pleasure, and of all other vices; Also of feare, paleneſſe, gastfulnes, and all passions; Lykewise of Agewes, of the Hemerodes, of the Falling sikneſſe, and of maladies and diseases; Also of Doungh̄ils, of Snow, of Blastings, and of the very Winds, insomuch that the greate Emperour Augustus did sacrifice to the winde Circius, which troubled him in Gall. The cause of these absurdities is in two things, the one is Gods iust striking of men with blindnes for their turning away from him vnto man, insomuch that whereas they will needes become equall with God, they fall by degrees from poynt to poynt, euen to the casting of themselues downe vnto Beastes and Wormes, that is to say, they become inferiour to beastes. The other is, that Princes vnlightened by GOD are so desirous of vainglorie, and their Seruants are such flatterers, that the Princes perceiuing themselues to haue men at their commaundement, thinke themselues to be more than men, and their seruants, to bee made Idols themselues, doe willingly make Idols of their Princes. Hereof wee reade in the very Lawes of the Christian Emperours, that their answers are called Oracles, their persons Godheads; and their countenances diuine brightneſſe. Who reading this can doubt, but that if such Lawiers had come in the first ages, they would haue made vs good store of Gods? May, would God we sawe not still among vs, greate nombers of lyuely and plainespeaking examples, of mans inclined disposition to the worshipping of creatures, notwithstanding that our Lawe in euery lyne thereof doe reproue vs for it, and after a sort twich vs euery howre

Xenophon in his Equiuocations.

by the Cote, to pull vs from it. Now therefore, let the premisses be a president vnto vs, both of the vanitie of the Godds, and of the blockishnes of men, which haue both worshipped them and made them. And so let vs commit the knitting vp of this matter to Cicero himself, who saith thus. The conuersation and custome of men (sayth he) hath allowed the aduauncing of those men into heauen, both in reputation & in good will, by whom they had receiued any greate benefite. Of that sort are Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Esculapius Liber, and such other; so as Heauen is peopled with mankind. And if I listed to search & ransacke the Antiquities and Registers of the Greekes, I should find that the same Gods whom we take for the greatest, haue had their originall from among vs. And for the verifying thereof, Inquire whose the Tumbes are that are shewed in Greece, and consider with thy selfe what their mysteries and Ceremonies are, and thou hauing accesse thither, shalt vnderstand without doubt, that my saying reacheth very farre.

Cicero concerning the Nature of the Godds, in his booke of Lawes, and in his Tusculane Questions.

The xxiij. Chapter.

That the spirites which made themselues to be worshipped vnder the names of those men, were feends, that is to say, Diuels or wicked Spirites.

NOw seeing that the sayd Gods were but men, yea and not Men, but Stocks and Images of men, & that the same stocks, if they had bene any more than Stocks, should rather haue worshipped men: we must needes say with Seneca, that the men which worshipped them were become worse than stocks. But hereunto it wil be answered, that they gaue answers of things to come, and that they wrought effects beyond the reache of man; which shewed that there was a lyfe and power in them, or els they had not seduced folke so long time. This is the second part which I haue taken in hand to proue: namely that although all the auncient Philosophers agree, that there are both good Spirits and

and bad, the one sort (whom we call Angels) Seruants and Messengers of God; and the other sort Diuels, enemies to Gods glorie and our welfare: yet notwithstanding, the Spirits which were serued in Stocks and Images as Hermes hath told vs, were vncleane and mischeuous Spirites. These Fends therefore (to purchase themselues authoritie) did borrowe the names of men, and most commonly of the wickeddest men. Yea and when they were asked what they were, they sayd in their owne Oracles that they were so: as for exãple, he that was worshipped at Delphos, said he was the sonne of Latona, Esculapius, the sonne of Apollo, Mercurie the sonne of Iupiter and Maia; and so forth, as we reade in Oracles rehearsed by Porphyrius. But what honest man will not refuse for neuer so greate gayne, to take vppon him the name of a wicked man? or rather abhorre both the name and the very remembrance of him? And who then will not conclude that those Deuils which [to winne themselues credite] clothed themselues after that sort with the cases of so wicked men, were worse than the men? Also they were drawne (sayth Hermes) into Images by Arte Magicke; yea and (by the reporte of Porphyrius and Proclus) they taught men receyts wherewith to drawe them thether and to bind them there, as wee reade of Proserpyne, Hecate, and Apollo. Of whom, one commaunded to beset her Image with Wormewood, to paynt a certeyne number of Rattes about it, and to offer vnto her Blud, Myrrhe, and Storax, to draw her thither. Another commaunded to wype out the lines and figures, to remoue the tuzzimuzzies of flowers from his fæte, and to take the braunch of Olife out of his hand, that is to say, from his images hand, that he might withdrawe himselfe. Who sees not that they made themselues to bee drawne in and driuen out by things that haue no force at all, specially ouer Spirites? That is to say, that (as Iamblichus also perceyued full well) their whole seeking was to deceiue vs by their comming, and to go away againe when they wist not what to say; more desirous to lye, than wee blockish to beleeue? And when they obeyed vs or pretended to obeye vs, let vs see what seruice they required at our hands: verely that their Images should be wel painted and well coted, and that they might be worshipped, prayed vnto, and senced. Now, if they were the Images of Spirites; what greater vntrueth can there be, than for a Spirit to be resembled by an Image? And if they were the Images of men; what greater beastlines (sayth Seneca) can there bee, than to offer Sacrifize to a

Porphyrius in his booke of the Answers of the Gods. Eusebius de præparat. euangel. lib. 3. Cap. vltimo.

Porphyrins in his sayd booke of the Answers of the Goddes. Euseb. de præpart: euang. lib. 5. Cap. 6. and. 7.

Iamblychus concerning Mysteries. cap. 27. and 31.

stocke, and to make the Caruer which made it, to eate at the second table, and to kneele downe before a counterfet of his own making, or to make the Paynter thereof to stand bareheaded vnto it? Now then, what els were they but teachers of vntrueth, whose intent was to turne men not onely from God to his workes, but also to themselues, and finally into very stockes?

Apollo being asked what seruice was to be yelded to ỹ Gods, declared that Sacrifize is to bee offered to them all, as well them that dwell in the Ayre and the Fire, as them that dwell in the Sea and in the Earth; to some, with white Beastes, and to some with blacke; to some vppon Altars, and to othersome vppon bankes of earth: to some the foreparts of Beastes, and to othersome the hinderparts, and such other like stuffe. And because they would néedes play the Apes with God in al things: they required this seruice after the example of the old Testament. For (as sayth Porphyrius) nothing delighteth them more, than to be estéemed as Gods: insomuch that the greatest of them all (whom they call Serapis and we Beelzebub) will néedes be worshipped as the souereine God. But what resemblance is there betwixt them and the true God? God requireth of vs the firstlings of our fruites and of our Cattell. And forasmuch as he hath created them for vs; is it not reason that wee should acknowledge our selues beholdē to him for our Corne, and for our increase of Cattell? On the contrary part, these Gods require the acknowledgement of those things to bee done to themselues & to their Images. Gods inioyning of vs to sacrifize brute Beastes, is to witnesse the death that we deserue by our sinne: but they beare vs on hand, that by the death of a Beast wee be discharged from all sinnes. God sayth vnto vs, your Sacrifizes are nothing worth, I will haue obedience and not Sacrifize: your Oblations loath me, and your Incence stinketh: the thing that I loke for is a broken and a lowly heart. The false Gods speake of nothing but of the sheading of blud, without telling or knowing why or wherefore, without end, without ground, without signification, and without comming any whit nére the heart. Now then, what are they els than slauish Roges and Rebelles, indeuouring to filch away the praise of our Creator? And yet for all their disguysing of themselues for a tyme, they bee not able to conceale their owne leaudnesse any long while. For they commaund vs to Sacrifize Men, Maydes, and Children vnto them. Had they ordeyned such things at their first comming in, who would not haue abhorred them?

Porphyrius in his booke of answers &c. Euseb. lib. 4. Cap. 4.

The Sacrifising of Men. Eusēb. lib. 4. Cap. 7. Denis of Halycarnassus lib. 1.

them? But when they had once wound themselues into credite by some answers delightfull to our curious eares, and by some Jugglingtricks which seemed wonderfull to the weakenesse of our eyes: we suffered them to go by little and little whithersoeuer they themselues listed, as though it had bin vnpossible that they should haue sayd otherwise than well, or that wee should haue done otherwise than well in obeying them. According whereunto wee reade, that Children were Sacrifized to Saturne, in Candy after the maner of the Curets; In Rhodomene, the sixth day of the moneth Geitnion; In Phenice, in tymes of Plague, Warre, and Famine: and likewise in Affrick they Sacrifized men, vntill the Viceconsulship of Tyberius, who caused the Priestes themselues to be crucified in the same Woodes where they were wont to doe their Sacrifizes. Also they offered the like kind of Sacrifize in Cyprus to ỹ Nimph Agrawlis, and to Diomedes; and in the Ile of Tenedos vnto Bacchus; and in Lacedæmon to Mars. And all these abhominations are reported by Porphyrius, who thereupon concludeth, that all such Gods were of the wickedest sort of Deuilles. Moreouer, wee reade that Aristomenes of Messene Sacrifized three hundred men at once to Iupiter Ithometes, of whom Theopomp King of the Lacedemonians was one: And that the Latins Sacrifized the tenth of their owne Children to Iupiter; and that because they had discontinewed the doing thereof, they thought themselues to bee plagued with dearth and diseases. That those false Gods themselues answered the Carthaginenses, that the misfortunes which lighted vpon them, happened for that whereas they had vsed to sacrifize the choycest of their Children, they Sacrifized none but the Rascalles, Chaungelings, Bastardes, and Bondlings. The like was done by the Druides in Gaullond, by the Almanes, by the Scandinauians, by the Tawricanes and others; insomuch that Chyron the Centaure had such Sacrifizes offered yeerely vnto him. So farre and with so passing superstitious crueltie was the Deuils kingdome extended, that the Deuill & none other could be the founder therof. Who can now doubt after al this, but that those Gods were deuils, which were workers of such things as not only goodmen mislike, but also euen wicked men cannot but abhorre? In deede wee reade that one Diphilus King of Cyprus, made the Idoll of Cyprus to bee contented with an Oxe in stead of a Man; and that Amosis King of Ægipt appointed that in stead of the three young men which were wont to bee sacrificed to Iuno in Heliople,

Diodorus of Sicilie lib. 20.
Porphyrius in his booke of Abstinence.
Histrus and Manethon cited by Eusebius.
Tertullian in his booke of Apologie.
Erichtho in Lucane.
The godly Aenæas in virgill.
Cæsar in his bookes of his Warres in Gaullond.
Procopius lib. 2. of the warres in Gothland.

liople, there should bée offered three Calues: and that afterward Pallas of Laodicea was contented with a Hynd: and that Hercules in traueling through Italy, gaue thē men of Hay to be throwen into Tyber, but surely it had bene more to his commendation, if he had punished those Gods, thā to haue ouercome the great monsters for which he is so renowmed. Yet was that custome obserued still: Insomuch that euen in Rome, euery yere the same day that men had bene wont to be sacrificed, the Altars were washed with mans blud, howbeit, about a fower score yeres afore comming of Christ, the Senate had condemned such sacrifices at Rome. Now séeing that (as Seneca sayth) they required such a seruice as Busyris or Phalaris durst neuer to haue demaunded: who will not conclude with Porphirius, (as greate an enemy to Christians as hee was) that they were al diuels and wicked fiends? Or with Quintilian, that such Gods could not bee but witlesse and starke mad? And whereas the Senate which worshipped them, did neuertheless condemne and abolish their Sacrifices, was not their so doing a condemning of the founders of them also? I meane of the wicked Fiends themselues, which required those kinds of Sacrifices so instātly, and were so sore offended at the discontinewing of them? Labeo whom men toke for a great maister of those Misteries, sayd that the good spirits were to be discerned from the wicked by this, that this latter sort became not fauorable but by manslaughters and deadly supplications, (which was a flat condemning almost of them all: and that the other sort were pacified with Playes, Gamings, Feastes and Banquetings, Momeries and Maskings, and such other things. But if these good ones (as they terme them,) delight in such things as wyse men shunne and fooles are ashamed of, what followeth but that euen those good ones are worse than the worst men? Let vs examine their Playes and shewes, for it is the difference that Labeo setteth downe. The Gods being sought vnto in an extréme plague, commaunded for all waging thereof, that they should ordeine certeine Stageplaies. Contrariwise, Scipio Nasica the Highpriest of those Fiends, to the intent (as hee sayd) to eschewe the Plague, forbade the setting vp of the Scaffolds. Now of this Scipio or of the Gods, which I pray you shalbe found the wiser? The Stageplayes ỳ were ment, were tales of loue, of aduoutrie, and of lecherie, interlarded with a thousand filthy spéeches, insomuch that the Housebands forbade their wiues, and the Parents their Daughters to come at them. Fooles

laughed

Euseb. lib. 4. Cap. 7.

The yeere after the building of Rome 657. Plinie, lib. 30. Cap. 1. Quintilian in his booke of Fanaticall things.

Shamefull Seruices. Austin in his second booke of the Citie of God. Cap. 11.

Austin in his first booke of the Citie of God. Cap. 32.

laughed at them, and wyse men blushed at them, and all men at their going away from them, did with one common consent banish the players of those Enterludes out of all good company, and declared them to bee infamous persons by excluding them from all Offices, and by reiecting them from bearing any witnesse. Now seeing that the seruing of God is so commendable a thing; if these were Gods, why was it an infamie and reproach to serue them? The requirers of those playes, are honored; and why then are the plaiers of them reproched? The Greekes step vp to reason against the Romanes, and say that such Gods are worthy to be worshipped, their Stageplayers deserue to be reuerenced too. This proposition of theirs is well grounded, and apparant of it selfe. But the Romanes taking another ground as sure as that, affirme it to be impossible for the Comedyplayers to deserue reputation, considering what they doe and say. Wherupon we are to conclude, that those Gods ought not to haue bëen worshipped at all. And so hath Nasica gotten the better hand against his owne Gods and their playes. And yet are they the selfesame Gods that were confirmed by so many Oracles, whom Zosimus that great enemy of Christians so much bewayleth, that hee affirmeth the welfare of the Romane Empire to haue ended with the abolishing of them by Constatine. And what els are the misteries which he highly commendeth, but remembrances of the whoredomes, incests, murders, and deceites committed by the men whose names those Diuelles did beare? And what man is so brazenfaced, as that he will not bee ashamed of his sinne, and blush to heare it told vnto him? May who doubteth that if those men were aliue againe, they would be both ashamed and astonished at those things before the fäders by? And who then can doubt that those Gods were of the worst sort of Diuels, which not onely take pleasure in ill doing themselues, but also doe bedaube themselues with the euill which they did not? As for example, who would thinke that the goodly Gossip whom they call the Mother of the Gods, but whom the veriest kaytife in the world would bee loth to haue to be his Mother, could haue heard the vilanous speeches wherewith hir feast was solemnised, and not haue hidden her selfe away for shame? And if Dame Flora could haue read the Floralles of Auleius, who doubteth that she would not haue done the lyke, and much more bene abashed to sée so great a Clerke and so graue a Senator as Cicero, caried with deuotion to ẏ celebrating of them? For what els, at a word, are all those misteries,

Austin. lib. 2. Cap. 4. 5. 6. 13. In infinite places in the Digests.

Zosimus. lib. 2.

steries, but Schooles of Lecherie, Sodomie, and Incest? And if the end of Religion be (as Plotin sayth) to become like the partie that is worshipped, what els could bee the marke that those Ceremonies amed at, than to make men rype in all sortes of wickednes? and what readyer way could there bee to become Diuils in deede, than to resemble them? For whereas they say that after their spewing out of al those filthy things openly, they giue some precepts of vprightnes and modestie to their Schollers in secret: thereby their naughtinesse appeareth the more plainly to bee altogither diuelish, in that they first corrupt the maners of a whole people, both by their Religious Seruices and by their example, and afterward preach of modestie and temperance to two or three, making as it were publick Sermons of all naughtines, to lay the Bridle in euery mans necke, and then (to keepe credit with a fewe that are of more conscience then the rest) rowning them secretly in the Eare with some little talke of vertue. For who hath euer read that any of them did euer giue one good precept, or one good example to the people, whither it were for the withdrawing of them from vice, or for the drawing of them to true vertue? And yet notwithstanding to what end desire wee to haue God or his blessed Angels conuersant with vs fraple and weake men, but that they of singular good will, should induce, leade, and guyde vs into the way of saluation?

The Oracles of the Gods were false, vncerteine, vayne and wicked.

But their defenders reply, saying: Yet notwithstanding, they prophesied and wrought great and straunge miracles. Let vs omit that it is more naturall to beleeue the partie which preacheth good things, without diuinations and miracles, than to beleeue the partie that keepeth a Schoole of euils, though he prophesie and worke miracles. But in the ende what were the Oracles and Miracles which they so highly commend? The Oracle of Delphos was one of the greatest in reputation. The beginning therof may be an argument for the rest. A heard of Goates (sayth Diodorus) was the first meane to bring it in credit. And afterward a yong wench was set there, to vtter forth the Oracles which she receyued, (as they say) by her priuie partes. And for the slaunders that grewe thereof, it was ordeyned that the Wench should be a Mayd of fiftie yeres old. By these circumstances a man may gather what maner a God that could be. To Cresus therefore beeing desirous to knowe what should bee the issewe of his warres against the Persians, the Oracle answered.

King Crœsus passing ouer Haty streame,
Shall ouerthrowe the proud and stately Reame.

Cresus gathered hereof that he should ouerthrowe the Empire of the Persians, but in dede he ouerthrew his owne; which thing the Oracle had prouided for afore hand, by making the answer so doutfull that it might be taken both wayes yet was there greate reason that Apollo should haue preserued Cresus: for of singular deuotion he had greatly inryched his Temple at Delphos. And vnto Pyrrhus (as Ennius sayeth) he answered thus.

I say the sonne of Aeacus
The Romanes sure shall ouercome.

Presuming hereuppon that he should ouercome the Romanes, hée himself was ouercome of them. Also he counseled the Athenians to flée before Xerxes: and he foretold the Salaminians that they should be ouercome by the Persians either in Winter or in Sommer. Who perceyueth not by these doutfull spæches, that Apollo knew nothing certeinly, and therefore that he euer left himself a backedoore to scapeout, at all assayes? And as for the comming of these foresayings to passe; who douteth that Themistocles perceiuing so puissant an armie to approche, dæmed not as much thereof himself, specially seeing ỳ afore he had heard the answer of Apollo, he counseled his Countrymen to wayt for their enemyes vppon the sea? And what a number of wise Senatours and good Capteynes were there (think wee) in those frée Cities and kindomes, which would haue giuen their aduice more to the purpose in that cace?

Zosimus reporteth that when the Palmirenes asked counsell, whither they should obteyne the Empyre of the East or no; an Oracle answered them in this wyse:

Go get ye hence lyke guylfull folke and Conseners as yee be;
The things yee now do take in hand displease the Goddes I see.

And some such other dooth Zosimus report, whereof he maketh greate reckening. But what els are such wandering and generall answers, but deceptfull douts, and (as ye would say) shooes that will sitte both fæte, as agrecable to folk that are furthest of, as to the parties that aske the Counsell? Therefore Oenomaus a Philosopher and Orator of Greece, hauing oftentymes (as he himself confesseth) bin begyuled by the Oracle of Delphos, gathered a Register of the lyes thereof and did set forth a booke against it, intyteled the falsehood of Oracles. And Porphyrius who lykewyse made a collection of them, euen without adding diminishing or chaunging

chaunging so much as one woord; sayeth that vppon examining of them, he found them ordinarily false: and he addeth the cause thereof to be, That their foretelling of things is not by foreknowledge, but by coniectures taken of naturall causes, and of the mouings and meetings of the Starres, as hath appered in many Oracles. For Apollo being asked by one whither he should haue a Sonne or a Daughter, answered, a Daughter; bycause (q. Apollo himself) that at the tyme of the conception, Venus ouershadowed Arares. And being asked another time whither that yeere should bee vnhealthfull or no; hee answered yea, bycause the constellation thereof was daungerous for the Loongs: and so of other things. How many wyse women and lerned Phisicions would haue answered that matter better, and yet for so dooing men would not haue offered sacrifice vnto them? Nay, which more is, Porphyrius sayeth that vpon a tyme, Apollo of Delphos being vnable to coniecture by the Starres, desired folk to let him alone, telling them flatly that if they were importunate vppon him, he would answer them with lyes. And that at another tyme he answered flatly, that at ỳ instant the course of the Starres could shewe him nothing. Now I pray you what maner of Gods are these, which learne their wisdome of the Starres? Nay, which worse is, how can they be sayd to bee good Spirits, which threaten to lye, if they be vrged too farre? And in good sooth such are the answers which the coniured Deuilles doe yéld yet still at this day by these Sorcerers and Witches; for the doing whereof, these seruants of theirs are by all lawes condemned to be burnt, as he was that deceiued Manfred when he was to fight with Charles Duke of Aniow in the Realme of Naples, by this doubtfull construction of Grammer, *Non, non Gallus superabit Appulum:* which may bee Englished as doubtfully thus; No, the French man the Italian shall not ouercome. For Manfred considered not that in Latin two Negatiues may counteruayle an Affirmatiue. Many such other like trickes there are, which we may with lesse trouble reade in Histories. And if they knowe not the certeyntie of the things that are demaunded of them, why doe wee eyther worship them or wonder at them? And if they speake that which they know not, are they not deceyuers? And if they speake against their owne knowledge, are they not lyers? And if it belong vnto Gods to deceyue and to lye, wherefore doe wee blame our neighbours and beate our children for so doing? Nay (which more is) to lye and to deceyue in

Porphyrius in his bookes of the Answere of Oracles.

matters

matters of such importance, where the case concerneth the blud of so many sillie Soules, and the sacking of so many poore houses; who can denye it to be the propertie of the Deuill, who euen from his first beginning hath bene found to bee both a Murtherer and a lyer? As for Birdgazers, I haue touched them in a word or twaine afore. The Ægiptians obserued them after one sort, and the Affricanes after another; the Greekes on the right side, the Romanes on the left: and Aristotle skorned them because they determined not the tyme; and Plinie mocked them, because that euen by their owne doctrine, they touched not them at all which had no regarde of them. Yea and euen the greatest Birdgazers themselues, as Cato, Cæsar, and Cicero made a mocke of it. And if at any tyme they happened to hit right vppon a thing; it was but after the maner of our Almanackes, the flat contrary whereof who so followeth, shall commonly come nerest the trueth. Neuertheless, if their Gods foresawe any Plague by naturall Coniectures, as Philosophers, Phisitions, Hunters, and Shepheards also doe; they feyned themselues to be angrie at some State or Commõweale. And for what cause? Forsoth for omitting of common Playes and Enterludes; that is to say, for shutting vp the Scholes of Lecherie and Ribaudrie: Or for that they had not made their wonted showes of Fensers and Swordplayers; that is to say, of men that slewe one another openly to please them withall, and to make a whole state giltie of manslaughter and murder. And if they iudged by the season of the yere that the Plague should ceasse; Then it was the goodly Sacrifices that had appeased them, and that made men the carefuller to continue them. Insomuch that when the Romanes had lost the bluddie battell at Cannas; it was sayd to be, because their Consul Varro had put a fayre young boye to the Galley. And when things went amisse in the Citie, it was eyther because some Dauncer or Gambolder had displeased them at the Gamings and Showes in the Kirke, or because some Malefactor had bin conueyed that way to the Gallowes. What a Godhead is that I beseech you, which is prouoked to anger by Modestie, and appeased by mischiefe: In the fauour whereof a man cannot stand, but by dealing wickedly; but is so straungely offended by the doing of Iustice?

But let vs see further whether they be any better Diuines than Prophetes. The Oracle of Delphos sayth thus:

A God in sooth is Cleomede, and not a mortall wight;
The last begot of heauenly race; an Altar to him dight.

This

This Cleomede was one of those that pleasured these Gods, by beating one another with strokes of hand and foote; of whom we reade that he slewe his aduersarie at one blowe. But of such a one as Socrates, Plato, or Pythagoras, he would neuer haue sayd so much.

Againe he sayth thus.

Archilochus is a very Saint and seruant of the Gods: Yea verely of such Gods in deede; for he chose the wickedest and leaudest subiect of whom to make his verse. But of Theognis, or of a Phocylides which had exhorted folk to good life, he would neuer haue sayd so much.

Of Cypselus he sayd thus.

A happie man is Cypselus and loued of the Gods. If it bee so: then what are Busyris, Phalaris, and al other Tyrants? for there neuer was a greater Tyrant than he. But the sayd Oracle sayd also, that Iupiter and Apollo had prolonged the life of Phalaris, for his wel handling of Cariton and Menalippus. Now, what fitter meane can there be to make Tyrants, (that is to say, enemies of mankind in the world) than to beare men on hande that such are beloued of the Goddes? Zosimus their great Patron, rehearseth an Oracle which answered, That for the appeasing of an Earthquake at Athens, it behoued them to honor Achilles as a God. This was a playne turning away of man from God to the creature. The same answered likewise to the mē of Methymnus, that it behoued them to worship a wodden head of Bacchus that was found by fishing in the Sea. And this was a making of them more blynd than the stocke it self. And when they were demaunded concerning the maner of worshipping and seruing these Gods; they answered:

καὶ κεφαλὰς κρονίδῃ, ἠὼ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.

That is to say:

Send you the heads to Iupiter, the lights vnto his Syre.

The dubble signification of the Greeke word φῶς Fos, which signifieth a man, and may also signifie a Torch or a Light, did cut off the liues of many folkes. Which doubtfulnesse of speech the Idoll coueted, not of any intent to spare them, but to haue matter of excuse against such as made conscience to doe it. For being asked by the Athenians how they might make amends for their killing of Androgeus; hee willed them to sende yéerely to King Minos, seuen bodies of eyther sex chosen from among them all, to appease the wrath of God; and that kynd of Sacrifize continued still in Athens

thens in the tyme of Socrates. Now then, what els is all their doctrine than a seruing of the Deuill and of Creatures, yea euen with a seruice which in very deede is deuilish and horrible: All these Oracles are reported by Oenomaus a Heathen man, who sought them out: by Porphyrie our enemie, who by them would induce vs to make great account of thē; who in the beginning of his booke, appealeth vnto GOD that he setteth not any thing downe of his own head: by Chrysippus the Stoike in his booke of Destinie, who by those Oracles goeth about to proue it: and by Zosimus himself, who maketh so great moane to see their mouthes stopped and their Temples shut vp. And surely it is not to be marueled, though the Peripateticks putting thē to tryall, did vtter great griefes against those Oracles: and that the Platonists (which went to worke more faithfully) were driuen to cōclude, that not only the vncleane Spirites, but also euen their Goddes whom they thought to bee pure, were subiect to lying.

Let vs come to their Myracles. In the Temple of Venus there was a Lamp that neuer went out; and the Image of Serapis hung vnfastened in the ayre. Diuers decepts may be wrought in the like case; and it is well knowne that the like wonders are seene euen in naturall things, as a Fountaine to light a Torch, and a Stone to hang by yron in the ayre. And they which haue the skill to vse such things, and to gather together the vertues of many into one, may wonderfully bleare the eyes, euen of the wisest. As for example, it hath bene seene that some haue found out a deuise how to burne vp one water with another; and to breake open a strong Locke, almost without touching it. And that the Fiends (which know more than wee) doe better serue their owne turnes with the wonders of Nature than we doe, it is not to be doubted: Insomuch that the Phisition which knoweth the vertues of Hearbes, maketh things of them which the Gardyner that sowed them and cherished them vp would wonder at and cannot doe. But loe here a strange case. Accius Nauius the greate Birdgazer of Rome, did cut asunder a Whetstone with a Razor in the presence of King Tarquine. What a number of Witches are dayly burned which doe much more by their familiaritie with the Deuill: For they stop a Tunne that is pearced full of holes; they hold fast a Waterspout from running; and they bynd the naturall abilities: and yet notwithstanding they confesse that their so doing is by the wicked Spirites, and the wicked Spirites discouer not themselues otherwise than so vnto them. False Miracles.

them. And in very trueth, the Angelles and the Fœnds differ not properly in strength and power, but in will and practise: like as among men, the good men differ not from the wicked men eyther in strength of bodie or in stoutnesse of courage, but in the applying of their bodies and mynds. Also it may bee that the Image of Feminine Fortune hath spoken, and likewise the Image of Iuno Moneta, and such others: And that Castor and Pollux haue wyped away the sweat from the Horses of the Romanes as they traueled: And that the Ladie Claudia drewe the Shippe wherein the Idoll of the Goddesse Bona was, which so many yong men could not once stirre. Let vs admit all these things to bee true, notwithstanding that Titus Liuius say that hee becommeth olde in reckoning them vp. Wee stand not to dispute whither Spirites can speake by Images or no: for wee doubt not thereof. But I say that the Spirites which speake in them be wicked Spirites, and turne vs away to the Creature, to make vs offend the Creator. Neither do I hold opinion that Spirites cannot take bodies vpon them; nor that they bee vnable to doe feates farre passing the power of men: for thereof examples are to bee seene, yea moe than were requisite. But the thing that I vphold is this, that the Spirites which seeke to haue the praise of a victorie obteyned, or of the asswaging of a Plague, which is due but to the only one God; or which will haue them ascribed to Fortune, which is but an imagination; or to a Iuno, which is but a Blocke; or to a good Goddesse the mother of the Gods, a mother whom the veryest wretches in the worlde (as I sayd afore) would disclayme to be their mother, are very Deuilles. And in good sooth, whereas the Deuill which tooke vppon him the name of that Goddesse, suffered himself to be drawne by Claudia, who had so ill reporte among all men: It agreed very well to the life which the Goddesse her selfe had led, and to the miracles of the Fœnds, & to the marke that they shot at: namely, to giue the more boldnesse to Claudia to continue her leaud life, and occasion vnto others to followe her.

Also one was counted a God because he draue away Grashoppers; another because he killed Frogges, Crickets, and Flyes. And hereof it came that the Chananites called their Belzebub, and the Greekes their Iupiter, by the name of Scarefly. Another (sayth Zosimus) sent Birds to deuoure the Grashoppers. Admit that all these effects haue not their particuler causes: yet what miracles are they to make Gods withal: For by that reckoning, why

Iupiter. ἀπομυῖος.

should

should not those also which by certeyne receyts doe kill Serpents, Rats, and Fældmyce, or which doe moreouer driue away vermin out of mens bodies, bee counted Gods? May, if wee will see miracles, let vs loke vppon the doings of the onely one God, which are vtterly vnpossible, wonderfull, and vncommunicable to any creature. He made the world, and he destroyed it. He made the Sea, and he dryeth it vp. He made the Sunne, and he causeth it to stand still. Yea and (which is yet much more) he made all these things by his word, and with a blast of his mouth he chaungeth them as he listeth. These are the miracles of the God of Israell, which haue not their like among the other Gods. And if they will deale vprightly in disputing, they must as well beleeue our bookes for these miracles, as we beleeue their bookes for theirs.

Also if wee loke vpon the miracles of the good Spirites, and of the seruants of that one God; they be not casses of Legierdemaine to dazle mens eyes withall; nor nimble tricks & sleyghts, nor wonders to no end, to no reason, to no instruction: but when they strike, it is to chastize men; and when they heale, it is to glorifie God. If they speake, it is to teach; and if they appeare to vs, it is to leade vs to welfare. If they foretell, they doe it as messengers from God; and if they worke miracles, they doe it as executers of his power. And they bee so farre of from being angrie at a Song mistuned, or at a Gambauld misbegun in the honor of them after the maner of the Heathen Gods; that (as wee reade in our Scriptures) they bee offended with nothing more, than when men thank them or honor them for the things which they ought to thank and to worship the Creator. Markes whereby to knowe Diuels.

By the tokens which the Platonists giue vs thereof, wee shall percieue yet better whether those Gods were good Spirits or bad, Angels or Diuelles; notwithstanding that that Sect was twto much ouertaken in the seruing of them. The Diuelles or wicked Spirits (saith Porphirius) delight in bludshed, in filthy and rybawdly speeche, in giuing Poyson, in furnishing folke with charmes of loue, and in prouoking them to lechery, and to all vyces. Yea, and they beare men on hand, that all the Gods and the very Souereyne GOD himselfe, taketh pleasure in such things; either feyning themselues to bee the Sowles of some deadfolkes, or taking vppon them to be Gods. Which of all these tokens haue I not noted already in their Gods? Agein (saith Porphirius) They turkining themselues as much as they can Porphirius in his secõd book of Abstinence. In his Epistle to Anebon alledged by Eusebius. lib. 4. cap. 11. Iamblichus in his booke of Mysteries in many places.

into Gods, that is to say, into Angels of light, to beguile our sence and imagination with straunge vanities: Insomuch that he that is the cheefe of them, will needes bee estemed to bee the souerein God. And yet notwithstanding, their foretelling of things is but by gesse, and all of them generally bee subiect to lying and deceyuing. They be angry at euery small tryfle; & are pacified againe with fond and vaine things. Neuertheless they haue beguyled some vayne Poets and Philosophers, and consequently by them haue drawen the silly people to the worshipping of them as Gods. What is all this but a description of the very same Gods whom hee himselfe worshipped? Likewise Iamblichus who maketh an Anatomie of them, saith thus. They transforme themselues (saith he) into good Spirits; but in deed it is but a brag, wherby they pretend more than they be in deede. They make a galant showe, and daunt men with their words. They play the Gods, and yet are troubled with light passions. But the greate Witch Apuleius sayth yet more. They be pacified with gifts (saith he) and wroth with wrongs. They be pleased with Ceremonies, and angred with the want of them be it neuer so little. They take vpon them the ruling of Birdgazers and Bowelgazers, and of the Oracles and Miracles of Witches and Wizards. To be short, they be vnkindly wights, passionate of Spirit, reasonable of vnderstanding, ayry of body, and endlesse of time. To whom can these things agree but to his owne Gods? And what remayneth then, but that they were Diuels; so much the more miserable, as they bee more vehement in their passions, and immortall in their nature.

Iamblichus in his booke of Mysteries.

Apuleius.

Now is there nothing behind but their owne Confession, and thereof we shall not yet fayle. Apollo therefore as one vppon the Racke, doth in many of his Oracles acknowledge the Souereine God, and to make the most of himselfe, he termeth himselfe one of his Angels, as appeareth by this Oracle of his alledged afore.

We Angels are a parcell of the Souereine God of all.

And beeing asked vppon a tyme by what name he would be called and prayd vnto, he answered,

Call mee the feend that knowes all things to whom belongs all skil.

And in another;

The witty Feend, the Harmony and Cresset of the World.

And ageine,

We

Wee Feendes which runne through Sea and Land, do tremble ſhrink and ſhake,
To ſee the Whip of that great God which makes the World to quake.

Α'ρμονίη κόσμοιο φαέσφορε καὶ σόφε δαῖμον.

Auſtin in his ninth booke of the Citie of God. chap. 19.

And yet notwithſtanding, the Greeke word Demon (which is the word whereby they termed their Gods, and which in this place I engliſh Fœnd) was ſo odious euen among the learned men themſelues who knewe the originall thereof, that they would haue bene loth to call a Slaue ſo. But when as wee reade further that theſe Gods do quake at the naming of the Stigian marris, that is to ſay of Hell, inſomuch that euen Iupiter himſelfe ſweareth thereby, and is afrayd to be forſworne: what els is to bee thought thereof, but that theſe Gods which feine themſelues to reigne in heauen, are tormented in hell? Beſides this, the miracles and Oracles of theſe Gods are come to an end, and their Seruices and Sacrifices are come to nought, and at length folke haue acknowledged the only one GOD the maker of Heauen and Earth, and ruler of the whole world, to be the ſame whome the Iewes haue worſhipped. And in that reſpect it is that Seneca cryed out, That the Slauiſh Iewes had giuen lawe to the whole Earth. But who can maruell that hee which made both the worlde and man, ſhould in the end make men to acknowledge him to be as he is? So then, let vs conclude for theſe laſt three Chapters, That there is but onely one God; That the ſame was worſhipped, ſerued and called vpon by the people of Iſraell: That the Gods of the Heathen were men; That vnder the names of thoſe men, diuels were worſhipped; and finally that our firſt marke whereby to knowe the true God, is not to be found elſewhere then in the Iewiſh Religion; whereupon it followeth that all other Religions were Idolatrie and Vanitie. For whereas ſome alledge in excuſe, that the ſeruing of many Gods may well match with the ſeruing of the onely one; If they be Gods in deede, that is to ſay Angelles; they take themſelues to haue wrong, for they ſeeke nothing but the honoring of God. And if they be Deuils, then are they Gods enemies; and then the worſhipping of them is a rebelling againſt God. To bee ſhort, as little agreement is betweene the ſeruice of the true God, & the ſeruice of the Heathen Gods, as is betweene light & darkneſſe; the true goodneſſe and vtter naughtineſſe; moſt extreme holineſſe of will, (which is in him) & extreme leaudneſſe of will (which is in the); welfare and foulehealth, whereof we be deſirous, and deſtruction and wretchednеſſe, which they haue purchaſed to themſelues by their rebellion.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

That in Israell Godds woord was the Rule of his Seruice, which is the second marke of true Religion.

NOw haue we seen by the former Chapters, how blind man is in matters concerning God, and his owne welfare, seeing that in sted of the true God his maker and Saupour, he hath worshipped not only the vilest and baselt creatures, but also the verie enemyes of Gods glorie and of his owne welfare. And that ought to warne vs the more, how needfull this second marke that I haue giuen forth, is in religion; namely that Gods woord is the Rule of his seruice. For surely he that ouershoteth himself so farre as to take, not a Starre but the very darknesse itself for the Sonne: cannot but ouershote himself much more in discoursing of his owne nature, course, and vertue. And lyke as hee that hath missed his way at his first setting forth, the more he halteth him the more he goeth astray: so doubtlesse he that is ouerseene in the obiect of Religion, that is to say, the true God; the more he talketh of Religion and diuine seruis, the more shal he blaspheme the name of the euerlasting, and the further shall he wander away from his welfare. The heathen (as we haue seene) did worship the diuell in stead of the true God; & what seruice insued thereof? Playes, Fables, Combats; which were Schooles of whoredome, of Incests and of murder; bluddie Sacrifices, and ordinarie manslaughters. If their godlynesse, were such, what might their vngodlynes bee? These extreme mischeeues made some to suspect that there was an abuse. But what did that auayle them? One sort sayd, seeing that Religion consisteth in such things, it were meete to bee banished quite out of the World: and thereof sprang the Schoole of Epicurus: and that is a falling from one breakenecke too another. Another sort sacrificed as the common people did; and hild opinion in their harts with ỹ wyfest sort. Such were Aristotle, Cicero and others; of whom the former bequeathed

thed a Sacrifice to Ceres by his last will; and the other celebrated the shameful feasts of the Goddesse Flora. What els is this, than a mocking of God, a decepuing of folke of set purpose, and a betraying of their owne saluation? There haue bin some feaw who in their wrytings haue let slippe some words against such vngodlynes, and haue taught that there is but only one God, and that hee was not serued with such Ceremonies. But when they come too giue a rule of Religion, at what poynt are they? One speaks one thing and another another, euery man after his owne fancie. They dispute and crie out one against another too ouerthrowe one another. But if ye take the whottest of them aside, & let them cole theiheate a little; they will tel you that they be scarce sure of that which they assure you; and that they be but the opinions of men, and therefore are disputable on both sides; only they think they find more likelihod of truth in their owne, than in the opinion of their aduersaries. To be short, among all the things which the wisemen of the world haue written here and there of the seruice of GOD, ye may hap to finde some one good saying in a hundred peres, and some one other in another hundred: but when ye haue gathered them all together as diligently as ye can, yet shall ye not bee able to make of them neither Rules, nor Grounds, nor scarcely good Problemes. So greatly is man by his corruption, both blinded in things concerning God, and recheleslie in things that concerne his own welfare. Yet is it soth (and so haue we proued,) that God hath set man in this world to serue GOD his Creator; and that Seruice we call Religion. Wherevpon it followeth, that euen since the first tyme that there was any man in the world, there hath also bin Religion. For the duetie which man oweth vnto GOD, is of the same date that man himselfe is; and the duetie which he oweth vnto God, is true godlinesse and Religion. Againe, Religion could not bee the inuention of Man: for the inuention of men tending to their owne pleasure or profite, proceed from ground to ground, from principle to principle, and from experience to experience, and at the first are rude, and afterward are polished, not by the same man that found them out, but most commonly a hundred yeare or twaine after: whereas Religion (that is to say, mans duetie towards God) was not so much instituted as bred with man, for his owne welfare and for the glorie of God. The thing (say I) without the which, God should not haue made man, and man might haue bene sorie that he had bene made; ought (euen at the first beginning) to be perfect and

fully accomplished to his end: which thing Religion could not be, if it were deuised by mans brayne, considering that after his fall he was striken with ignorance in his wit, and with frowardnesse and leaudnesse in his will. Nœdes therefore must it be, that the rule of Gods seruice was giuen to man by God himselfe, who alonly is able to vtter his owne will, to make rules of his seruice, and to tell vs what things doe please him. Now, true Religion is the true seruice of the true God: and the true God (as I haue proued alreadie) was not knowne in old tyme elsewhere than in Israell. As for the Gods of the Gentiles, they were Deuils, and consequently their Oracles were the worde of Deuils. Whereupon it followeth that there is no seeking for the true seruice of GOD and for the true word of God, but onely among the people of Israell; yea and that it must of necessitie also be found there. For seeing that of necessitie there must nœdes bee a Religion; and that in Religion there must nœdes bee a rule proceeding from GOD, according to which rule God will be serued; and that God was serued in Israell and no where els: The Rule which we seeke must nœdes be found in Israell too. For as it is impossible that it should be elsewhere, because the true God was not anywhere els: so is it not possible that it should not bee there, forasmuch as there was one there, and that the true God also was there. Now therefore, the people of Israell had alwaies certeine bookes which we call the Byble or old Testament, which bookes they reuerenced and followed as the very word of GOD, whereby he hath shewed vnto men after what maner he will bee serued and worshipped. And those bookes haue bene kept continually from tyme to tyme, euen since ꝑ creation of the world: and they haue bene of such authoritie among the true Israelites, that they beléeued not any other bookes, and for the maintenance of them haue indured warres, oppressions, banishments, remouings, deaths, and slaughters; which are such things as are not to bee found among other Nations, notwithstanding that the Lawmakers of other Nations, in giuing them their lawes, made them beléeue that they proceeded from the Gods, because it was a thing as good as graunted among al men, that the setting doune of rules for Religion and for mans Soulehealth, belonged only vnto God. And therefore wee might well gather this conclusion, whereof the premises are proued heretofore; That there is but one true God, one true Religion, one true Rule of seruing God, reuealed by and from the true God. And that this true God was not knowne and

What and where the true Religion is.

worshipped

worshipped elsewhere than among the people of Israell. Unto Israell then was the sayd word reuealed, and that word must néedes be the Byble or olde Testament, whereby the Israelites were taught the seruice of God. But forasmuch as wee haue to doe with soike that will sooner be driuen to silence by arguments, than perswaded by reason to beléeue, as though it stoode God on hand to perswade them for his honor, and not them to beléeue for their own welfare: I will by the Readers leaue, set forth this matter at large.

First of all, forasmuch as there is a Seruice of God to bée had; and that seruice should rather bee a misseruice than a Seruice, if it were not according to his will; and his will cannot be conceiued of vs by coniectures, but must be manifested vnto vs by his word; I aske them vpon their conscience, if they were to discerne that word from all others, by what markes they would knowe it, that they might not be deceiued? This word (say I) is the rule of Gods seruice and the way of welfare. Unto this seruice is man bound from his very creation, and it is the marke whereat hee ought to shoote from his very birth. Will it not then bee one good marke of this word, if it be auncienter than all other Lawes and Rules, than all other words, than all inuentions of men? And will it not be another good marke, if it tend to none other end, than the glorifying of God and the sauing of mankind? If (say I) it withdrawe man from all other things to leade him to God, and to turne him out of all byppathes? how great pleasure so euer there be in them, to leade him to saluation? May I say yet more, If we find things in the Scripture which no Creature could euer haue foretold or spoken; things which could neuer haue come into any mans mind; things not onely aboue but also against our nature; Will any man bee so wilfull and so very an enemy to his owne welfare, as not to yéeld and agrée, when he seeth both the hand, the signe, and the Seale of God? In déede I vndertake a matter beyond my abilitie; but yet the higher it is, the more will GOD ayde mee with his grace. And first of all, forasmuch as the worlde was made for man, and man for God, and man could neuer be without true Religion, nor true Religion without the word of God: I demaund of the great Nations and florishing kingdomes that haue giuen Lawes to all the world, and among whom the liberall sciences, artes, and learning haue bene most renowmed; whither any one of them is to be found that hath had a Lawe set downe in writing, concerning the true Seruice of the true God? Yea or one worde either right or wrong

Marks whereby to discerne Gods word.

That the Byble is of more auctiquitie then all other writings.

wrong that hath bin beleeued to proceede from him, I meane from the only one euerlasting GOD the maker of Heauen and Earth: Also I demaund of them whither among the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes, and Romanes, a man shall find an Historie of Religion deduced from the first beginning of the world, and continued so on from tyme to tyme, and from age to age? And on the contrarie part; whether there be any Heathen man which is not driuen to confesse, that the very latest writer of our Byble, is of more antiquitie than the auncientest authors that are renowned among the Gentiles: And whether that little which the Gentiles haue learned concerning God be not borowed from other men; and finally whether in matters of religion, they haue not walked by groping, without light and without any direction? This matter is handled at large by diuers auncient writers. Neuertheleſſe, for the ease of them which cannot reade them all, I will gather them here together in feawe words.

The Byble beginning at the creation of the world & of man, leadeth vs from tyme to tyme, and from Father to Sonne, euen vnto Christ. It deliuereth vs a diuision of men into Gentiles and Israelites, into Idolaters and true worshippers of the Soueraine God; and their comming togither ageine into one after a certeine time, and by a meane appoynted euerlastingly to that end by God. And the writers thereof are Moyses, Iosua, the Chronicles of the Iudges and Kings, the Prophetes euery of them in his time, Daniell, Nehemias, and Esdras; of whome euen theſe latest were about three thousand and fiue hundred yeares after the creation, and yet were they afore any Chronicles of the worlde were in the residue of the world. I desire all the Antiquaries of this time, which make so greate account of the antiquitie of the Greekes and Romanes, or of an old Coyne, or of a wetherbeaten Piller, or of a halfeaten Epitaphe, what find they like vnto that: Esdras is the latest in the Canon of the Hebrewe writers, and yet liued he afore the tyme that Socrates taught in Athens. And what rule of Religion was there among the Greekes of his tyme, who condemned him for speaking of the onely one GOD: At the same tyme were Pythagoras, Thales, Xenophanes, and the seuen Sages which haue borne so great fame in Greece, who in their whole life tyme haue sayd some good words concerning maners, and conuersation among men, but as for God, they haue spoken nothing of him but dreamingly, nor deemed of him, but ouerthwartly, nor

knowen

knowen aught of him but that little which they learned of the Ægiptians. Thither went Orpheus, Homere, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Heraclitus, Democrates, Thales, Oenopis, and the residue of them to schole, as they them selues doe highly boast in their Bookes. And what learned they there but Superstition, as I haue shewed afore? And what els then could they bring into Greece? And what might their ignorance be, seeing they were counted wise so good cheape? Of the same date are the lawes of Solon in Athens, and (anon after) of the twelue Tables at Rome, which the Romaines sent to seeke in Greece by the aduyce of one Hermotimus an Ephesian. As touching GOD and his seruice, which should be the ground of all good lawes, scarce was there one word of very Justice in deede, further than peculiar interest required, which was very little. But shall we seeke the lawe of godlines at the hand of the Greekes and Romaines, who a three thousand and fyre hundred yeares after the Creation of the world, knew not whither there were many Gods or but only one? Ne knewe any further of Religion, than they had learned by their Trafficke into Ægipt? Who in respect of others are of so late tyme in the world, and (which worse is) had reigned three or fower hundred yeres without inquiring after godlinesse and rightuousnesse: Surely we must hold vs to this poynt, that since the very first breeding of man in the world, there hath alwaies bene Religion in the world. For he was not bred in vayne: neither could there be any Religiō without reuealing from God. For (as the Philosophers say of nature) God fayleth not in things needfull. And therefore where men haue bene so lateward, and GOD so finally knowne; there we shall not finde them. For as for the Oracles, that is to say the sayings of the Deuils that abused them; if they were of elder tyme than the people, they spake not to them: and if they were bred after them, then were they newe. And in very trueth, euen by their owne Histories, the first original of the false Gods of Greece and of their miracles, toke beginning about the warres of Troy, which befell about the tyme of the Judges, towards the two thousand and eight hundred yeare after the Creation of the world. The great Kings of Assyria be of more antiquitie than the Greekes; for they fell into the tymes of the Kings and Prophets of Israell, whereas there was not any notable thing in the Storie of the Greekes afore the Captiuitie of Babylon. But how will they shewe vs any law concerning the seruice of God, yea or how could they haue any, seeing they forsoke the

Cicero in his second booke of the Ends of things.
Aulus Gellius in his 20. book Cap. 1.
Denis of Halycarnassus lib. 1. cap. 2.
Plinie lib. 34. cap. 5.
Pomponius ff. of the original of Lawe.

the true God and worshipped false Gods? Nay, as touching those false Gods, what memoriall almost haue wee of them, but in the Byble, and that is of the victories which the true God had against them, and of his Conquestes ouer them, which are spoken of from leafe to leafe, to their ouerthrowe and vtter confusion? Contrarywise, what be the Kings of Israell, but maintepners; and the Prophets but expounders of the lawe of Moyses? These as publishers thereof from tyme to tyme, to the intent that folke should not forget it, which thing wee see not in any other Nation; and the other as compellers of men to obserue it, as wherunto euen Kings themselues are bound. But if we goe backe from the tyme of the setting forth of the lawe of Moyses; what haue the Heathen of that tyme to set against it? I say not only in respect of Godlinesse, but also for Justice, and welnere for the common societie of men? The Athenians will alledge Cecrops the founder of their Citie; & the Thebanes their King Ogyges. And of them they terme all things of antiquitie, Cecropian and Ogygian: And peraduenture they will tell vs, that at that tyme folk bred out of the earth in the Countrie about Athens; as though they spake of Mustheromes and Grashoppers. And when they say so, what shall wee looke for at their hands concerning the seruice of God and heauenly things, sith they thinke them to haue bene bred of the earth? But yet they will not denye that this Cecrops was an Ægiptian, who brought them certeyne lawes for the ordering of Mariage; which is a sure proofe that they were vtterly ignorant of the law of God and Man. Long tyme after him came their Gods and Oracles; insomuch that al the Greekish Historie is (as ye would say) tungtyde for many hundred yeeres after, like a broke that loseth himself within thirtie paces of his first spring. Among the Ægiptians & Syrians there was more forme of gouernement; but as for Religion, they worshipped the Heauens, the Planets, and the Starres, which are (in very deede) made for man, and for mans vse are put vnder certeyne lawes by God, and therefore much lesse are those Gods able to make men subiect vnto them. And if there were any among them that knewe more than others, it was the Birdgazers and the Bowelgazers, which are a kynd of Witches that turned men away from God to the Creatures, and therefore in no wise directed them to Saluation. But what shall wee finde among the people of Israell at that tyme? A Moyses that preacheth but the onely one God, and teacheth from him how he will be serued; and a Lawe that setteth the

bounds

bounds both of Religion and Policie; and the duetie of man both towards God and his neighbour; which euery seuenth day is read openly to all the people; which the Kings haue before their eyes, the Priestes beare about them, the Fathers teach to their Children, and the Maysters to their Seruants, and which the very walles and forefronts of their houses doe shewe both to strangers and to their household folke. At the happiest tyme that ye can chose in Rome or Athens, (for I am willing to omit their barbarousnesse) what haue wee, (I say not of Religion, but of Order in Iustice and state of Gouernement) that commeth any thing neere to that? Contrarywise, what lawe was there euer set forth among them, which was not abolished againe ere it was knowne to the people? Or who made account of it but the Lawyers? Or who brake not the lawe afore he knewe it? To be short, where haue wee read that any whole Nation were all Lawyers, and all skilfull in the Lawes of God and men, but the people of Israell? And why was that, but because the same Law conteined the rule of welfare, the which it was meet that all folk without exception should know and vnderstand, because that naturally all men ought to tend vnto their saluation? And as touching the antiquitie of Moyses the setter forth of that Lawe among that people; I will not haue ye to beleeue me, but the Gentyles themselues. The very ground of the antiquitie of Greece (say Diodorus & Denis of Halycarnassus,) was Inachus, who liued twentie Generations (that is to say, about fower hundred yeeres) afore the warres of Troy. And Ptolomie of Mendese a Priest of Ægipt, (who gathered his Historie out of the holy Registers of ỹ Ægiptians) sayd that Amosis King of Ægipt reigned the same tyme that Inachus reigned in Greece; and that in the tyme of the same Amosis, Moyses went out of Ægipt with the people of Israell. The same thing is affirmed by Appion the Grammarian the great enemie of the Iewes; and also confirmed by Berosus the Babylonian, Polemon, Theodotus, Ipsicrates, and Moschus, writers of the Stories of the Phenicians, cyted by Eusebius and Affricanus. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iewrie sayth, that Moyses taught letters to the Iewes; the Iewes to the Phenicians; and the Phenicians to the Greekes by Cadmus. And so by that reckoning, Moyses should be, not onely of most antiquitie in their Histories, but also of more antiquitie than all Histories. Numenius sayth that Plato and Pythagoras had nothing but from the Ægiptians and Syrians, and

Denis of Halycarnassus.

Appion in the fourth booke of his Historie against the Iewes.

Eusebius li. 10. Cap. 3.

namely

namely from Moyses; insomuch that he recyteth his hiſtorie almoſt word for word as we haue it in the Bible; saying that Moyses was a great Diuine, Lawmaker, and Prophet. Also Diodorus of Sicilie sayth, that he vnderſtode by the Ægiptians, (who notwithstanding were enemies to Moyses and to all his race) that he was the first Lawgiuer of all, and moreouer a man of great courage, and of very commendable life; and that the Iewes eſtéemed him as a GOD, as well for the knowledge that he had of GOD, as for his authoritie and preheminence. And he (sayth Diodorus) gaue a Lawe vnto the people of Israell, which hee sayd hee had receyued of Iah, for so doe they call the GOD whom they worship. Strabo.lib.15. And who is this GOD Strabo sheweth vs sufficiently where he saith, That Moyses hauing rebuked the Ægiptians for their vanities and follies, and for resembling God (who is to be worshipped and serued otherwise) by the Images of Beastes and Men; withdrew himselfe from among them that he might serue God. To be short, Porphirius in his fourth booke against Christians, bearetly this record of Moyses, that he had written the hiſtorie of the Iewes truely, which thing he had perceyued by conferring it with Sachoniathon the Berutian, who rehearseth the very same circumstances; the which hee had learned out of the Regiſters of one Hierobaal a Priest of the God of Leuy, that is to say, of the God of Israell, and out of the Chronicles of the cities, & out of the holy bookes which were wont to be dedicated to temples. And this Sachoniathon (saith he) was somewhat after the time of Moyses, about the tyme of Semiramis. Now, Porphirius giueth vs here more than we aske. For we set Abraham in the tyme of Semiramis, & Moyses came certeine hundred yeeres after: Now then, the bookes of Moyses doe leade vs vp from Sonne to Father vnto Abraham, from Abraham to Noe; from Noe, to the first Man, and from the first man to God the Creator, beyond whome it is not possible to passe any further, as I haue proued alreadie: and in treating of the Creation we muſt alwaies néedes come backe again. And through out all this discourse Moyses telleth vs of the things that GOD hath discouered vnto men, and the lawes which he hath giuen after maner of a couenant, to the intent they should be his people, and he should be their God: The which Couenant it had surely bene both a shame & folly for him to haue deuiſed for that hardhearted & stubborne people, whom hee burdeneth not with any other thing, but that which was notoriously knowen vnto them, and thereby they

Porphirius li.4 Euſebius in his booke of preparation to the Goſpell.

were

were certified of their originall nativitie. Neither is it to be suspected that he wrote these things (as some list to say) to get authoritie to himselfe and his; for hee bryndeth his Graundfather Leuy with an open marke of reproch expressed in these words of Iacobs Testament; Simeon and Leuy are cruel instruments, in their vanquishings, &c. Curſed bee their wrath, for it was shamefull; I will diuide them in Iacob, and scatter them in Israell. &c. As who should say, hee ment to disgrade Leuy and all his race; to the saying wherof nothing compelled him. Also he reprœueth Aarons Idolatrie and Maries murmuring, notwithstanding that hee was his Brother and she his Sister: and he repeateth oftentymes, that for his owne fault, God had told him that he should see the land of Canaan, but not enter into it. To be short, hee ordeineth and leaueth Iosua to be his Successor, whereas by reason of the authoritie which he had among that people, he might by al likelyhod haue set vp his owne sonnes. And yet we see that naturally we conceale the faults of our Parents, and corrupt their Pedegrees to make them the more vertuous, and our selues the more commendable by their vertue, and we be loth to acknowledge our owne faults. (I meane euen the homeliest men of vs all) except it be among our most secret frends, and as late as we can. Much lesse can we find in our heartes to publish them to the knowledge of posteritie. To bee short, we be so desirous to leaue honour and estimation to our children, that such as would not haue bene ambitious for themselues, cannot refreyne from beeing ambitious for their posteritie. Now then, what may we conclude thereof, but that he yælded the honor of his auncetors, and his owne to, vnto Gods glorie & the trueth? And although wee procœde not so farre as to conclude absolutely, that he wrote at that time as from God, and not as from man: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as in his writings he strippeth mans nature naked, ought we not at leastwise to conclude, that he which made lesse account of himself and his than of the trueth, would not haue preferred vntrueth before it for any respect? Some miserable kaytife that is quarelous against his owne welfare, will say heere, Admit that Moyses, Iosua, Dauid, Esay and others were as auncient as ye list: yet how shall I be sure that those bookes also were as auncient, and of their writing? It were inough to answere him, How beleeuest thou that such bookes or such were Platoes, Aristotles and Ciceroes. Marry (saiest thou) because they haue bene conueyed vnto vs from them from hand to hand? Use thou the like

Gene. 49. 5 7.

Obiect. ons.

equitie

equitie towards the others, which as great a nomber of men doe assure thee to haue come from them. But if that will not perswade them, yet want we not wherewith to inforce them. First and formost I appeale to the conscience and iudgement of all persons, which knowe what it is to indite, whether the style of the Scriptures bee not such and so peculiar, as it cannot by any meanes bee counterfetted or disguised. And if there bee any that will needes doubt thereof, I pray him to make a triall thereof but in some one side of a leafe, bee it in plainnesse of setting things downe as they were done, or in feruentnesse of praying, or in pithinesse of Prophesying: and he shall forthwith perceiue, that as well in the matter it selfe as in the maner of indyting, there is a certeine new taste in sted of the old, which is peculiar to all tymes, so as no man can atteine to the same naturall veyne, the same zeale, and the same efficacie, vnlesse he be led by the same hand, moued by the same spirit, and pricked with the same spurre that Moyses, Dauid, and the Prophetes were. To be short, if it be hard to father a booke vppon Plato, Herodotus, and Hipocrates, but that hee which shall haue read them aduisedly, will byandby espie it euen a farre of; So is it as vnpossible to father the other bookes vppon those which haue a stile so farre differing from other writings, vnlesse a man wil beare himselfe on hand, that such bastardbookes were made in the same ages or neere about the same tymes that those Authors liued in. Let vs see how it may be possible to haue bene done in the same ages. Moyses published the Lawe before all the people, and he curseth the partie with death both of body and soule, which shall adde, diminish or alter any thing. Hee bindeth the people household by household, to take fast hold thereof. His bookes are deliuered to euery Trybe, they be read openly euery Saboth day, they be kept carefully in the Arke, and the Arke is kept as carefully by all the Trybes. And that this was done, it appeareth not onely by his booke, but also by the effects that insewed therof from time to time, and by the foteteps therof which are euident euen yet among the Iewes. If it be possible for a booke to bee preserued from falsifying and foysting, what booke shall that be but the Byble? which was garded by ten hundred thousand men, and copyed out, not by some Scriueners onely, but also by all the people? Afterward came Iosua, who renewed the same Couenant, proclaymed the Lawe, and yelded record vnto Moyses. Lykewise the Iudges succeded Iosua, Samuell succeded the Iudges, the Kings and the Chronicles

succeded

succéded Samuell, and the Prophets succéded them all. These bookes followed one another immediatly and without interpretation: and euery one that followed, presupposed the things to be an infallible trueth which had bene written by them that went afore; neither was there any that did cast any douts or reproue any of the former histories, as is found to be done in other Histories; (as for example, Hellanicus reproueth Ephorus, Ephorus finds fault with Timeus, and consequently Timeus reprehendeth them that wrote afore him:) But Iosua gathereth a certeine and vnfallible consequence of Moyses, the Iudges of Iosua, Samuell of the Iudges, Dauid of them all, and so all the rest. And to speake of the Prophets, they bee not lyke the bookes of our Astrologers, which reforme one anothers Calculations, and controll one anothers Prognostications: But as they shote all at one marke: so they agrée in one thing, notwithstanding that they wrote in sundrie times and sundry places. May (which more is) wée see that the people were so sure of that Lawe, that from age to age they chose rather to abyde all extremities, than to giue it ouer; insomuch that they defended it ageinst the Chananites, the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babilonians, the Persians, the Greekes, and the Romanes. Who then durst be so prowd and bold as to violate or imbace the thing that was hild to be so holy, defended with so many lyues, and confirmed with so many deathes? If yee say, the Heathen; Their intents was not to marre it, but to make it quyte away. For what profite could haue redounded vnto them of that payne? to what ende should they haue done it? or how could they haue corrupted it in the sight & in the knowledge of so many folke? Moreouer, who knoweth not that the Scriptures were caryed by the banished Iewes, into diuers countrys of the world afore they came into the hands of the Gentiles, as of the Greekes or Romanes? As for the Iewes; their shoteanker and felicitie consisted in the kéeping of them, & the reward of corrupting them was death: and what could it thē haue benefited them to haue corrupted them? May, yet further, which of them would haue dyed afterward for a Lawe, which they knewe to bee corrupted or counterfetted? And sothly we see throughout their Histories, that there passed not so much as any one halfe hundred yeeres without persecutions and warres for that Lawe.

And whereas it myght be sayd, that some suttleheaded fellow among the Iewes had done it to abuse the rest: how could that be a-

geine, seeing it was not in the hands of fower or fiue Preestes only, as the Ceremonies of the Hetrurians and Latins were; but in the hands of the whole people, so as one sillable could not be chaunged, but it was to be espyed euen by young Children. Considering also that we reade not of any king how wise so euer he were, that euer durst presume to adde, diminish or alter any whit thereof; whereas notwithstanding, all other Lawes of the world were made by peecemeale, and Kings and Senats haue alwaies reserued to themselues a prerogatiue to correct them and alter them at their pleasure, specially when they limited their authoritie, and serued not for the maintenance of their possession. And if any man to bereeue vs of this argument, will stepforth and say, that our Scriptures are as an Historie gathered out of the Registers of many ages, by some one author; as we see Berosus hath done for the Chaldees, Duis for the Phenicians, Manetho for the Egiptians, and such others; let him tell vs then (I hartily pray him,) in what age of the world that Author is lykely to haue liued. If in the tyme of Moyses, of Iosua, or of the Iudges; how commeth it to passe that he wryteth of the reignes of the kings? If in the tyme of the first Kings; how wryteth he of the last Kings? If in the tyme of the last Kings; how is it possible that the Iewes being afore that time caryed away into diuers places of the world, and scattered abroade euerywhere lyke the members of Pentheus, should carie & keepe with them the books of Moyses, which (by these mens reckoning) were not yet made, according to which booke both themselues did notwithstãding then liue, and also taught other Nations? I meane the ten Trybes by name, which by three former remouings were scattered ouer the whole Earth, whereof the marks are to apparant to be denyed. The first in the the tyme of Achaz King of Iuda, and of Placea King of Israell, by Thiglath Phalassar King of the Assirians, who caryed away Ruben, Gad, and the halfe trybe of Manasses: the second in the tyme of Ose by Salmanasar, who caryed away Isachar, Zabulon and Nepthaly into Assiria: and the third anon after by the same Salmanasar, who conueyed away Ephraim and the other half of Manasses; as is witnessed both by the auncient Records of many Countryes, and also by the Chronicles of the Hebrewes. And at that tyme whyle Printing was notyet in vse, what meane was there to disperse those books so soone and so farre of? May, which more is, what will they say when they shall find the bookes of Moyses to haue bin kept frõ father to sonne,

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euen, in the vtmost Coasts of Ethyopia, whither the Empires neuer came, which bookes they say they haue had there euer since the tyme of Salomon, that they were brought thither by the Queene of the Prouince of Saba? Thus haue I spoken inough of this matter, both for them that are contented to be satisfied with reason, (for if they do but reade our scriptures, they haue wherevnto to rest,) and also for those which are otherwise: for it is hard to shewe him aught, which by his will will see naught. But there are yet further which tell vs that in the tyme of the Machabees, Antiochus abolished the lawe of Israell, and al the bookes of the Byble: and they think themselues to haue made a greate speake, and hard to be resolued. I leaue it to the consideration of all men of iudgment, whither it be easie for a Prince though he vse neuer so great diligence, vterly to abolish any maner of booke whatsoeuer, seeing the nature of man is such, that the more that things are sought to be plucked from him, the more he strayneth himself to keepe them. But when a booke is once beleeued and reuerenced of a whole nation, not for delight of things done by men, therein contayned, but for the saluation of man therein reuealed; for the trueth whereof men are not afrayd to indure both death and tormentes, as was witnessed by many in the time of the same Antiochus: what diligence of man can suffise to abolish it? But let vs put the case that it was abolished in Iewrie: yea and that it was abolished throughout his whole Empire: what can yet insue thereof, seeing that the ten trybes (ouer whom Antiochus could haue no authoritie) had carryed them and dispersed them abroade to the vttermost bounds of the world? And seeing that the remouing of the other two trybes, had made them rife among the Persians and Babylonians? And that the Ptolomyes cherished the Iewes right tenderly in Egipt, giuing them open Sinagogs with franchyses & libertie? And also that Ptolomie Philadelph had caused all the Byble to be translated into the Greeke tong by the threescore and ten interpreters, and had layd it vp in his librarie as a Jewell? And to be short, that the Iewes were at that verie tyme so dispersed among the Greeks themselues, as there was scarcely any Citie which had not receyued them with their Sinagogs?

But although none of all these reasons were to be had; then, if the Byble was lost and abolished, how was it found ageine so sodeinly in one instant? Who could (as ye would say) cast it vp whole out of his stomacke at once? Or who hath euer red that the Iewes

made any mone for the losse of it, or toke any peyne for the seking of it out ageine: And to cut off superfluitie of speche, whereof then commeth it, that of so manie Gramarians being of opinion that they should become wyse men in one day, if they had Ciceroes bookes of Comonweale to reade; none of them all being more suttleheaded than the rest, hath undertaken to counterfet them in his name: No no: let vs rather say the Scriptures are of more antiquitie than all other wrytings; and the more they be so, the more aduersitie haue they indured: the rage of Tyrans hath ouerflowed them; and yet they could nother drowne them nor deface them: they haue bin condemned to the fire, and yet could not bee consumed. Contrarywise, the bookes of the greatest men, how greate authoritie so euer they had, haue bin lost, and for all the peyne that hath bin taken to preserue them, yet haue they often come to naught. The Chronicles of Emperours (say I) bee perished, when the Chronicles of the smal Kings of Iewrie, and of that poore outcast people, and I wote not what a sort of banished Shepeherds despised of the world and despysers of the world, haue continewed to posteritie in despyght of the World. Therefore it must néeds be sayd, that the Scriptures haue bin preserued by Gods singular prouidence, both so long time and ageinst so many iniuries of time. And séeing they be the only wrytings which only he hath preserued from the creation of the world vnto our dayes; surely they were for our behoof. And séeing they haue bin reiected of the world, and yet notwithstanding doo liue and reigne in despyght of the world; surely they be from somewhere els than of man or of the world; that is to wéet Reuelations from God to man, continewed from tyme to time for his glorie and our welfare. And so by this discourse we gayne this poynt, that our Scriptures which are left vs by Moyses, Iosua, and the Prophets, are the auncientest of all wrytings, and vtterly voyd of all lykelyhod of mingling or counterfetting: and that sith that euen from the beginning there hath bin a Religion reuealed from God, and we find none other than this to haue continewed from the verie Creation vnto vs; we may inferre, that the Scriptures wherein we reade it, are of God, bycause that from lyne to lyne they conteyne his Reuelations made vnto mankynd. But let vs passe from this antiquitie which is but the barke of the Scriptures, and let vs come to the substance of them, which will giue vs assurance of the place from whens they come.

Now then, let vs reade the bookes of men as well of olde tyme

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as of our owne tyme, and what is the scope, the ground, the forme, and discourse of them, furtherforth than they eyther expounde or followe our Scriptures? Some write to celebrate the Kings and great Captaynes of their tyme: these be but vauntings of men, rumors of people, consultations to destroye one another, and suttle deuyces to disappoynt or vndoe one another. Good men by reading them become malicious, and euill men become worse. And by the way there must bee some prætie spæch of Fortune, which swayeth the Battels. As for God who maketh Kings and vnmaketh them againe, who holdeth both the enterances and issewes of all things in his hand, there is not so much as one word in al a great volume. Who doubteth that these be bookes of men, which cõteyne nothing but the passions, the subtelties, and the indeuers of men? Another sort write (as they themselues say) to make themselues immortall. They write goodly discourses, to make themselues to be had in admiration. If they chaunce to stumble vppon some good saying for maners or for the life of man; they turkin it a thousand waies to make it seeme good for their purpose. They deliuer their words by weight, they dyue their clauses to fall alike, they eschew nycely the mæting together of vowelles: and what greater childishnesse can there bee in graue matters, than that? Yet notwithstanding, they make bookes of the despising of vaynglorie, and their bookes themselues are full of ambition: of the byrding of affections; and their arguments are ranke poyson and contention. If they happen to speake of the seruing of God; it is by Sacrificing to Deuilles, and to their owne Louers, and friends, as we reade that Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle did. Who is he then which euen by the first lyne or by the opening of the booke, maye not perceiue that they which speake bee men, yea and but very men in dæde; considering that in all their bookes they speake but of man? Men (say I) that seeke the glorie of men and not of GOD; Preachers of vanitie, and not of mans welfare?

The Bible tendeth altogither to the glorie of God.

On the contrarie side, wee heare how the Scripture sayth, In the beginning God made Heauen and Earth. What is ment by this enterance, but that the Reader should not in the rest of the discourse looke for the follies of men, but for the wonderous works of the Creator? And what other author did euer begin his worke so? Herodotus beginneth his Historie after this maner: Herodotus of Halycarnassus hath spoken these things. Though he had neuer sayd so, it would neuer haue bene surmised that he had spo-

ken any thing but of man. For what is his whole booke but vanitie? Or what hath he which is not inferiour to man? After the same maner doth Hippocrates begin his bookes concerning the nature of man; and likewise Timæus of Locres his treatise of Nature and of the Creation of the world: which Authors I alledge as auncientest of all others. But if we go through the whole Scripture from the one end to the other, we shal finde nothing there but that which is promised at the first word; that is to wit liuely letters, and impossible to be falsified, of a booke that procéedeth from God, namely his own glorie and the welfare of man. As for the glorie of the Euerlasting, it leadeth vs to the creation of the world, and of man; to the sinne of Adam, and the corruption of Mankynde; the Flud of Noe that followed thereupon, and the confusion of Tongues; the calling of Abraham and his seede, the plagues of Pharao, and the wonders of Ægipt. What is there in all these things, that sauoreth of man, or of the vanitie that possesseth him? What hath he there which maketh him not eyther to stope vnto God or to sinke vnto Hell? Againe, on the other side, what els doth that whole discourse shewe vs, but the highnesse of the Euerlasting, his mercifulnesse towards the lowly, and his iustice and iudgements towards the proude, when wee see all loftinesse of the world cast downe before him, and all the puissance of Empyres giuen ouer to Catterpillers and to the wormes of the earth? Afterwarde Moyses commeth to the rehearsing of the lawe that God gaue to that people. Whence came that extraordinarie wisedome, and why rather in Israell than elsewhere, in the tyme when all other Nations were so rude? And what maner of lawe was it? Soothly a lawe comprehended in ten Sentences, and yet those ten Sentences conteyne whatsoeuer can belong to Godlinesse, Vprightnesse and Justice, whither it bee of seruice towards GOD, or of duetie towards our neighbour: Insomuch that all the great volumes of lawes whereof the world is full, without ground, without end, notwithstanding that they treate but onely of Justice, are referred all to that marke, and haue not any thing more than is there. Again, all these ten sayings are vnfolded in two words: namely, to loue God with the whole heart, and a mans neighbour as himselfe. Let the Athenians shew me the Lawes of their Draco, and the Romaines the Lawes of their twelue Tables; if there be one word of true Godlinesse and Justice in them? Let the Greekes and Romaines shewe all that euer they wrate by the space of a thousand yéeres; and see if

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ye shal finde so much thereof, as is conteyned in those two sayings only. And as for our Philosophers, which make so great bragges of the ten Predicaments of their Aristotle, which are but the seede of Sophistrie and vayne babling; I aske them (at leastwise if they haue any eyes) what account they ought to make of this Lawe, which hath conueyed in so fewe wordes, both the matters of the world which are infinite, and the matters of GOD, which are vncomprehensible to man, together. The Israelites come to take their iourney into Chanaan vnder Moyses; they bee brought in thether by Iosua; and they be ruled and gouerned there by the Iudges and Kings: And in this discourse fall out many humane things, many enterprises, surprises, Sieges, Battels, Victories, & Conquestes. Here it behoueth vs to enter into our selues, and by our selues into the naturall disposition of all men. When wee goe to giue the onset, I meane the better sort of vs; what say wee? Lord, we set our Battels in aray, but thou giuest the victorie: After that maner speake the Christians at this day. Nay: but if God prosper vs, what will we say at our returne? Mary, I wonne such a Hill, I brake the Vauntgard, the Enemie was discomfited by my counsell: and hereyppon rise quarrelles who shall haue the honor of the victorie. But as for God, we shall heare no more speaking of him, than if there were no GOD at all. The Historywriters which describe their Victories, are curious in naming euen the meanest Captaynes, for offending any man; and moreouer in describing of the aduauntages of the places, of the Sunne, of the Winde, of the Dust, of him that led the Soldiours to handblowes, & of the consultations of the Captaynes: so as he balanceth the Battels after his owne scoales; and as for mens sinnes which are the procurers thereof, he neuer once thinkes of them. Seeing then that the Authors of our Byble are the auncientest of all others, whereof commeth this newe kynd of indyting, or whence haue they learned it, that in all their Historyes they giue the glorie of the Battels and of all feates of Armes alonly vnto God, both afore and after? Or whence come these ordinary words, God giueth them into our hands, God is our victorie, God is as strong in a small number as in a great? Whence also come the godly Songs, which we shall not finde in any of the Heathen Writers; but of this, that they write the warres of GOD and the victories of the Lord, yea and euen in his behalfe which was the doer of them? If they write on mans behalfe, why write they not in mans vsuall order of in-

dyting? Why wrate not Moyses and Iosua, (say I) as Polybius and Cæsar wrate? Or who letted them to take to themselues the glorie of their high enterprises? Or if they wrate for Kings and by commaundement of Kings; why finde wee no commendations of Iosua, Dauid, Iosaphat, and Ezechias; as well as of Themistocles, Miltiades, Alexander, and Traiane? For what other commendation finde wee of them, than that they walked in the way of the Lord, that they destroyed the high places, that they ouerthrew the Idols, and such like, howbeit that we reade of heroicall & Martiall dædes done in their tymes? And what ought we then to conclude, but that, as all other bookes which tend to the glorie of men, and concerne but themselues or some others, are the workes of men: so these bookes, which tend alonly to the glorie of God, yea euen by the contempt of men, are the works of God, that is to say, inspired by GOD? As much is to be sayd of the Prophets, who when they speake of any succour that was to come to the people of Israell, or of any enemie that was to come sodeynly vppon them: they sayd not, your friends shall succour you, or your enemies shall runne in vpon you; but, the Lord will send Cyrus to deliuer you, the Lord will arme the Babylonians to scourge you. Vayne are all your dealings if your trust be not in him: Vayne are the threatnings of your enemies, if you turne vnto him: and all this is to assure you, that all things are subiect vnto him; insomuch that euen they which thinke themselues to make warre against him, do fight for him and by him. To be short, if we inquire of them concerning the state of the earthly Kingdomes; they answer vs of the heauenly. If a man be combered with this present life; they teach vs the life to come. And oftentymes a man would thinke that they spake nothing materiall to our demaunds, because they answer not directly to our demaund, but to that which wee ought to demaund. Let vs consider somewhat nerely of what mynd the Soothsayers are, both by the Oracles of the Deuilles, and by such as make profession of Soothsaying. The Deuilles require Sacrifices for their answering to curious questions. The Astrologians are fayne to seeke out Princes. The foreteller of things to come by Palmistrie, or by Philognomie, or by the inwards of Beastes, or by ỹ signes of the Skye, doe the like. And ordinarily who bee more vayne and more puffed vp with pride, than those kynd of men? What iarring is there among them, what disagrément in their foresayings? Nay, which of them haue wee seene, which is not a mony man? or that

would

would rather dye than not declare Gods wrath to a Prince: Or that hath not soothed a Prince in his sinnes, to sucke gayne out of him: Or that hath giuen the glorie vnto God and not to his owne cunning & skill: Or refused the honor that was offered vnto him, as a notable iniurie: Witnesses hereof may Apollonius, Apuleius, Maximus, and such others be; who by their foretellings neuer sought other thing than Images of themselues to be set vp in Halles of Cities, and Pensions in the Courts of the most vicious and detestable Princes. And what is to be sayd then of these folke, who goe willingly to declare the ouerthrowe of States, and the deaths of Princes: Which forsake their apparant ease, to goe and shew forth Gods wrath? Who of all their wonderfull knowledge yéeld none other reason but this, The Lord hath sayd it vnto vs, nor seeke any other reward than the glorie of GOD, yea matched oftentymes with their owne death:

Let vs come to the Poetries of our Scriptures, and let the heathen set theirs against them, and who wil doubt but that they shall blush for shame? To omit the arte, the measure, and the antiquitie of them, which are but the outsides of them, but yet more beautifull in ours than in the Poetries of the Greekes or Romanes. For what are theirs but the bauntings of men, counterfetted prayses, and discourses of Loue Songs, not manly, but vnmeete for men: One singeth mée the rage of Achilles; another, the wandrings of Æneas, and a third the loue of Paris and Helen: And so farre hath this kind of dealing passed into custome, that it seemes vnpossible for man to be a Poet, a Diuine, and an Historiographer all togither. So farre are our mirth and songs estraunged naturally from God and from trueth. What shall wee say then to the Poetries, specially of Dauid, considering that he was afore all the Poetries of the Heathen; but that those Poetries are not an imitation, but a simple affection: If we seeke there for songs of victorie, we haue of them; but they concerne the God of Hostes, If for Bridesongs, they bee not wanting; but if they be of God and of them that feare him; If for burning loues; there be songs of the very Loue itself, howbeit kindled of God himselfe: If for Shepeherds songs, it is full of them, but they concerne the Euerlasting for the Shepherd, and Israell for the flocke. The arte of them is so excellent, that it is an excellencie euen to translate them. The affections so liuely, that they quench & choke all others. If he had written in mans behalfe, had he not as good ground as Homere had: what were his combate

bate with Golias, his victories ouer the Philistines, his loue of Bersabee, and such others? Or thinke we that he was not subiect to the same passions, or made of the same mould that wee be? Or that he which wakeneth vs so much, was drowzie himselfe? Or that he which speaketh of nothing but Loue and Honor, was without them himselfe? No; but in very deede it was another maner of Pulse that did beate in his Veynes, than beateth in ours, and another maner of fire that burned in his marow. Which thing no man can deny that readeth his Psalmes, so lyuely, so feruent, and so full of affections: howbeit that he directeth his loue and his vehement desires to another marke, as one that behild a farre other beautie, coueted a farre other honor, and tasted a farre other pleasure than of the worlde. For all those bookes aime at none other marke than the honor of God, contrarie to mans nature, which robbeth God of his honor as much as can be, to cloth itselfe therewith, and coueteth nothing so much as glorie.

Mans welfare. But let vs come to the other marke which followeth this successiuely, namely the welfare of man. Forasmuch as I haue sayde, that the marke whereat man shooteth in this life, is his owne welfare: If God haue left him any word, or giuen him any reuelation, to what end ought wee to aknowledge the same to be done, but to light him in the way of welfare, and to turne him from all crossepathes and bywayes which might leade him from the ende that he aimeth at. Now let vs hardely reade all the Bookes of the Heathen, and there is none of them which buzieth not our braynes about Moonechine in the water, making vs to spend night and day therein, as though wee had none other resting place to seeke: whereas none other booke than the Byble doth put vs in minde of our way? Our welfare is our shoteanker, and the welfare as well of one of vs as of another, is to liue immortally united vnto God. How shall Aristotle put vs in mynde thereof, who leaueth vs in doubt whether there be any immortalitie or no, and which setteth our shoteanker in I wote not what muzings, peraduenture vpon Logicke and naturall Philosophie, as his own? Or how shall Plato doe it, who suffereth himselfe to be caried away with the comon erroz? Or Seneca (how high soeuer he soze with his Wings,) who will haue the wyseman to play the fole, the harebraind, and the Lechor, and to giue ouer himselfe to all maner of vices, for the bringing of his affayres to passe, yea euen to his owne harme, and to the blaspheming of God himselfe? But if we hearken to the holy

Seneca in his exhortations.

ly Scriptures, we shall perceiue from tyme to tyme, that they bee no vntrustie guides of our waies, neyther such as stand douting at ꝑ first fower wayléete, whither a man should take on the right hand or on the left, but they be sure guydes, such as are able to drawe vs out of the myre, and to conuey vs through the wyld Forests of the world, not onely by leading vs by the hand, but also by seruing our turnes both for a guyde, and for a Cresset, and for a path all togither. Therfore at the very first enterance they tell vs that God hauing created the world, made man of the dust of the earth, and that hee made him after his owne Image and likenesse, and gaue him power ouer al the things that he had made heere below. And what els is this, but a teaching of man at the first word, that he is indetted to God for all things, that his felicitie cõsisteth in seruing God, & that he is made to another end than other liuing wights; namely for God him selfe? From hence it leadeth vs to our disobedience, & to the punishment that insewed therevpon; to wit, that by seeking our welfare elsewhere than in God, wee fell into all mischiefe. As touching the immortalitie of our Soules, and the Prouidence of God, forasmuch as they be Schoolepoints to brawle vpon, but vndoubtedly grounds to as many as conceiue that there is a GOD, (which thing all men doe) and such as men ought not to doubt of or to be taught, but to practise and exercise all their lyfe long, we lée no disputing there as is among the Philosophers. Henoch therefore indured many hard things in that froward generation, for seruing God; and by speciall priuiledge was soone taken out of this lyfe. And to what intent, but to haue a better. Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob wayfared from place to place vpõ the earth. And did they so in ꝑ hope of the land of Chanaan? May, who would haue indured so much hardnesse for his Posterities sake? Or for a promise that should not bee performed till fower hundred yeeres after? Then was it because they grounded themselues vppon a better inheritance: and that is the selfesame which God meant when he sayd to Abraham, I am thy great reward. Moyses came somewhat néerer this promesse; for he sawe the Land, howbeit but from the top of a high mountayne. And wherefore languished he fortie yeres in the wildernesse among a thousand grudgings, at the poynt to bee stoned euery howre by his own countrimen, & yet was faine to dye at the instant of obteining his hope? Soothly he had séene another countrie néerer him, wherunto he aspired; & farre better (which he was to possesse in the lyfe to come) then he forewent in this present

life

life. The like is to be said of Iosua, of ꝑ Iudges, of Samuell, of Dauid, & of the Prophets; whose whole life was not a schoolediuinitie like vnto the Philosophers, but a continuall practise of this faith: namely, that mans chiefe anker is not in this world, nor our welfare to be sought heere: but that it behoueth vs to seeke it in God, and to turne againe to him that we may inioye it. To that end tend these precepts which are giuen to men in the Lawe, Thou shalt loue God with all thyne heart, with all thy Soule, and with all thy strength. To what end? To bee oppressed by Pharao, turmoyled vp and downe in ꝑ Desert, beaten by the Philistines, ouerthrowne by the Assyrians, caryed away by the Babylonians, and troden vnder foote by all Nations? If the loue of God bring vs no better reward than so, what gayne wee by being his people? Nay, it is to shewe vs, that our welfare dwelleth not heere belowe; that these Holts which welcome vs into our Inne with smyling countenãce, doe cut our throtes in our beddes; that the reward of such as serue God, is not the world nor any worldly thing, but the very maker both of man and of the world. Then followeth there another precept; namely, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. What would Carneades haue sayd, or rather what would hee not haue sayd, if he had examined this Commaundement? This Philosopher being sent Ambassadour on a tyme from Athens to Rome, made an Oration of Iustice before Cato the Censor, whereof he spake wonders. The next day he made another, wherein he proued that it was but folly and fondnesse; or that the Romaines should be fayne to come backe againe to their Cotages, and that all trafficke and whatsoeuer els it be whereby Cities are made to florish, would come to nought. What is to be sayd then of this law, which extendeth so farre as to say, not only, doe not that to others which you would not haue done to your selues; but also, doe that for others which you would haue done for your selues? And surely if our welfare consist in this world, what goodlier lawe can there bee, than for a man to loue himselfe and his owne, and to wyest all his neighbours affayres to his owne profite? And contrarywise what greater fondnesse, than to be another mans Baylie, that is to say, to procure oftentymes a mans owne losse? But the Philosopher was ignorant that godlinesse is the roote of Iustice, and that Charitie is nothing els but a rebounding backe of the loue which wee owe vnto God, vpon Mankind which is his Image. And the ayming poynt of this Commaundement, which beeing restreyned

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within one worde spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole lawe of Israell, is none other than to shewe vs that our chiefe dwelling place is elsewhere than heere, and that whereas we loue all things here for our own sakes, we ought to loue other men as our selues, and our selues for Gods sake, who is our sole and onely welfare. Hereunto doe all the Scriptures guyde vs, bee it by authoritie of the lawe, or by example of holy persons, or by the exhortations of the Prophetes: and there is not that lyne which twitcheth vs not by the eare, to waken vs out of the slæpe of this worlde; and which plucketh vs not from the stoole and the table, and from the glewing vanities that sticke so fast to vs; to bring vs backe to glorie and to the inioying of God who is our welfare. Seeing then that naturally we thinke so little vppon this glorie of God; what a booke is that, which speaketh of nothing els? Sæing we be plũged so dæpe in the worlde, and the worlde in vs; what a booke is that, which withdraweth vs from it euery howre? And what would become of man if he had not another spirit than the spirit of man and of the worlde, which biddeth battell both to man and to the worlde: Soothly wee may well say therefore, that the Scriptures are verily of Gods inspiring, which haue so expresse resemblances of him, and so contrarie to the hand, stampe, print and writing of the whole worlde.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

That through out the whole processe of the Byble, or old Testament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God.

WE haue lerned heretofore by perusing the vniuersall worlde, that all things tend too Godds glorie; by the examining of man, that his onely and whole welfare is to cleaue vnto GOD. Now therefore sith we sée that the Scriptures preache vnto vs the same thing that wee haue read both in the worlde and in ourselues; ought it not to be a good proofe to vs, that he which made both the Worlde and man, hath also made the Scriptures to rule them by? And that he

he which hath spoken to all Nations by his Creatures, hath also vouchsafed to shewe himselfe more nerely to them by his Scriptures? Again, seeing that the Scriptures commaund vs to loue God with all our hart, and that the Creatures haue heretofore declared vs to be bound thereto; so as the Creatures teache the selfsame thing which the Scriptures commaund: what can we say but that both those bookes haue one selfesame author? Howbeit forasmuch as our eyes be so dasseled by our fall, that the Creatures were vnto vs as a clasped booke, or as a thing written in Cyphers; God to apply himself to the weakneſſe of our sight, hath giuen vs his Scriptures: and that forasmuch as our wills are wholly turned from him, it behoued vs to be comaunded our owne welfare, which (were we according to our first creation) we should couet and followe earnestly at the only sight of the first booke. But forasmuch as it may still be sayd, that these bookes are rather the workes of good men and of such as feared God, than of God himself: let vs see if they haue not in them some proper and peculiar markes of Gods spirit. I meane such as no creature can be partaker of, but by inspiration from God. For like as in his doings there are certeine miracles, wherein euen the wickedest acknowledge the finger of God: So in his words or Scriptures, there may vndoubtedly bee some such thing, as cannot proceede but from God himselfe. Let vs begin at the Style. In mens affayres we haue two sorts of writing. The inferiour sort and men of equalitie, indeuer to perswade folke by apparant reasons; for they knowe they haue no authoritie to giue them credite. But Princes will of their mere authoritie loke to bee beleeued whatsoeuer they say: for they thinke they haue the world at their commaundement, and that they may speak what they list: and they suppose it to bee some derogation to them to alledge any reason. Also in humane Sciences the case is all one. For the Phisition is beleeued of his Patient without alledging why: but of an other Phisition he is not so. Likewise the Schoolemaister is beleeued of the Scholer, yea euen in things which were disputable for him with one of his fellowes. So much more therefore shall this rule take place in matters diuine, which surmount both the vnderstanding of the learner, and the skill of the Teacher himselfe. Againe, we see how the Philosophers doe mount vp from things euidently knowne to things lesse knowne, and from Grounds and Principles, to Conclusions. And therefore Aristotle intending to proue that there is a God, made a whole score of bookes of it: and

The Style of the Scriptures.

Plato

Plato speaking of things diuine, will haue the auncient Oracles to be beleeued, and not his owne sayings: which argueth that euen by nature men knowe well, that they deserue not to bee beleeued, further forth than they make proof, no not euen in the least things; and therefore that they bee worthie to be laughed at, if they thinke their sayings to be authoritie in matters diuine. Now then, sith it is so that the Style is such both of all men in their common discourses, and of all the Philosophers in high matters: what shal the Author of our Byble bee, whose will and meaning is to bee beleeued vppon his bare worde, euen in the things which exceede both the naturall beleefe of such as heare them, and the vnderstanding of all men which take vpon them to speake of them? GOD created Heauen and Earth: Man is falne from his originall state by sinne. If thou beest a man that sayest it, who will beleeue thee vnlesse thou proue it? And yet notwithstanding it appeareth that hee wrate it to bee beleeued: for hee commaundeth it to bee beleeued. Therefore his speaking is of authoritie, and not by perswasion. Yet notwithstanding no body is beleeued vpon his bare word, sauing in things which lye in his own power and his owne knowledge. Whosoeuer then in things surmounting man, (I meane in matters concerning GOD and mans saluation) will looke to bee beleeued of authoritie, only because he sayes it; yea and to be more beleeued without proofe, than others vpon proof; must needes be the Prince and Father of man and not a man. Now, who sees not this course kept throughout all the Scriptures; and yet where is there any one Syllogisme or Demonstration in them? sauing such as these which soothly be more firme than any Syllogisme, and more needefull than any Demonstration; namely, The Lord hath sayde it, and it is done; the Lord hath spoken it, and he will be beleeued. And what other booke find we which proceedeth after that maner, howbeit that some deceiuers haue long time since presumed to immitate the same?

Also we haue many bookes of maners written by the Heathen. How procéede they against Vice? or how deale they with Vertue? They define, they distinguish, they dispute of the generall and of the vnderkind, of the meane and of the extremes. It is spoken (say they) from one Countermatch to another. And if they offend the Lawes of Logicke, they be afrayd of reproof. The Lawes of God speake a little more plainly: He that stealeth shall pay fowerfold: He that killeth shalbe punished with death, Which is as much to say,

The lawes and commaundements in the Scripture.

say, as that the authoritie of the one dependeth vpon their power, & the authority of ỹ other dependeth vpon their pwf. To be short, euen our speeche extendeth ordinarily no further than our power: and therefore the Teacher speaketh after another maner then the Learner, the Prince than the Subiect, and the Senatour than the Orator. What maner a booke then I pray you is this, which speaketh to all men alike, to Kings as to Subiectes, to Greate as to small, to old as to yong, to learned as to vnlearned; sauing that it surmounteth the capacitie of the one as well as of the other: neyther intreating nor perswading any man, but absolutely bidding or forbidding al men. Mother (which more is) doth it say to any man, Thou shalt liue as a recluce within ỹ precinct of thyne owne house all thy life long, or thou shalt lye in continual prison; but thou shalt liue or dye for euer without ende. In what other booke reade wee such commaundements? Ye in what booke reade we such punishments & such rewards? And if euery bodies speaking be according to the abilitie of his power; from whom is this speech which dareth pronounce or threaten euerlasting things, but from the partie him selfe that is euerlasting? If it be a creature that speaketh it, either it is a good creature or an euill. If it be an euill creature, why forbiddeth he euill so rigorously: and commaundeth good so expressly? or (to say better) how commeth it to passe, that the mark which hee aimeth at is Gods glorie and our welfare: Or if it bee a good Creature, how happeneth it that hee chalendgeth to himselfe that which belongeth to GOD, and which cannot be imparted to any Creature, which is the very sinne that ouerthrewe both the Diuell into Hell, and man into destruction? And if it be no Creature neither good nor bad; what remayneth then, but that it must needes be the Creator? Now what leafe is there in the whole Scripture, where wee meete not with such matter? And herewithall wee see that thing in the obseruers of that Lawe, which is not read of any others: namely that they haue yeelded their lyues, and incurred the hatred & disdeine of the whole worlde, rather than they would breake or despise it. Verily euen in this respect and none other, that they were sure that they serued such a Lawegiuer, as not only had power ouer the barke of man and ouer this present wretched lyfe as other common Lawgiuers haue; but also was of power to giue either euerlasting lyfe or endlesse death. The same appeareth yet more, in that the lawes which are giuen to men in the Scriptures, are not inioyned alonely to the outward man; but doe pearce euen

to

to the heart of man. In deede they require Sacrifices; but yet they preferre obedience. They inioyne fasting; but that is from sinne. They inioyne Circumcision, but it is the Circumcision of the hart. To be short, for a Summary of al Sinnes, they forbid lusting and coueting; which thing (as I haue sayd afore) is not to bee found in any law of the Heathen. Who I pray you knoweth the very anatomie and secret concepts of our hearts, but he that made them? Or who can looke into Man, but the maker of Man? And who is he either Man or Deuill, that euer durst presume to inioyne a lawe to mens thoughts? But all these things come still to this poynt, that the partie which speaketh so vpon authoritie, threatening things that exceede mans abilitie, and making a law for the things whereunto we cannot come; must of necessitie be of more power than we.

Again, what a number of things haue wee taught vs in the Scriptures, which cannot bee deede of mannes brayne, nor come from elswhere than from aboue? And if they cannot bee deede in his mind, how can they come from his hand or from his mouth? We can wel say there is one God; for if wee enter into our selues wee find him there; and if we goe neuer so little out of ourselues, we meete him euery where. But that in one Essence there should be three persons, the Father, the word, and the Spirit; how can it bee deede in the imagination of man? Or who could euer haue thought of it? Also, from the Creatures wee come to the Creator; from mouing to a rest; from nouelties to a beginning: and there mannes reasoning stayes. But although the first man myght knowe when hee was created; yet how could he haue knowen when the world was created? And although that by the new things therein, we deeme it to be newe: who euer durst to haue limited the first day and the first houre thereof? Or how could that Chymera haue come in any mannes mynd? And yet in verie deede we haue dyuers Chymeras among the auncient writers, concerning the Creation of the world according to the diuersities of opinions that were among the Philosophers, and the diuersities of imaginations among the comon people. But was there euer any afore this booke of the Byble, that began his account of tymes or his historie, at the first day of the world, though he were of opinion that the world was created? And seeing that the intent of al writers of stories is to be beleeued; what els had this beginning of an historie at that poynt bin, but a cracking of his credit at his first enterance in, if the maiestie of the Author had not serued for a warrant? Lykewise, that man, to attayne

The doctrine of the Scriptures exceedeth the reach of man.

to his appoynted end, nèded the handywoꝛke of God himselfe; It appeareth vnto vs by the weaknesse of our nature. But that foꝛ the appeasing of Gods Iustice, God himself should be fayne to come downe and to take mans flesh vnto him; who would say it but only God? and who could bee beléeued in that case but only he? So is it also concerning the conception of the Virgin, concerning the pꝛomises that were not to come to passe vntill fower hundꝛed yéeres after, cõcerning the comming of the Messias, and such like things; which would neuer haue come in a mans head to haue written: so farre of are they from mans wit, I meane as of it self and without imitation. And I dare boldly say, that whosoeuer readeth ꝑ Scriptures aduisedly and with intent to marke them, shall in euery booke finde many matters, which euen by his owne iudgement had neuer come in mans mynd, notwithstanding that they be spoken by wise men, who both beléeued them firmely, and ment to bee beléeued in speaking them.

Propheſies ſowed throughout all the Bible.

What shal we say then to the Pꝛophesyings oꝛ true foꝛetellings which are sowen euerywhere in the Scriptures, that is to wit of Gods spirit which is shed foꝛth from the one ende to the other; I say not in scattered leaues as the Pꝛophesies of Sybil were, but aiming al at one poynt, notwithstanding that they were vttered both at diuers tymes, by diuers persons, and in diuers places? I omit the first Pꝛophesie concerning the womans seede that should crush the Serpents head, and such like perteyning to the redemption of man by the Messias, because that that doctrine shall haue his pꝛoper place hereafter; and I will alledge none other things than such as are alreadie pꝛoued and out of controuersie. Unto Abraham was giuen this pꝛomise: Thy seede shall doe seruice in a strange Land, and bee hardly intreated there fower hundred yeeres; and then will I iudge the Nation whom they shall haue serued; and in the fourth generation shall they come hether againe. What Oꝛacle did euer foꝛetell a thing so pꝛecisely, so manifestly, and so long afoꝛehand? And yet was that Pꝛophesie fulfilled at the appoynted tyme: and it cannot be sayd to be a counterfet; foꝛ Moyses in leading the people of Israell thꝛough so many turnagaines, grounded himselfe vpon none other thing. And it stood him on hand to speake of a Pꝛophesie that was common among them, and deliuered from hand to hand, considering that he taketh it foꝛ his theam and ankerhold, both to speake vpon and to woꝛke vpon. And sothly, as it was receiued by Abraham, so was it receyued by

Gene. 15.

Moyses,

Moyſes, and put in execution by Ioſua. Iacob made his Teſtament in Ægipt; wherein there are as many Prophecies as words: not for his owne Childrē only, but alſo for the Trybes that ſhould come of them. Neuertheleſſe I will ſtand but vppon one of them. Thou Iuda (ſayth he) thy brothers ſhall commend thee, & thy fathers Children ſhall yeeld thee reuerence. And the Scepter ſhall not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawmaker frō betweene his feete, vntill Silo come. The effect hereof is, that the Scepter ſhall remayne with Iuda, and that he ſhall haue ſouereine iuriſdiction, vntill the tyme of Meſſias: and ſo do the Hebrewes interpret it. Yet were Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie the eldeſt brethren of Iacobs houſe; and therefore his doing was againſt the order of nature. And Moyſes who led the people of Iſraell out of Ægipt, was of the Trybe of Leuie. Ioſua who brought them into the Land of Canaan, was of Ephraim: The Iudges were rayſed vp one while out of one Trybe and another while out of another: and Saule the firſt King choſen by the people, was of the Trybe of Beniamin, which was the youngeſt of all. Theſe things therefore were a curſt ſhaking to the Prophecie. In the meane while the Scepter paſſed from Saule to Dauid, from a King to a young Shepheard of Iuda, and there was ſettled for euer, notwithſtanding the murmurings of the ten Trybes againſt it, and the falling away of Iſraell, & the Captiuitie of Babylon. And whereas he ſayth, vntill Silo come, it ſufficed vntill another tyme, that by the ſpace of two thouſande yeares, the houſe of Iuda reigned ſtill in Iſraell, and had the elderſhip, together with a direct obſerued pedegree: which thing wee reade not of any other ſtocke in the world. Here they will ſay, who ſhall aſſure vs that Iacob ſpake thoſe things? If I ſhould aſke them as much concerning their Hiſtories, what knowe they more of them? And what ſhould Moyſes haue gayned by the deuiſing thereof, being himſelfe of the Trybe of Leuie, and giuing ouer his charge to one of the Trybe of Ephraim, which had rather bene an occaſion to make Iuda (which was the ſtrongeſt of al the Trybes) to grudge againſt him, ſeeing that that Trybe had bene authoriſed both by Iacobs laſt will and by anſwer from God? Or if he did it to gratifie Iuda, why was he not afrayd to diſpleaſe Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie: or rather why made he not the Prophecie to fall vpon Leuie, to authoriſe himſelfe? May, what gratefying of Iuda could it yet be, conſidering that Iuda was excluded from it at that tyme, and came not to it a thouſand yeares after? Surely (the fore- Gene. 49.

sayd circumstances being well weyed) eyther there was neuer any Prophesie vncorruptly reported, or if euer any were, this must nedes be it. And as touching these good Philosophers, which will haue prophesying to proceed of a coniunction of the vnderstanding which they call Possible, with an vnderstanding which they terme Separated, by meane of imagination: & that old men cannot Prophesie by reason of ỹ weakenesse of their imaginatiue power: what wil they say here to Iacob, who was an older man thã any of their tyme, & yet notwithstãding saw so cleerly & so farre of? For if their doctrine be commonly true, and yet notwithstanding, olde Iacob prophesied; doeth it not followe that his prophesie is extraordinarie, and commeth from a higher power than the sayd pretensed vnderstanding; that is to wit from God? And if his prophesying was according to their rule; doth it not followe that their doctrine is false, that is to wit, that prophesying commeth not of the force of our imagination, nor of our selues, considering that it weakeneth not with vs, but that it cometh by inspiration from God? In the blessings that Iacob gaue to his posteritie, the matter ought not to be passed ouer so lightly, where hee speaketh of the partes that should be allotted to euery of his Children in the Land of Canaan, as if he had made them himselfe, assigning to one the Seacoast, to another the Cornecountrie, and to another the synegrounds, euen after the same sort that they were diuided vnto them certeine hundred yeeres after by lot. For how could he come to the knowledge thereof, but by him that ouerruleth all Lots? And seeing that the foretellings of Astrologie are a meane betweene necessitie and casuall as Ptolomie teacheth; and nothing is more casual than lots, what maner of Astrologie is this, which iudgeth of lottes both so long afore hand and also so certeinly? But when as in the chapter going next afore, wee reade that Iacob in blessing the Children of Ioseph, preferred Ephraim the yonger Sonne before Manasses who was the elder, and being warned thereof by their Father, answered ageine that he was not deceiued, but that the yonger brother should bee the greater, and that his Seede should growe to a multitude of people: what arte moued Iacob to say it, or what profit moued Moyses to contriue it? If ye say Phisnomie or Iudiciarie, the good old man was blind. But what lineamẽts can foreshew for a whole race, or what Constellations can shewe what shall befall to whole Nations that are yet vnborne? If it bee sayde that Moyses loued the one better than the other: The two of whom he

Rabbi Moyses vpõ the booke Abubacher.

speaketh

speaketh were already dead at that time, and the people that were to come of them, were but then in comming. And yet was that prophesie fulfilled; for the Tribe of Ephraim was alwayes mightier than the Tribe of Manasses, as appeareth throughout the whole processe of their Histories, and in the end the kingdom of the Tenne Tribes was grounded chiefly upon that. And in confirmation of this word, as oft as Moyses, Iosua, the bookes of Kings, or the Chronicles speake of those two Children, the yongest is euer named afore the eldest: which thing undoubtedly the Tribe of Manasses would neuer haue indured without taking exception to it, if they had not thought themselues to haue rested upon the will of GOD, and not upon the fancie of man. What shall we say of Moyses? Hee speaketh to the people continually of the Conquest of Chanaan, according to that promise, and therfore it must nedes be that it was a prophesie very commonly knowen among them. And in deede Ioseph picked out a long time for it afore his buriall. Nay, moreouer Moyses deuideth the Land unto them in mynd; appointeth them arbitrators to make their partitions; giueth them Lawes to settle themselues upon; appointeth them what orders they should keepe there, setteth them doune the platformes of their Cities, Suburbes, and houses; inioyneth them the tilling of their grounds, the resting of the seuenth yere, their Feastes and Solemnities, and appointeth them their Cities of refuge for casuall manslaughters. A man might say that his speaking of these things was as if a Father should dispose of his goods that he had gotten, and which hee had already in his hand. What lykelyhod hereof was there, at such tyme as they burned Bricke in Ægipt? or when they lingered in the wildernes? yea or at the returne of the men that were sent to spye out the Land, when they reported nothing but hardnesse to the people? I pray you, if a man should at this day part Italy or Greece among vs in his imagination, to euery of vs share and share lyke; would we not say according to the prouerbe, that he parted his Venison before he had caught it? And yet what a number of men haue passed the Alpes under the Standard? And sith it is so that Moyses entered into that Land, and those which wayted for it dyed in the way, and yet that at the tyme appointed, the Chananites gaue place to that people: who seeth not that of necessitie the same people were driuen by some other than man to followe Moyses, yea Moyses himself to take upon him the leading of them through so many distresses; both of them being grounded

(say I) not vppon mans fancie, but vppon expresse promise which they by vnfallible records beléeued to be of God: But hée proceedeth yet further. For as he foresawe them in Chanaan afore they came there: so foresawe hee them there to offend God by seruing Baal after they came there. I say he saw them forget GOD, and God myndfull of them in his wrath: hee sawe them dispersed and scattered ouer the fower quarters of the World, and troden vnder the féete of Straungers: To be short, he sawe the Gentiles called of God into his Church in their place; yea and he sawe it so cléerly, that he foretold it to them all in his Song, which hée willed them to preserue from hand to hand, as a witnesse against them & a discharge to himself. Though from the top of Mount Nebo he could behold the land of Chanaan to speake so fitly thereof: from what mountaine could hee see the things that were yet in the reynes and heartes of men as then to come, yea which lay hidden yet many hundred yeres after; or in what booke could he haue seen them and read them; but in the booke of lyfe, that is to say in God himselfe? The word that was spoken by Moyses was performed word for word by Iosua, without adding or diminishing any whit, contrarie to the ambitious mynd of man which lyketh not to follow another mans lure; which thing was no small signe that Iosua did not so much obey Moyses, as God speaking by Moyses. And this curse that Iosua pronounceth in his booke, against the man that should build Iericho againe, is not to be forgotten: He shal lay the foundation thereof vpon his firstborne (sayth he) & set vp the gates thereof vpon his yongest sonne. That is to say, he shalbe punished with the suddein death of all his Children. For about fiue hundred yeres after, in the time of Achab, Hiel of Bethel builded vp Iericho, the which he founded vpon Abiram his first Sonne, and hung vp the gates of it with the death of Segus his yongest sonne, and the booke of Kings sayth there, it was according as the Lord had spoken by the mouth of Iosua the Sonne of Nun, to shewe that Gods word is euerlasting, and that it neuer ouerslippeth the tyme. And in very déede it lyeth ouerthrowen at this day, and was neuer repayred since that tyme, howbeit that the beautifull situation thereof might haue allured euery man, as we reade in the auncient Geographers. In the bookes of Iosua and of the Iudges wee sée the things performed which were foretolde by Moyses, and the comming to passe both of the promises & of the threates that were made by him. For accordingly as the people of Israell did either

Deuter. 32.

Iosua. 7.

1. King. 16. verse 34.

turne

turne away from God or returne vnto him; God rayſed vp Tyrants in Chanaan to punish them, or deliuerers in Iſraell to deliuer them. And as for the bookes of Samuel, of the Kings, and of the Prophetes; either they be prophesies of effectes to come, or effectes of prophesies forepaſt. To be short, in all the diſcourſe of the Byble, there is not any ſeaſon to bee found without both Prophet and Prophesie, as well in proſperitie as in aduerſitie: Whereby we might ſée both the heauenlines and the trueth of them the more clearly, if we could ſet the places, perſones, and ſtate of that time before our eyes. But out of this continuall prophesying, wee will drawe ſome peculiar poyntes, ſo euident as cannot bée gayneſaid, which will vndoubtedly be of credit among all indifferent perſons. At ſuch time as Ieroboam the ſonnne of Nebath made the tenne Trybes to fall away from Roboam the Sonne of Salomon; to the intent they ſhould haue no occaſion to returne againe to their former ſtate by reſorting to Hieruſalem to worſhippe there: hee rœred an Alter in Bethell contrarie to the Lawe of God. Then came a man of God (ſayeth the hiſtorie) to Bethel by the commaundement of the Lord, and ſayd to Ieroboam; Behold, a Sonne ſhalbe born of the houſe of Dauid, whoſe name ſhalbe Ioſias. He ſhall ſacrifiſe vppon thee the Preeſtes of the Hillalters which offer incenſe vpon thee: And this ſhalbe the ſigne thereof, Thyne altar ſhall ryue aſunder, and the aſſhes that are thereon ſhalbe powred downe. This Prophesie was fulfilled in all poynts by Ioſias thrée hundred yéres after. And when Ioſias (ſayeth the hiſtorie) had ſo done, he ſawe a certeine tumbe, and aſked whoſe it was, intending to haue burnt the bones of him that lay there, as he had done of the other prieſts in Bethel. But it was told him that it was the tumb of the man of God, which had foretold thoſe things ſo long agoe: whereuppon hee forbade any man to touche it. Now they that knowe how thoſe bookes of the Kinges were diſpoſed, wil not call the hiſtorie in queſtion. For the hiſtories of the Kings were written by the prieſts and Prophets, according to the meaſure of the time that they reigned, and were holden ſo holy, that it was felonie to touche them. Furthermore, ſéeing if this Prophesie was written afore the comming of Ioſias, it could not be fulfilled: for who could haue hit vppon his proper name? And if it were written after, and deuiſed vppon the euent: how came the ſayd Tumb to bee made at the ſame inſtant? Or was there none other deuiſe wherewith to haue diſguiſed it, without taking any

1. King. 13.

2. King. 22 verſe. 15. 19.

further peyne: Myght it not haue suffised to haue sayd, One Iosias shall come &c. without speaking eyther of the death of the man of God, or of his méeting with the Lyon, or of the talk which he had with the Prophet of Samaria; but that he must take peyne to be found a Lyer by the Samaritans which knew the originall of ỳ Tumb, or could at leastwise haue inquired it: But in verie déede this Prophesie which dooth so set downe the name, the place, and the circumstances in the doing; is such as cannot bee fathered but vpon God, as vnto whome alone things absent or to come are present. And to shewe the vncorruptnesse of the Scripture the more cléerly, it cõcealeth not that the same man of God by whose mouth God had vttered the sayd Prophesie, was slaine by a Lyon for going back ageine to eate with the Prophet of Samaria contrarie to the word of the Lord: which doth vs to vnderstand, that men are nothing of themselues, but onely so farforth as they be Gods tooles and instruments. Nowthen by what coniecture can we deeme that man to haue bin the deuiser of a lye, who to tell the trueth, sticked not to dishonor the remembrance of so great a Prophet, whose sinceritie appéered by so many circumstances?

Wonderfull is Esay in the things that hee foretelleth concerning the kingdome of the Messias and the calling of the Gentiles: for he seemeth rather an Euangelist than a Prophet. Also when he threateneth Hierusalem with the captiuitie of Babylone, or chéereth them ageine with hope of their deliuerance: his maner of inditing sheweth, that he speaketh as one that sawe them both; and in that respect also were ỳ Prophets called Seérs. And in very trueth, he saith not, the Lord will doe, the Lord will call, the Lorde will destroy, and so forth: but, he doth, he calleth, he destroyeth: Yea and oftentimes, he hath done, he hath called, he hath destroyed, and so forth; as though he spake not of things that were but onely néere the execution or performance; but of things alreadỳ come to passe. After that maner did he foretel things, in the time that the people prospered and trusted in the allyance of the Chaldees, and that all likelihods were to the contrarie. But I aske of such as doubt of our Prophesies, by what spirite could Esay say; I am the Lord that doeth things in deede, which doe say vnto Cyrus, Thou art my Shepherd, thou shalt fulfill al my will: and which sayeth vnto Hierusalem, Thou shalt be builded ageine; & vnto the Temple, Thou shalt be founded agein. And ageine: Thus sayth the Lord to Cyrus his anoynted, whom I haue ta-

Esay. 44. & 45.

ken

taken by the right hand to subdue the Nations before him,& to weaken the reynes of Kings. I will goe before thee,and leuell the croked wayes. I will breake open the Brazen gates, & wring asunder the yron barres, and so forth, that thou mayst knowe how that I am the Lord the God of Israell which calleth thee by thy name. For loue of my seruant Iacob, and for Israels sake haue I named thee by thy name, and called thee though thou kneweſt me not,&c. How many wonders shall we find in these fewe words, if wee list to examine them? At the same tyme that the people of Israel triumphed vnder their allyance with the Chaldees, Esay threatened them with destruction by the selfesame people. This is somewhat.

But some will say that mans wisedome may reache as farre as that. Yea, but he foretelleth, not onely the captiuitie of that people, the sacking of the Cittie, and the ouerthrowe of the Temple: but also the destruction of the Chaldees by the Persians, and the building vp of Hierusalem and the Temple by them again. Well may mans skill wade into Weekes and monethes; but considering the vncerteintie of worldly matters, it can neuer wade into yeeres, and much lesse into hundreds of yeres, and into the whole continuance of a mightie and long lasting Monarchie, as Esay doth there. In so much that hee nameth Cyrus a hundred yeeres afore hee was borne. And afore his Graundfathers were named in the world, hee calleth him by name to deliuer Israel. And in another place he summoneth the people of Cethim (that is to say of Macedonie) to the destroying of the Persians. And in his eight Chapter he taketh Vrias and Zacharias the sonnes of Iebarachias by name to be witnesses of his Prophesie, who were vnborne a hundred yeres after. Let the greatest enemies of the trueth enter into their owne consciences, and tell me what humane skill or cunning there could be in those things. They cannot say here, that these Prophesies were forged by some man vpon the euent. For by the remouing of the Iewes vnto Babylon, the Lawes, Prophesies and Scriptures of Israell which were cõmon among that people, were conueied into diuers places of the world; amõg the which they had this Prophesie afore Cyrus was borne: and beeing in diuers mens hands, it was vnpossible to be falsified. And in good soth, sith we see that the Kings of Persia being conquerours, caused the Temple to be builded ageine, it ought to bee a marke vnto vs, that in the Idolatrie out of which they came, they had seene wonders of the God of Israell,

raell, and that according to Esaies saying, they perceiued themselues to be called by him. The same is to bee considered of vs in Ieremie and Ezechiell, who beeing in places farre one from another, the one in Ierusalem and the other in captiuitie at Babylon, foretell the selfesame things, as sure Registers of one Court. But Ieremie is the more wonderfull in this behalfe, in that he prophesieth expressly that the people which were caryed away prisoners, should bee brought home againe at the ende of threescore and ten yeeres, contrary to all likelyhood, and yet with such assuredneſſe, as a man would verely haue sayd, that he had led them home againe by the hand into Hierusalem. And in very deede, at the threescore and tenth yeeres end, the people were conueyed home againe at the forenamed instant, as though Cyrus had bene bent of set purpose to verifie the Prophesie, or as though hee had bene waged by the Prophet. And it appeareth by the nineth Chapter of Danyell, (where this prophesie is alledged,) that it was common among al the people. As for Danyell himselfe, who being borne vnder the first Monarchie, seemeth rather an Historiographer than a Prophet, as in respect of the Monarchies and things that insewed; (for he speaketh of the Persians, Greekes and Romaines, of the tyrannie of Antiochus, of the vnhallowing of the Temple, and of other things that were done sixe hundred yeeres after his tyme, as of things alreadie come to passe): like as he closeth vp the Prophesie from the creation of the world to the comming of Christ; so ought he to stop all mens mouthes that will speake against him. For if a man wil not beleue the Iewish Chronicles, in that they report that the Prophesie of Danyell was read vnto Great Alexander at his comming to Hierusalem, to shewe him what was foretold of him: yet is it euident and cannot bee denyed, but that when Ptolomie caused the Scriptures to be translated, the Prophesie of Danyell was then extant, and was translated with the residue; which was long tyme afore the Tyrannie of Antiochus, the which he describeth to the eye. And therefore if it could not bee falsified in that behalfe, as little could it be falsified in all the rest, considering that all of it doth equally and infinitely exceede the reach of all creatures, and cannot proceede from any moe than one Spirit. Now then, let vs loke vpon the things that are in this Prophet; and whence could hee haue them, but from him that maketh and vnmaketh Kings at his pleasure? He forewarned Balsasar the sonne of Nabugodonozor, that he should haue a fall, because he had not taken

Ierem. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. &c.

Daniel. 9.

Daniel. 5.

example

rample at the chastisement of his father, but had aduaunced himselfe against God. It will perhaps bee sayd, that it is the saying of wise men, that when pride goes afore, shame commeth after. But when as Balsasar was slayne that same night in the middest of his iolitie; it was a marking of the thing more precisely, which had bin foretold by the former Prophets also. But in that which followeth there is no shift at all. Behold, Darius was but newly entered into the Monarchie, when euen in the first yeere of his reigne Danyell sayd vnto him, Three Kings shall stand vp yet in Persia, and the fourth shall be inriched with great riches aboue them all; and when hee is so increased, hee shall stirre vp euery man against Greece. These fower or fiue words conteyne the history of seuen or eight score yéeres. We haue great learned men, which by reason of their long experience, haue made (as it were) an Anatomy of our state: but which of them I pray you durst euer take vpon him to tell how many Kings should come after, and much lesse to foretell what should be done by the fourth King that was to come as Danyell doth here, who maketh expresse mention of Darius voyage against the Greekes? Let vs heare him yet further. But a mightie King shall rise vp (sayth hee) and reigne with great authoritie, and do whatsoeuer he will. Who seeth not here how Alexander commeth out of Greece against Darius, and subdueth the Persians? And when he is in al his royaltie (sayth he) his kingdome shall be broken and diuided to the fower windes of the ayre, howbeit not to his own race, but vnto strangers; for his kingdome shalbe plucked vp by the roote. He could not haue painted out Alexanders Monarchie more liuely, which was but as a flash of lightening that passeth from the West into the East, and tooke ende in it selfe, and was deuided into many Kingdomes, as Macedonie, Thrace, Syria, and Ægipt, among Princes that were not of his race. Whosoeuer would haue made an Abridgement of the whole History of the Monarchie of Greece in fewe words; he could not lightly haue done it in other than these. Neuertheless, it is a glauncing ouerthwart through two Monarchies & two whole hundred yeeres, whereas all the wisedome of the world put together, could not ouersee so much as two yeeres, no not euen in the commonest affayres of a household. Now, the story of the Macedones was not the thing that he aimed at: but the chiefe thing that hee sought into, was the state of the Church to come among the Iewes; and therefore he letteth the rest of the braunches alone, and goeth

Esay. 13. 21. 47
Ieremy. 50.
Daniel. 11.

goeth on but only with the Kings of Syria and Ægipt. Therefore let vs reade the residue of the Chapter. There he paynteth out the warres of Antiochus King of Syria against the Iewes, the resistance of the Machabees, the oppression of the righteous, and the defyling of all holy things, so liuely and manifestly, that he which were not told of it afore he reades it, should not be able to say whether it were a Prophesie or an Historie. In his eight Chapter he describeth a battell betweene a Ram and a Goate. The Ram (saith he) that had two hornes, is the King of Medes and Persians, because those two states went ioyntly together. The Goate is the King of Greece; & the great horne that he had betweene his eyes, is the greatest King, that is to wit the great Alexander: and yet none of them both liued sixe score yeeres after. In the seuenth Chapter he describeth al the fower Monarchies, but specially the Romaine; which had (sayth he) teeth of yron, wherewith it brake and deuoured all the rest. And he pursueth it so farre, that he declareth himselfe to haue had a sight in his mynd, both of the breeding, of the proceeding, and of the decaying therof. If we consider what Rome was at that time, it was then scarce hatched: and a great while afterwarde, Alexander hauing but a small cut ouer the Sea that is betwixt that and Greece, knewe it not. To bee short, in the nineth Chapter he foretelleth that at the end of threescore and ten weekes, (accounting from the day that the word was vttered by Ieremie for the building vp of the Temple agayne,) Hierusalem should be destroyed by a prince of the people that was to come, that is to say, by an Emperour issewing from the Commonweale of Rome, which at that tyme was not in being: which thing I could shew here to haue come to passe at the instant aforenamed, according to the Prophesie. But forasmuch as this poynt perteyneth properly to the comming of the Messias, wherunto we reserue many things that may confirme vs more and more in the holy Scriptures, it shall bee treated of in his peculiar place. Now then, we haue here a continuance of wonderfull Prophesies, from the creation of the world euen vnto Christ, vttered and set forth a long while afore hand, and come to passe iust in their tymes; not generall, but marked with their circumstances; not doubtfull, but such as expresse the things and persons by their names. And therfore to knit vp this matter withall, I demaund vnto what we may attribute them, but to the inspiration of GOD? Some in stead of holding themselues within their bounds, will nedes ouerleape them,

Daniel 7.

Daniel. 8.

Daniel. 9.

them, by denying al. But besides the reasons afore alledged, seeing that at the same tyme that the Israelites worshipped their God, the Nations about them had Oracles which answered vnto all questions; and that man is so inquisitiue of things to come, that if he cannot bee certified at home, he seeketh everywhere abroade: I would haue them to answer me, whether this people were of another nature than all other Nations, whom we knowe to be yet still at this day more giuen to prophesyings than any other Nation: And how being so giuen thereunto and not hauing aught at home wherewith to satisfie their curiositie, they could in the middest of so many miseries, hold themselues to the seruing of the one GOD, who alone of all others did not speake, but alonly had kept silence to all their requestes? For if it seeme straunge and myraculous vnto vs to haue had Prophesies: much more strange and myraculous ought it to bee, to haue made more account of a God that gaue no answers at all, specially in so many distresses and oppressions; than of the Gods of the Heathen which did nothing els.

But forasmuch as none of the men of olde tyme was so impudent as to deny them, but all were inforced either to wonder at them, or to alledge causes to diminish the estimation of them, Let vs examine the reasons which they giue them. One saies that they were tyed to the Starres, and yet they mocked at the diuinations of the Chaldees euery where. Now then, of so many Astrologers as were among the Gentiles, and haue made bookes thereof, name me any one that hath foretold the doings, not of an Empire, but of some one man: not a hundred yeeres afore hand, but a yeere afore hand, sauing that the diuell now and then by Gods sufferance, hath executed the same euill which hee himselfe foretold vpon the partie that asked counsell of him. But Ptolomie will say, the foretellings of the Astrologers are a meane betweene necessitie and chaunce: for they foresee not the euentes or fallings out, but onely the inclinations or dispositions of things, & as many as promise any further, doe but abuse men. What thinke wee then that this Ptolomie would haue sayd, if he had read these prophesies, so particular, that they seeme rather stories of things past, than foretellings of things to come. Surely he would haue sayd that they could not haue proceeded but onely from God, as he setteth downe and deemeth very wel in lesser things: And that they which foretell particular things must needes be inspired of God: And agein, that the iudgements of such as gaze vpon the Starres, are doubtfull, howbeit that they

Obiections.

Ptolomie in booke of the fruite.

which

which foretell the good part, approch neerer the trueth, by reason of a certeine power that beareth sway in their Soule, although that otherwise they haue no skill at all in the arte. And in very deede, the best Astronomers haue reiected Judiciall Astrologie, as in vain and without foundation, yea euen after they haue well tyred themselues in it. But in Israel we reade of a Neateheard called Amos, whose Prophesies were no lesse euident for the matters they treated of, than were the Prophesies of Daniell and Esay. Auerrhoes and his followers haue a peculiar opinion of mans Soule, namely that we haue a certaine capacitie of vnderstanding, which they terme an vnderstanding in possibility, the which informeth and teacheth by the working of an vniuersall mynd, which by the particular imaginations of euery man, commeth to be ioyned to the vnderstanding in possibilitie that is common to all. And therefore they say that Prophesying proceedeth properly of that Coniunction in men that haue a strong and liuely imagination. If it be so, I would haue the disciples of Auerrhoes (who had so goodly an imagination,) to imagine this, to shewe mee some Prophesie of their Maisters or of their owne. Also let them answere mee how it happeneth that our Prophetes for the most part haue commonly bene old men, seeing that (after their doctrine,) old men cannot Prophesie by reason of the feeblenes of their imagination? But forasmuch as these men doe preache vnto vs that the worlde is eternall; how happeneth it that Prophesying hath not bene instilled into men by the sayde coniunction, euerlastingly concerning tyme, and in all tymes, seeing that to become a Prophet, there needeth no more but to haue a very strong imagination: forasmuch as the separated vnderstandings are euermore readie and disposed to the said Coniunction: How happeneth it also that a man being come to that point, Prophesieth not of all things that he can imagine? But hereby we see manifestly that this Prophesying of theirs is not an habit, but a passion that fadeth away like the sound of a Lute, when the player ceasseth to strike. Or if they say that a man must first get him both the actiue and the contemplatiue habits, and then the said vnderstanding matcheth it selfe with our imagination, as the forme of a thing matcheth with the substance thereof, whereof commeth it that Dauid being a Shepheard and Amos a Neteheard, did prophesie so wonderfully? Some will haue it, that Prophesying is deriued into man by the Starres, conditionally that he be disposed to receiue it. Herevpon they prescribe him a certeine diet; where-

The same thing doth Moises of Narbon say vppon the booke of Abubacher, & Auempare.

Roget Bacon in his booke of the Sixe sciences of experience, and in his abridgement of Diuinitie.

by

by he must make his body equall and euenly counterpeysed by Alchimie; and afterward he must gather togither the Beames of the Skie into a mirrour, which they call Alchemuse, made according to the Rules of Catoptrik: and finally he must stellifie by Astrologie as well the man himselfe, as the foode that he vseth. And they say that Apollonius of Thianey prophesied after ẏ maner. These are Topes to bee laughed at, rather then worthie to bee answered. And let euery man consider, whether our Prophetes being Shepherds, Neateheards and vnlearned, were framed with such curiousnes, to Prophesie according to diet. May when his wittes bee somewhat well wakened, he shall perceiue that they were inspired with things which the Starres could neither doe, nor betoken, nor knowe, forasmuch as they bee still in the hand of the first cause, and are not come downe so lowe as to bee subiect to the second causes.

The Platonists therfore come somewhat nearer the truth, speially Iamblychus and Porphyrius by name. For they say that the foretelling of things farre of aforehand, cannot be done nother by art nor by nature, but only by inspiration from God. Howbeit forasmuch as they speake of many Gods, and tooke the diuels for Angells it may be obiected ageinst vs, that our Prophesies proceeded eyther from diuells or from Angells. But if we call to mynd the Oracles of diuells, and compare them with our Prophesies, there will appeare as much difference betwixt them, as is betweene the discretion of a wise man, and the tittletattle of a fole. Therefore let vs heare what they say. The Gods (sayeth Porphyrius) foretel naturall things by the order of naturall causes which they marke; and they foretell things that depend vpon our owne wil, by coniectures takē of our doings. But forasmuch as they be swifter than we, they preuent vs and outrunne vs, and that in such sort, that as naturall things are deceyuable, and mens cases are variable & vncerteyne; so they both, as welthe good as the bad, bee subiect to lying. What els is this to say but that they can foretell nothing of vs further forth than they learne by our doings; nor of naturall things further forth than they reade them in nature, that is to say than they reade them as in a booke, howbeit with a sharper and swifter eyesight than we? But nother diuell nor Angell can reade that in the Starres which is not there: nor in men, that which men themselues knowe not, specially considering that the greatest learned men doe hold opinion that they enter not so

so farre. In the Starres they could not reade the names of Iosias, Vrias, or Cyrus: niether in the hearts of Iosias, Vrias, and Cyrus themselues, (who were not at that tyme in the world) could they reade the deedes which they were to do certeine hundred yeeres after. For only vnto God are those tymes present which are to come; but as for to Angells and vs there is no more of the roll of tyme knowen, than it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnes to vnfold vnto vs. It followeth then by the doctrine of these Philosophers, that our Prophesies being so cleere, so particular, and so neare to things a farre of; could not be inspyred from many Gods.

Yet notwithstanding, all Prophesying (say they) proceeds either of art, or of nature, or of some Spirit, or of God himselfe. Of arte, as by Astrologie; of nature, as when mannes nature is ready to receiue the influences of the vniuersall; and of some Spirit, as by some league or couenant made with him. But of none of all these three could the Prophesies of the Hebrewes proceede, as I haue shewed euidently afore. It remayneth therefore that those Prophesies are of God; and consequently that their Scriptures are Gods word; which is nothing els but eyther those Prophesies themselues, or the effects of those Prophesies. And to shut vp this Chapter, it will not be amisse to rehearse this record of Porphyrins, that the Religious sect of the Essens among the Iewes, by reason of their occupying of themselues in those Prophesies, made a profession of Prophesying, and sildom tymes missed. For in deede there is greate lykelyhod, that if we vnderstoode all the Prophesies of the Bible (which thing is vnpossible for vs bycause we cannot lay the states of all tymes together;) wee should find there manie things which are darke to vs at this day, and yet were cleere, well vnderstoode, and easie, euen to the verie comon people, euery one in his tyme.

The

The xxvj. Chapter.

That the things which seeme most woonderfull in our Scriptures, are confirmed by the Heathen themselues: and a solution of their cheefe Obiections to the same.

AND that wee knowe that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; there should remayne no more for vs to doe, but to hearken vnto him with silence. For seeing he hath made al things by his word; his worde cannot haue sayde any thing which he hath not bene able to doe. And if we crouch, and lay our hand vpon our mouth at the sight of a Kings Seale: surely it were more reason that wee should dispose our mynds to beleeue, and our willes to obeye without scanning, wrangling or gaynsaying, when wee see the expresse signing and seale of God in his Scriptures. Howbeit, to the intent wee may leaue no cause of doubt to the Reader: forasmuch as some haue presumed to obiect, I desire that I also may haue leaue to assoyle their demaunds. Now therefore, let vs see what is obiected against vs, as well by the Infidels of old tyme as of our daies. First of all, As great account (say they) as you make of your Scriptures; there is no record pealded vnto them by any of our auncient Authors Greeke or Latin, as Plato, Aristotle, Theophrast, and the rest of so many Philosophers, Historiographers, & Poets. This is euen as much as if a man should aske witnesse of the men of Perow, concerning the Histories of Fraunce or Spayne. For in the times whereof our Scriptures speake, what were the Greekes and Romaines in respect of the Iewes, but sillie sauage people that fed vpon Mast: Or soothly it is all one, as if a man should aske a childe of the things that were done afore he was borne; considering that the latest Histories in our Byble, are of more antiquitie than the Schooles of Greece, or the vse of reading was in Rome. May moreouer, from the tyme that the Greekes knewe there was an Ægipt, they went thether to Schoole, and there had communication with the Iewes,

An obiection concerning the witnesse of the Greekes.

The Answere.

(as I haue proued alreadie) at whose hands they reaped that little knowledge which they had concerning the true God, the creation of the world, and the fall of Man. Insomuch that Plato alledgeth our Authors vnder these words; As the authors of old tyme report, or as it is reported in the auncient Oracles. And Numenius hauing espyed that Plato could not get that skill frō elsewhere than out of Moyses, termeth him Moyses speaking in ẏ language of Athens, that is to say, translated into Greeke. The Histories of Greece begin about the tyme of Cyrus. But (sayth Aristobulus) the lawe of Moyses and the departing of the Israelites out of Ægipt, were translated into Greeke afore ẏ reigne of Alexander, yea or of the Persians themselues. Which is as much to say, as that the Greekes euen from their first vpspring, or at leastwise from the first tyme that they began to knowe themselues, heard speaking of our Scriptures and were desirous to haue them. And Hecatæus the Abderite who attended vppon Alexander in his Conquests, made a booke purposely of the Iewes, which thing he did not of any of all the flourishing Nations which he had seene in his voyage. Also Herennius Philo hauing read the sayd Philosopher, sawe him so wonderfull in the things that he had learned of the Iewes, that he beléeued him to haue bene become a Iew, and to haue bene conuerted to their lawe. Anon after, when the tyme of the calling of the Gentiles approched, that it behoued the Prophesies to bee made knowne to the whole world; to rid away all suspition of contryuing them vppon the euents; God did put into the heart of Ptolomie Philadelph King of Ægipt, to make a Library, in the which (by the counsell of Demetrius Phalareus a Disciple of Theophrastus) it was his will to haue the Byble of the Hebrewes, and therefore at his great charges caused it to be translated into Greeke. The Historie of this translating is set out by one Aristæas a Chamberlaine of King Ptolomies; who with another named Andrew, was sent to Eleazar the Highpriest of the Iewes to fetch the Byble and sixe men of euery Trybe that were learned in both the Languages, to translate it. And he sayth that Demetrius Phalareus made report vnto the king, that these Scriptures were the onely writings that were diuine in déede; and that thereupon the King asked him in his presence, how it happened that he had not those bookes sooner, seeing hee spared not for any cost, and that Iewrie was so nere hand: Whereunto Demetrius answered, that they were written in a peculiar language, and therefore that it behoued

Aristobulus writing to Ptolomy Philometor. lib. 1.

Hecatæus concerning the Iewes.

Herennius Philo concerning the Iewes.

Aristæas concerning the translation of the Threescore and Ten Interpreters.

behoued him to write to the Highpriest to haue Interpreters: according to which aduice, the King sent Ambassadours with letters and presents to Eleazar, (of which Ambassadours he himselfe was one): And that by the consent of all the people, the threescore and twelue Interpreters were sent into into Ægipt. Yea and in this Historie (which is extant still at this day) ye may see the Copies of the letters that were written from Demetrius to Ptolomie, from Ptolomie to Eleazar, and from Eleazar to Ptolomie. And the said Aristæas addeth, that when the Byble was once translated & perused in the presence of the chiefe Pæres of his Realme, the King caused a solemne curse to be proclaymed with loude voyce, against all such as should ad any thing to it, take aught from it, or alter aught in it. And afterward (sayth hee) when the King vppon further reading therof, did maruel that of so many things and so worthie of remembrance, there was no mention made by the Historywriters and Poets of Greece: Demetrius Phalareus answered him, that it was a diuine lawe, giuen of God, which ought not to be touched but with cleane hands, (as Hecatæus himself writeth) affirming moreouer that Theopompus a Disciple of Aristotles had done him to vnderstand, that whereas some had gone about to disguise the Scriptures of the Iewes with Græke eloquence, they were striken with amazednesse for their labour, and vppon prayer made vnto God were warned in a Dreame, that they should forbeare to vnhallow or defile those heauenly matters, with the glosse of their owne inuentions. Yea and that Theodotus a Tragicall Poet had told him, that because he intended to haue intermingled some matters of the Scriptures with his Tragedies, that is to wet, by drawing grounds of his Poetries out of the Byble, as other Poets had done with the warres of Thebes and Troy: he had suddeinly forgone his sight, which was afterward restored agayne vnto him vppon continuall prayer and long repentaunce. And this befell iust in the same tyme that the Greekes and Romaines did but begin to deale with Philosophie. Also Numenius the Pythagorist, whom many preferre before Plato, made so great account of the Scriptures, that his booke of Welfare, of Number, and of Place, and his booke intytled The Lapwing, were full of texts alledged out of Moyses and the Prophets with great reuerence: And he is the same Philosopher whom Plotin had in such estimation, that he voutsafed to write a Cõmentarie vpon him. But I would that the Greekes should but shew me the like record of their owne

Eusebius in his eight booke of the preparation to the Gospell.

Origines in his fourth booke against Celsus.

writings and of their owne lawes, not in our bookes, but euen in their owne bookes; and I beleeue that no indifferent person would refuse that offer.

An Obiection concerning the style.

The Solution.

Here followeth another obiection: Namely that the Scriptures haue a simple, bare, and grosse style: but if they were of God, they would speake farre otherwise. I demaund of them, whither mens styles ought not to be according to the persones that speake, and whither the grace of eloquence cõsist not in obseruing seemelynesse; as namely whither the eloquence of a Subiect, ought not to differ from the eloquence of a King; the eloquence of a child, from the eloquence of a father; and the eloquence of an Aduocate, from the eloquence of a Iudge; or whether by the Rules of Rhetorick, that which is eloquence in the one, shall not bee folishnes in the other: Therefore if the Lawyer or Aduocate will pleade eloquently, he must moue affections: to the intent he may moue other men, hee must first moue himselfe. The Iudge must vtter his wordes grauely, and he must also be vnflexible and vnintreatable, without mouing and without affection. The King must simply and absolutely commaund; for hee is both the voyce of the Lawe, and the rule of the Iudge. But if either the King come to perswade, or the Iudge to debate cases; then must the one put on the state of an Aduocate, and the other the state of a subiect, and lay aside the state of a King and Iudge. What then I pray you shal become of the law of God the King of kings, who is infinitely further aboue ꝑ greatest Monarkes, than the greatest Monarkes are aboue their meanest Subiects; and who exceedeth alyke both the Iudges and the parties that are to be iudged: We would haue him to vse Inductions as Plato doth, or Syllogismes as Aristotle doth, or pretie sleightes as Carneades doth, or outcryes as Cicero doth, or fyne conceites as Seneca doth. We would haue him to vtter his words by weight, that they might fall in iust measure and sound; and to interlace some farre sought words, some allegorical matters, and some strange deuises wherwith comon vse is vnacquainted. If we should see a Kings Proclamations set forth in such a style, which of vs would not by and by note it as smelling to much of the Inkhorne; and which of our Eares woulde not rather glowe at it; than lyke of it? Surely then, the simpler that Gods Lawe is, the better doth it beseeme the Euerlasting; considering that the simpler it is, the more it resembleth the voyce of him that can doe all things; yea and (which more is) the simpler it is, the better doth it

fitte

ſtte all people. For the Lawe that is ordeined for all men without exception, ought to be as an ordinarie foode, or rather as a common kynd of breed applyed to the taſte and reliſhe of all men. But what will you ſay if the Scriptures haue in their lowlynes more ſtatelynes, in their ſimplicitie more profoundnes, in their homelines more aſſurance, and in their groſſeneſſe more lyuely force & ſharpnes, than are to bee found any where els? Wee reade in the firſt chapter of Geneſis, God created heauen and earth; God ſpake, and the waters were ſeuered from the earth; Hee commaunded, and the earth brought foorth herbes. There is not ſo bery an idyot or ſo ſimple a man, but he can vnderſtand theſe things, I meane ſo farre as is requiſite to his Saluation, yea and conſent at the very hearing of them, that the things muſt needes bee as it is ſayd there. But if a man will wade deeper into the matter, as how God hath in all eternitie choſen (as ye would ſay) one inſtãt whereat to begin this worke, without ſtuffe or matter to worke vppon; and how he made it by his onely bare word: they be ſuch bottomleſſe deepes, as will make euen the ſtouteſt afrayd, and enforce the wyſeſt to ſtoupe to the ſkill of the lowly and little ones, ſo excellent is the ſimplicitie of the Scripture, both to inſtruct the lowly, and to confound the prowd both at once. In our Bible we haue Hiſtories, and in Hiſtories what deſire wee? A trueth: for that is the very ſubſtance of them. Now what greater proofe of trueth can there be, than ſimplicitie? A ſtyle or maner of indyting that ſetteth downe things paſt before our eyes, as if they were preſently in doing? What greater token would we haue thereof, than (in our reading) to feele the very ſame affections which thoſe felt of whom we reade: Let the hardeſt hearted men, and the moſt vntoward in the world go reade the Hiſtories of our Byble, as how Iſaac was led to be ſacrifized, how Ioſeph became knowen again to his brethren, how Iephthe was vexed with the meeting of his daughter, or how Dauid was greeued at the death of Abſalon: and (if they will ſay the trueth) they ſhal feele a certeine ſhuddering in their bodyes, a certeine yirning in their heartes, and a certeine tender affection all at one inſtant, farre greater than if all ỹ Oracles of Rome or Athens, ſhould preach the ſame matters whole daies togither. Let them reade the ſame ſtories againe in Ioſephus, to whom the Emperour Titus cauſed an Image to be ſet vp for the elegancie of his hiſtorie, and they ſhal find that after his inriching of them with all the ornaments of Rhetoricke, he ſhal leaue them more cold and

leſſe moued, then he found them. And that is becauſe that in very deede, true beautie deſireth no peynting; but the more naked it is, the more it allureth; and (as Jewellers and Lapidaries ſay) the fayrer that any Precious Stone is, the leſſe doth it néede both of Gold and of workmanſhip. And ſoothly to ſet vp our Scriptures vpon high words, is nothing els but to ſet vp a well proportioned tall man vpon a Scaffold, which diminiſheth ſomewhat of his naturall proportion, and yet addeth not any whit to his ſtature.

Alſo in our Scriptures we haue Prophecies, and in thoſe Prophecies we haue threatenings, exhortations, and vehement ſpéeches. And it is in ſuch matters, that the Orators are wont to thunder and to mount vp into their loftie ſpéeches, In this kynd, the Latins make greate account of Cicero. But I repoꝛt me to al ſuch as haue read both of them with lyke iudgment, what compariſon there is betweene him and Eſay? betweene his flattering inſinuations with chyldiſh excuſes of ignoꝛance, and the enterances of Eſay, lyuely, graue, and ful of maieſtie? Betweene his long Periods to the which hee herkeneth ſo deuoutly; and the others cutting woꝛds which are as thunderſtroks dubbled, to daunt the ſlowteſt ſtomacke that is? But among all the Greeks, Cicero himſelf wondereth at Æſchines againſt Demoſthenes in acerteine place, where he layeth open his iniuries, and paſſions againſt him, in déede moꝛe lyke a bedlem than a man in his right witts. And what eloquence, what foꝛce, oꝛ what percing hath that place (I beſéech the Readers with all my hart to reade bothe the one and the other) in compariſon of this beginning of Eſayes? Herken ye Heauens (ſayeth he) and giue eare thou Earth; for the Euerlaſting hath ſayd, I haue norriſhed Children and brought them vp, and they haue rebelled againſt me. The Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Aſſe his mayſters cribbe: but Iſraell hath not knowen me, my people haue no vnderſtanding; Ah ſinfull people, people loden with iniquitie, too what purpoſe ſhould yee bee chaſtyſed any more, ſith ye heape ſinne vpon ſinne? The whole head is ſicke, and all the body is ful of ſores. From the ſole of the foote to the crowne of the head, there is not any ſound part. What abundance of kindnes, and eloquence, of humilitie and haultines, of reaſons and affections, is there in theſe feawe woꝛds? And how much greater ſhould wee find them in their owne Language and in their owne accents? Truly ſome great learned men of our tyme (which thing I think not to be any abatement of their

Cicero in his Tuſculane Queſtions.

Oſorius the Portingale.

commen-

commendation) haue vndertaken to make Paraphrases vpon this Prophet and others, ful of godly sentences, and humane eloquẽce, which haue serued fitly to giue him the greater grace. And if our Rhethoritians finde fault with those similitudes as ouer homely: I would haue them to tell me to what vse Similitudes serue, but to make things cléere; and what is the meane to make matters cléere, but by taking Similitudes from things best knowen? And what manner of ones were the Metaphors of the Romanes, but at the first rude and homely, and afterward taken from warres, and in processe of tyme taken from pleading and oratorie, according as they grew to be more corrupted? And what els are ỹ Similitudes of Cicero himself in his treatyse of old age, but lykenings taken from husbandrie and Vynes, bycause he himself delyghted in those things? To be short, when it commeth to the purseuing of a Similitude euidently, to the settingdowne of a Desolation lyuely, to the reproouing of vyces sharply, or to the promising of deliuerance brauely: our Prophets do setforth euery thing so naturally, so presently, so forcibly, and so lyuely; as that it appeareth manifestly that they had the persones, the places, the tymes, and the things themselues whereof they spake, al present before their eyes: yea and that maner of indyting is comon to all our Prophets vniuersally. Of all these things I requyre none other witnesses, than our berrie despysers of God themselues, whose contempt of our Scriptures, which they neuer had leysure to reade, entereth for the most part vnder this colour, that some mayster of arte which neuer red any more than his Cicero, ne can skill to discerne what beséemeth eyther others or himself, hath skorned the things which he hath not the skill eyther to pevse or to prayse. From such people (say I) springeth the contempt of our Scriptures, specially in Italy; who being out of their Schooles are not able to say one wooord to the purpose, no nor scarcely so much as simply to talke. Politian (sayth Viues) did altogither despyse the reading of the Scriptures. Therefore let vs sée what he commended. He spent his whole lyfe in scanning whether a man should pronoũce Vergilius or Virgilius; Carthaginenses, or Carthaginienses; Primus, or Preimus: and if he had any further leysure, he spent it in making some grèeke Epigram in the commendation of Lechery and Sodomy. A graue iudgment soothly for vs to set our mynds vppon. Another called Domitius Calderinus, turned yong men from the reading of the Scriptures: but what godly matter toke he to occuppye himself withall?

Forsothe he passed his lyfe in making a Comment vpon Virgills Priapus, a booke which all men that haue any peece of manhood in them are ashamed euen too speake of. But what greater proofe of the prayse of our Scriptures would wee haue, than that such persones doe despyse them? Contrarywise, Marsilius Ficinus, and Iohn Erle of Mirandula the honour of Italy and of his age for skill in all sciences, hauing read all the good authors in the world, came at length to rest themselues in our Scriptures, and were in the end out of lyking with al others; but as for these they could neuer haue their fill of them. If there were no more but ꝑ affirmation of the one, & the deniall of the other; vnto which of them I pray you ought we rather to yeeld? Nay, I dare say, and I will mainteine it among all such as knowe what it is to speake to the purpose, & accordingly as may best beseeme euery man; that our scriptures are written in such wise, as may most fitly beseeme both God the author of them, and the matters that they treate of, and the partyes to whom they be spoken; and that a more seemely style than that cannot be imagined, eyther for God; (for he is our Prince; and it beseemeth not Princes to perswade): or for the matters; for they be holy and graue, and graue matters (as sayeth Aristotle) should not be peynted: or for the partyes to whom they be spoken; for they were folk of all sorts without exception; and lyke as all of them were bound to beleeue and obserue them, so was it behoffull that al should vnderstand them.

Obiections concerning the vncredibleneesse of things in the Scriptures.

But now enter they into the matter of them. The Scriptures (say they) doe tell vs things vnpossible and vncredible, more lyke the fond fables of Poets, than the reportes of sound Histories. I would haue them tell mee to whom they be vnpossible, & to whom they bee vncredible? seeing they father them not but vpon God the maker of Heauen and Earth, to whom all things are alike easie? The Poets say that Iupiter thundreth aboue, and that Neptune turmoyleth the Seas, and rowleth vp the Earth: and wee knowe that both Iupiter and Neptune were men as we be: and therefore we say iustly that they report Fables; for they father things vpon men which are aboue the abilitie of man to doe, and which surmount the power of all Creatures. But when things that are vnpossible to Creatures, are reported of G O D, whose power is infinite: although men doubt whether they were done or noe; yet can they not deny but that hee was able to doe them. And if their suspecting of them bee because they reade the lyke things in their owne

owne Fables; I haue proued already, that these things were writ-
ten long tyme afore they had either wryters of Hystories, Poets,
yea or any writing at all. And therefore they ought to thinke that
their Fables were deuised vpon our Hystories, and their Leasings
vpon our truethes. For lyke as a man hath bene afore his portrai-
ture, good Coyne afore counterfet Coyne, a true Seale afore a for-
ged Seale, and a true Copy afore a forgerie: so also was the true
declaration of things afore Fables: according to this rule of the
Philosophers, That euill hath not any being of it selfe, but in ano-
ther thing, ne is properly a substance, but a corruption of a sub-
stance. Therefore we beléeue not the Fables of Homere, nor the
Inuentions of Euripides and Sophocles, made vpon the battell
of Troy; and yet wee deny not but there was a Warre of Troy.
As little also do wee beléeue the Romanes which vaunt of the
twelue Péeres of Charles the greate the King of Fraunce; and
yet wee doubt not but there was a greate Charles that did greate
things in his tyme, and had greate store of Noble Parsonages in
his seruice. To be short, had there neuer bene any Dogge, Horse,
Beare, or Lyon in the world; neither Poets had feined, nor Pein-
ters had peinted vs any Cerberus, Pegasus, or Chymere. Lyke-
wise, had there not bene a trueth of the things whereon the Poets
made their Fables, we should not haue had at this day any Fables
in the Worlde. Let vs come to particularities. In all the whole
Scripture there is not a more wonderfull thing, than the Creati-
on of the world and of man: And if we admit those two poyntes,
nothing ought to seéme straunge vnto vs in the residew of the By-
ble. For all the miracles which wee wonder at, are but sparkes of
the infinite power which vttered it selfe at that tyme in the crea-
ting of all things. Now I haue proued alreadie both by liuely rea-
sons, and by witnesse of the auncient writers, that the world and al
things therein were created, and that they were created by the on-
ly will of God, at such tyme as pleased him; and that it cannot bée
otherwise imagined. Vppon this trueth haue the Phenicians and
Ægiptians fashioned their Fables; saying that in the beginning
there was a darknesse, and a spirituall Ayre, and in an infinite
Chaos; that this spirit couered the Chaos: and that of the con-
iunction of them twayne, was bred a certeine Moth, that is to say,
a certeyne slyme, whereof all liuing things were ingendred. It can
not be denyed but that this was a mistaken Copy of the holy and
native Copie written by Moyses.

The Creation of the world and of Man.

Concer-

Concerning the creation of Man, the Ægiptians say hee was created both Male and female. Hereupon Plato gathereth that he was a Manwoman or Herkinalson: and the Scripture had sayd that God had created them Male and female. So befalleth it properly to a Portrapture that is drawen by another. That which is taken at the lively image, loseth a little of his nature. That which is taken at the Patterne, loseth somewhat more; And so from one to another, they varry in the ende so farre from the very originall, that a man can scarsly find any resemblance thereof. The fall of man hath bene proued of mæ by many reasons, and approued by all the Philosophers, and euen by the very feeling of our corruption. All men are inforced to confesse it. But Moyses is the only man that setteth vs downe both the Historie and the cause therof. Herevpon the Emperour Iulian quareleth, thinking it straunge that a Serpent should speake, which is no more but that the diuell spake by the Serpent. And what is there herein, which befell not dayly among the Gentyles? diuels, to deceiue men, spake to them from out of Images. The Fiend of Dodon spake out of an Oke. Phylostratus sayth that an Elme spake to Apollonius of Thyaney: A Riuer (sayeth Porphirius) saluted Pythagoras. Euen Iulian himselfe & his Philosopher Maximus, heard the diuell speake in diuers voyces & in diuers maners: & in al this geare there is thought to be no straungenes at all. For seeing that the diuell of himselfe is not visible to our eyes; must hee not bee faine to put on a borowed shape? And if he borowe one, why should he rather take some other shape than the shape of a Serpent? And if he speake; why should he not speake as well by the mouth of a Serpent, as of another liuing wight? and as well of a liuing wight, as of a thing that hath no lyfe? May further, this creature hath a manifest figure, in that it trayleth vpon the ground, and liueth of the dust: and in that wee by our winding away from God to the base and Earthly things, are brought to the same poynt at this day.

The fall of Man.

The age of the first men.

We reade of the men of the first age, that they liued seuen, eight, or nine hundred yeres: which thing some thinking to be incredible, haue imagined that those yéres were but moneths, notwithstanding that in the historie of the vniuersall Flud which insewed, the moneth is set downe to be of eight and twentie daies, and the yére to be twelue moneths, and that otherwise wee must be faine to admit, that they begate Children at lesse than ten yéres of the sonne. And yet is that one of the grieues which they conceiue against our

Scriptures

Scriptures; as who would say it were not as easie vnto GOD to extende our liues vnto ten thousand of yeeres, as to a hundred, to God I say who hath made both the life it selfe, and the yéeres, and the worlds of yeeres. Yet notwithstanding, Manethon the Ægiptian, Berosus the Chaldean, Moschus, Hestiæus, and Hierom, who wrate the Stories of the Phenicians, doe confirme the saying of Moyses concerning the first men. Also Hesiodus, Hecatæus, Acusilaus, Hellanicus, and Ephorus agree thereunto: affirming that they were ordeyned to liue so long tyme, as well for to studie the Sciences, as to inuent the Handycrafts; and specially for the finding out of Astronomie, because (say they) if they had liued lesse than sixe hundred yéeres, their obseruations had bene in vayne, because the great yere cõtinueth so long. To be short, the matter was so cléere, & so common in all auncient Histories, that Varro passeth it not ouer as a light thing, but laboureth to yéeld a cause thereof.

For the punishment of Mankynd there flowed a generall Flud. What Nation hath not beléeued it, and what Author hath not spoken of it? Among the Ægiptians, Phenicians, Greekes, and Romaines nothing was more common. And because they had heard that it befell in the primetyme of the world, and were ignorant in the accounts of ỳ tymes; euery writer of Histories did set it downe in the tyme which he thought to be of most antiquitie: as for example, the Thebanes referred it to the tyme of Ogyges, the Thessalyans to the time of Deucalion, and so forth of others. Moreouer, in Brasilie, in the new Spayne, and in the Florida, the beléef thereof is common, and all of them impute it to mans sinne, and to the wrath of the highest powred out vpon mankynd. But let vs come yet to more particular poynts. God commanded Moyses to make an Arke for the sauing of himselfe and his household, and for the preseruing of the seede of the world there. And he reckoneth vp vnto vs all the whole length, breadth and depth thereof: which is a proofe that he had the trueth it selfe, wherof the residue had but the fame. Yet notwithstanding, Alexander Polyhistor, and Abydene doe write, that Saturne foretolde vnto Xysuthrus the Flud ere it came; and that he made him an Arke, to saue all kynd of Cattell with him: That he preserued his holy writings by ingrauing them in certeyne pillers at Heliopolis in Ægipt, and sayled in his Arke towards Armenie: that after certeyne daies he sent forth certeyne Birds, which found no dry ground: that at the end of certeyne other daies, he sent out certeine other Birds: and that in the end perceiuing

The generall Flud.

Alexander Polyhistor.

Abydemus alledged by Cyrill in his first booke against Iulian.

reiuing dye land, hee came downe out of the Arke in Armenie, where (by their saying) the remnants of the Arke are diligently kept by the Inhabitants, who helpe themselues with it in many diseases. And their talking of Saturne is according to the maner of the Greekes, who surmised ỹ Iewes to haue worshipped Saturne, because they kept holy the seuenth day. And it may bee that Xysuthrus may in the Assyrian tung betoken as much as Noe, who in diuers places had diuers names as wee reade. Neuertheless, this difference serueth vs for a proofe, because we see it is not a simple supposall, but a firme tradition from the Father to the Sonne.

Iosephus in his first booke of his antiquities. chap. 3.

The same thing is reported by Berosus, not the counterfet Berosus, but the same Berosus whom the auncient writers alledge; and by Ierom the Ægiptian, Mnaseas the Phenician, and others. Yea and they ad further, that the place where Noe came downe out of the Arke was called Saleh Noah, in Greeke ἀποβατήριον, that is to say Noes comming downe; and that it was at a certeine Mountaine called Baris or Paropanisus, which (according to their language at that tyme) seemeth to come al to one. Also Plutarke speaketh expressely of the Doue that Deucalion sent out of the Arke to seeke dye land: and Phauorinus and Stephanus speake of the place where the Arke rested; which cannot be vnderstood of any particular flud of Thessalie, which doubtlesse was contriued out of the other vniuersall flud. Now therefore not knowing what to replye in this behalfe, they picke a quarrell at the measure of the Arke, imagyning it hard for God to doe that which they themselues can not doe. But besides that the Arke was a figure of the Church whereinto all Nations should one day be gathered and saued; Origen sheweth to Celsus the Epicure by the Geometricall Cubit, that it was of a marueilous greatnesse and capacitie. And Buteon a Mathematick declareth expressely in a booke, what it conteyned foote by foote. To be short, sith we reade that the Flud was vniuersall, considering that that could not be but by Gods appoyntment, who notwithstanding intended to saue those that were his: the sight of such a myracle ought to make all the residue credible, without alledging of measures in a power which is without measure. For wheras some will néedes impute that Flud to a certeine great Coniunction of Planets which was at that tyme; I send them to the Earle of Mirandula, who not only proueth that there was not then any great Coniunction at al, but also that although there had bene one, yet they could not assigne it to the named poynt; but rather

In his treatise that beastes are capable of reason.

Iohn Picus Erle of Mirandula against Astrologers.

ther that by their owne rules the Coniunction was such at that tyme, that it betokened rather an vniuersall burning than an vniuersall drowning of the world.

At the going away of this Flud, the Scripture telleth vs of a Ham or Cham which discouered ꝑ shame of Noe his father. The Chaldees say it was Zoroastres, who would with his Charmes haue made him barren. The Greekes after them feyned their Iupiter Hammon to haue gelded him. Thus turned they the Historie into a fable. Likewise Iaphet is none other than the Iapetus of the Poets, who toke the renewing of the world after the Flud, for the very first creation thereof. Then followeth consequently the confusion of the tongues. It is a very cleere case that languages are to no vse, but in respect of the diuersitie of them; insomuch that if there were no moe but one in all the world, it were meere fondnesse to knowe any moe than that. Therefore like as reason hath led vs to one first man, so ought it also to leade vs to one first language; which was but one alone, like as there was but one man alone with his wife. If the diuersitie of them consisted as now, but in proprietie of phrases and forme of wordes, it might be sayd that they had bene altered by processe of tyme. But it is well knowne that there are many Languages, whose very originall words are farre diuers and vtterly vnlike one another, sauing in some fewe words that haue bene brought out of other Countries by Trauellers and trade of Marchandise, which haue euery where reteyned still the same names they had in the place from whence they came. Ye will say then that men inuented them when they conueyed Inhabiters abroade to people other Countries. But what a vanitie had that bin? What like of man could haue suffised to do it? What benefite could haue insewed of it, either to ꝑ inuenters themselues, or to their followers? May, who seeth not that it had bene a publicke miserie? not a knowledge, but an ignorance; not a pleasure, but a hell to posteritie? Certesse, wee say therefore that reason leadeth vs to that which the Scripture sayth; namely, that at the beginning there was but one language: That the diuiding of Languages came not of men, but that the diuiding of men came of the diuision of Languages: and that it was not a deuice of men (who at that tyme were sufficiently occupyed in the needfull knowledge of nature, and in the finding out of profitable Arts and Sciences) but a punishment cast of God vpon mankynd. Let vs see how the auncient writers do further these reasons. The common opinion

Cham.

The confusion of tongues or languages.

is

Alexander Polyhistor. Abydenus. Sibylla. Euseb.lib.9. cap.4.de prepar.

is (say Abydenus and Alexander) that men being bred of the earth, and trusting in their own strength, would needes in despight of the Gods goe reare a Tower vp to the Sunne, in the same place where Babylon now is: and that when they had raised it very high, the Gods ouerthrewe it and cast it downe vpon their heads with a great wind: and that at that tyme began the diuersitie of Languages: wherevpon, the Hebrewes called that place Babel. Of these things speaketh Sibill also in her verses in the selfesame termes. And Hestiæus and Eupolemus doe ad, that the Priests which scaped from thence, gate themselues with the misteries of their Iupiter (the same was eyther Nembrod or Iupiter Bele) into the Plaine of Sennaar, from the which place men departing by reason of the confusion of tongues, began to seuer themselues abroade to people the rest of the world. Here it pleaseth Iulian to fall to scoffing. For (sayth hee) a great sort of such globes as the whole earth is, being heaped one vpon an other, were not able to reach halfe way to the Sphere of the Moone. But the reason of this enterprise of theirs is euident; namely that their intent was to haue had a refuge ageinst the height of the waters, if any flud should come ageine, that is to say, to make a banke ageinst Gods wrath, which it had bene better for them to haue pacified by prayer. And this pryde of theirs is not to be thought so straunge a matter, considering how wee reade in the Histories of the Greekes, that one Xerxes sent letters of defyance to the Sea: and in the Histories of the Romaines, that one Caligula vndertooke a quarrell against Iupiter. And Iulian himselfe was not a whit wiser, when he would needes take vpon him to impeach the kingdom of God, by prohibiting the Christians to reade Poets. And whereas Celsus will needes beare himselfe on hand, that the sayd Historie was taken out of the fable of the Aloides: all men know that Homer was the first Author of that fable, who came a long tyme after Moyses. And in good sooth, these particularities of the confounding of Tongues, of the dispersing of men abroade, of the place where it befell, of the naming of Phaleg who was borne at the very tyme of the diuision, and such other circumstances; doe euidently shewe that Moyses speaketh not at rouers: whereof there is also this further prose, that the Originals of Nations according to the diuiding of households at that tyme, are not read of in any other Author.

Genes.11.

As vayne also is this saying of theirs, that the burning vp of Sodom

dom is taken from the tale of Phaeton, which is in déede as farre from it as Heauen is from the earth. For euen at this day there are yet still to bee séene the remaynders of Gods wrath, noted by Strabo, Galen, Mela, and others: namely the bitter Lake wherein nothing can liue; the banks thereof lyued with Bitumen; the Stones stinking and filthie; the trées bearing fruites fayre to the eye, but falling to Cinder and smoke in the hand; which things we reade not of to haue bin séene any where els, and yet in a valley most beautifull to behold, where stoode at that tyme fiue Cities, or according to Strabo thirteene, which were all consumed with fire for sinne ageinst nature. And Iosephus sayeth that the Image or piller of salt whereinto Loths wyfe was turned, was to be séene there euen in his dayes. These are the greatest woonders of the booke of Genesis. The residew thereof consisteth in the historie of Abraham and of his Children. As for the Princes of those dayes, we haue nother Pedegrée nor historie of them among the Heathen wryters: and therefore it is the more to be woondered at, that they haue spoken of our Shepherds. For Berosus sayeth that about a ten generations or descents from the vniuersall Flud, there was amōg the Chaldees a great man that excelled in Astronomie. And that by him Berosus ment to betoken Abraham, Eupolemon declareth: for he sayth that in the sayd tenth generation, Abraham was borne in Camerine a Towne of Babylonie, otherwise called Vr or Caldeople; who inuēted Astronomie among the Chaldees, and was in the fauour of God, by whose commaundement hee remoued into Phenice, where hee taught the course of the Mone, of the Sunne, and of the Planets, whereby hee greatly pleased the King: notwithstanding that he saith hee had receiued it from hand to hand from Enoch, whome the Greekes (sayeth hee) called Atlas, vnto whome the Angelles had taught many thinges. Also he rehearseth the Battell that was made by Abraham for the recouery of Loth, the interteinment of Melchisedek, the ouerthwarts that Abraham indured for Sara his wife in Ægipt, and the Plague that God did cast vpon Pharao to make him to deliuer her to Abraham ageīn. And Artabanus in his storie of the Iewes reporteth almost the selfesame things; adding, that of Abraham the Iewes were called Hebrewes, wherin the nérenesse of the names deceiued him. Melon in his bookes ageinst the Iewes, write that Abraham had two wiues: and that by the one of them which was an Ægiptian, he had twelue children, among whom Araby was parted,

Sodom.
Galen in his booke of simples.
Pausanias in his Eliaks.
Solinus in his Polyhistor.
Tacitus in his last booke.
Eusebius.li.9. de præpar. Cap.4.
Eupolemus in his booke of the Iewes.
Abraham and his race.
Artabanus in his Historie of the Iewes.
Melon against the Iewes.

parted, which euen in his tyme had twelue Kings still: (Those were the twelue Sonnes of Ismaell the Sonne of Abraham by Agar the Ægiptian, which are set downe by name in Genesis.) And that by the other (which was a woman of the Countrie of Syria,) he had but onely one Sonne named Isaac, who lykewise had twelue Sonnes, of whom the yongest was called Ioseph, of whom Moyses (sayth he) descended. Also Alexander setteth forth Abrahams sacrifice at length, and the children that he had by Chetura. And in his historie he alledgeth one Cleodemus a Prophet, otherwise called Malchas, whom he affirmeth to agrée with Moyses in the Historie of the Iewes. Ageine, Hecatæus the Abderite hauing bene in Iewry, did purposely make a booke of Abrahams lyfe, which thing he had not of his owne maister King Alexander. To bee short, that which Orpheus sayeth of a certeine Chaldee vnto whom onely God manifested himselfe, seemeth to be spoken of Abraham. For he had bin conuersant in Ægipt, where the renowme of Abraham was so greate, that euen in their Coniurings they made expresse mention of the God whom Abraham had worshipped. The same Alexander writeth the fleeing of Iacob for feare of his brother Esawe; his abode in Mesopotamia; His seuen yeeres seruice; his marying with two Sisters; the nomber of his Children; the rauishing of Dina; the slaughter of Sichem; and likewise the selling of Ioseph; his imprisonment, his deliuerance for expounding of Dreames; His authoritie in Ægipt; His marying with Askeneth the daughter of Pethefer the Highpriest; His two Sonnes by name which were borne of her; the comming of his brothers into Ægipt; the Feast that he made them; the fiue partes which he gaue to Beniamin (whereof this Historiographer intendeth to yéeld a reason) the comming of Iacob & of his whole household into Ægipt; of what age euery of them was; and how many Children euery of them had. And so hee bringeth vs downe from Noe to the Flud, from the Flud to Abraham, from Abraham to Leuie, and from Leuie to Moyses; howbeit euer among with faultes in reporting the things done, with differences in accounting the yeres, and with some additions of small importance here and there; which serue to shewe that he had not those Histories immediatly out of the Byble, but out of some other bookes which he had séene elsewhere. The selfesame things did Theodotus conuey into his Poetrie: and likewise Philo Biblius, Nicholas of Damasco, Aristæus, and others. Of whom this latter made a peculiar

culiar description of the storie of Iob, how he was tempted as well by the Diuell as by his neighbours; affirming him to haue bene the Sonne of Esawe dwelling in the marches betweene Idumea and Araby, which thing he could not haue red in the Scripture. To be short, the places which beare the name of Abraham both in Damasco, in Chaldee, and in the Land of Chanaan; and of Ioseph in Egipt, together with the well of wonderfull antiquitie neare to Ascalon, do giue vs assurance both of their abode in Palestine, and of their remouing into Egipt. And Manethon the Historiographer of Egipt setteth vs downe their originall, and their comming downe into Egipt, terming them in his language Shepeherd-kings, which was, because that as wee reade in the Scriptures, their wealth consisted in Cattell. But of all these auncient writers wee haue but fragments, such as wee could gather together out of auncient Authors.

Now let vs come to Moyses. Alexander sayth that he was the sonne of Amram the sonne of Elat, the sonne of Leuie, the sonne of Iacob, and so forth: that is to say, a naturall Israelite and not an Ægiptian. But let vs heare Artabanus concerning his first comming vp, and the discourse of his whole life. He sayth that Meris the sonne of Kenephris King of Ægipt, being vnable to haue children, adopted a childe of the Iewes called Moyses, and instructed him in the lawes; who afterward gaue letters to the Ægiptians, and was reputed of them as a God and named Mercurie: That Kenephris beeing enuious of his reputation, sent him into the warres against the Ethyopians, with an armie of Iewes vntrayned, to the intent that both he and they might haue perished together: And that Moyses demeaned himselfe so wisely, that the Ethyopians being ouercome, had him in such estimation, that they receiued Circumcision of him: That at his returne, great countenance was made vnto him, howbeit that he perceiuing it to be done vpon an euill mynd, withdrew himselfe into Arabie, where he maried the daughter of Raguel a King of that Countrie: In ꝑ which meane time, the King of Ægipt that had oppressed the Iewes with so many toyles and (to the intent he might the more safely kill thē) had appoynted them a certeyne Liuerie; dyed very suddenly of a Leaprosie. These things are not reported by Moyses; for he wrate not any thing to the aduauncement of himselfe, but treated altogether of Gods victories, and not of his owne. But in the selfesame Author there followeth the calling of Moyses. This Moyses (saith

Artabanus concerning the Iewes.

he)was occupyed in continuall prayer to God for the deliuerance of the people: And one day as he was earneſt in praying,there iſſewed a fire out of the earth, where was not any fit matter to burne,and a voyce tolde him that he ſhould deliuer the Iewes and bring them into their Countrie. Wherevpon without raiſing of any force, he by the counſell of his wiues father, declared the will of God to the King, who by and by committed him to priſon. But the priſondoores were opened vnto him by myracle, and he went to the Kings bedſide, and ſummoned him again to obey God. And when the King had aſked him the name of the GOD, Moyſes told it him in his eare,whereat he fell into a ſwound,but Moyſes raiſed him vp againe by the hand, and the Prieſtes that made a ſcoffe at it dyed out of hand. He declareth afterward that the King required ſignes, and that Moyſes turned his Staffe into a Serpent: That he ſmote the riuer of Nyle and made it to ouerflowe: That he ſtrake it againe,and it returned within his bankes: That thereupon the Prieſtes of Memphis were commaunded to doe the like matter vppon paine of their life, and that they by Arte Magicke brought forth a Dragon, and chaunged the colour of the riuer: by meanes whereof the King became ſo proude, that he hardened his heart againſt the Iewes: That then Moyſes ſmote the earth with his Rod, and the earth brought forth firſt venemous Flyes, next Frogges,then Graſhoppers,and afterward other ſtrange things: Wherevpon (ſayth this Hiſtoriographer) there hath growen a cuſtome of keeping and reuerencing a Rod in their Temples euer ſince, becauſe they holde opinion that Iſis is the Earth, which beeing ſtriken with that Rod, brought foorth thoſe things. In the end there was (ſayth he) ſuch an Earthquake ouer al Ægipt,that the King determined to let that people go. But in this poynt the Prieſts diſagree. For the Prieſts of Memphis ſay that Moyſes marking the tyde paſſed the Sea at a low water. But the Prieſtes of Heliople ſay, that the Kings intent was to purſew the Iſraelites to recouer the Iewels which they caryed away with them out of Ægipt,and that Moyſes being warned of God ſtrake the Sea,which gaue place to him and al his people,and that the Ægiptians were partly deſtroyed with thunder and lightening,and partly drowned in the ſame waters. When they were paſſed the Sea,they liued thirtie yeeres in the wilderneſſe and were fed with a certeyne Snow, which

God

God did rayne downe vpon thē from heauen. And this Moyſes was a man of a tall ſtature, browne, with long heare on his head and a long beard, and a countenance full of maieſtie; and when he did all this worke of his, he was fowerſcore and nine yeeres old. We reade the ſame things written by Demetrius and Eupolemus Greeke Hiſtoriographers, who doe ad many particularities moe: and Manethon nameth the King Tethmoſis vnder whom theſe things were done. Alſo Numenius the Pythagoriſt ſayth, that he had read the life of Moyſes in Hiſtories worthie of credite: and he rehearſeth how he was taken out of the water; how he was brought vp in the Court; that afore he was Circumciſed, he was called Iehoiachim; howbeit that by report of ſuch as profeſſed the knowledge of Miſteries, he had a ſecret name in heauen, to wit Melchi; that he wrought great myracles before the King of Ægipt; and that certeyne Magicians called Iannes and Mambres would haue done the like: which are things that are not ſet downe in our Scriptures, but muſt nēdes be had of them out of the holy Regiſters of Ægipt. And in very dēde, in the Coniurations of the Ægiptians, they vſed theſe words to the Deuils, The God of Iſraell, the God of the Hebrewes, the God that drowned the Ægiptians with their King in the red Sea: which ſheweth euidently that the matter was commōly knowen and out of al doubt. And I remember not any Author that denyeth Moyſes to haue conueyed the people of Iſraell out of Ægipt with great myracles. For ſoothly it had bin a myracle of all myracles, to haue made them to ſuffer ſo many aduerſities without myracles. But yet ſome Authors haue attributed thoſe myracles to Magicke, and otherſome to naturall reaſons. There is (ſayth Plinie) a kynd of Magicke, which dependeth vpon Moyſes and the Cabale; but yet had Magicke neuer ſo great ſcope (ſayth he) as vnder Nero, neither was it euer found to be more feeble and vayne. And in trueth, what likeneſſe is there betweene the Illuſions of a Magician, which vaniſh away in the twinckling of an eye, and ỹ leading of a mightie great Nation through the Sea, and (which more is) the mainteyning of them from hunger & thirſt ſo long a time? But yet hath the Scripture prouided againſt this ſlaunder. For no lawe els in the world doth ſo expreſſely forbid Magick, as doth the lawe of Moyſes: and the Cabale whereof Plinie had heard ſpeake, is further of frō ſuch doings, than eyther Arithmeticke or Grammar. And whereas others doe report, that Moyſes marked the ebbing of the water that he

Secundum Myſtas.

Origines againſt Celſus lib. 4.

Moyſeſſis Myracles.

In ſted of Cabala, Plinie hath Iocabela.

he might passe the red Sea: surely they make the counsell of the Ægiptians very grosse witted, in casting themselues away so rashly. May I say further, that if it had bene so, the waters that drowned the one people would not haue spared the other. But euery man knowes that the Gulfe of Arabie is not subiect to such tydes as those are: and though it were, yet cannot the like cauill take place in all the residue of the myracles that are attributed vnto him. As vnmeete also to bee admitted, is the slaunder of Iustine the Historiographer and others, That Moyses was driuen out of Ægipt because he was a Leaper, and that he caryed all the Leapers of the Realme away with him. For it is a cleere case by record of all auncient writers, that the people whom he caryed away, was a straunger in Ægipt: and when he himself rehearseth openly the benefites which that people had receiued at Gods hand, You knowe (sayth he) that there hath not bene any sickneſſe or disease among you, since the tyme you came out of Ægipt. And on the contrarie part he menaseth them with the Plagues, Byles, and Botches of Ægipt, if they offended God. Insomuch that whereas in any other auncient lawes, there is no mention made of any order for them that are infected with the Leaprosie: in this Law (as though GOD had ment to preuent that slaunder) they be separated from the companie of men, their clothes are to bee layd away, their houses to be scraped, and certeyne other things are to be done; which is a sufficient proofe, that those which gouerned that people and had authoritie ouer them, were no Leapers.

Exod. 12. This people then went out of Egipt: and the Scripture sayeth that they were Sixhundred thousand men on foote, besids women and Children. Heare ageyn they krye out: They were but three score and ten when they went into Egipt; and how then is it possible that they should be so manie at their going out? I wilnot alledge any miraculousnes, though the Scripture declare that that people increased very greatly; insomuch that it termeth them by the word Frye, as though it spake of Fishes. But I beseeche them to make somewhat a nearer reckening, not with the largest, but after the ordinarie maner, what nomber myght rise of three score and ten persones in fower hundred yeeres or thereabouts, which was the tyme that they were in Egipt; and they shall find their full nomber afore they come to Twohundred and fiftye yeeres. After the same maner do we see that Three score households of Arabians, passing into Affrica in the tyme of the diuision vnder Calis, has peopled

The nomber of the children of Israel.

peopled it throughout in lesse than three hundred yeeres: insomuch that euen at this day, the Prouinces beare the names of Beni Megher, Beni Guariten, Beni Fensecar and so forth; that is too say the Children of Megher, of Guariten, and of Fensecar. And there was not that Familie which peopled not some one Shire or other. Also the West Indyes which haue not bin knowen vnto vs aboue one hundred yeeres, will within one hundred mo be peopled with Spanyards. To be short, Viues saith, he sawe an honest man in Spayne, which had peopled a village of a hundred houses with the issew of his owne body, so as the names of kinred fayled. And this present yeere there dyed a noble Ladie in Germanie, which had seene a hundred and threescore Children borne of hirself and hirs; and yet the one half of hir Children dyed afore they were maryed; and those that are maryed are of age to haue manie mo. Their saying therefore bewrayeth a manifest ignorance, lyke as theirs doth who being ignorāt of progression in Arithemetik, will easely bargayne for a horse or some other thing, to giue euery day doble for it during a whole moneth, beginning with a pennye: who by that tyme that they come but too the midds of the moneth, begin to perceiue that which no reason could haue beaten into their heads afore, namely that all the goods they haue are not able too serue the turne.

After Moyses succeded Iosua, who brought the people into the promised Land, so as ỹ Chananytes did partly flee before him, and partly were made tributaries vnto him. He that shal reade the voyage of this people from iourney to iourney, and consider the bounds and coasts of their portions; will byandby iudge the trueth of the storie. But yet Procopius in his historie of the Vandales, leaueth vs a notable marke thereof in these words. Al the Country (saieth he) which lyeth from Sidon to Egipt, was in old tyme called Phenice; and they that wrate the History of the Phenicians, report that in old time it was all vnder one only King. In these costes dwelt the Gergesites, Iebusites & other nations, who at such tyme as they sawe the great army of Iosua comming towards them, remoued into Ægipt. But within a while after, bycause that Country could not beare them, they passed into Afrik, where they buylded many Cities and peopled the whole Country euen to the Pillers of Hercules, and their language is half Phenician. Also in Numidy (among other Cities) they builded Tingit, the seat whereof is very strong, where are two

Iosua.

Procopius in his secōd book of the warres of the Vandales.

Pillers of white ſtone to be ſeene nere vnto a greate Fountain, wherein are grauen theſe words in the Phenician tongue: we be thoſe that fled from the Robber Ioſua the ſonne of Nun. Such (ſayeth he) is the original of thoſe Nations, whom we call at this day Mauruſians. And Eupolemus ſayeth that Ioſua Prophecied a hundred and ten yeeres, and placed the Tabernacle in Silo. From thence he leapeth to Samuel, & from Samuel to Saule, whom he affirmeth to haue bin anointed at Gods commandment; and ſo to Dauid, whom (taking the one for the other) he calleth the ſonne of Cis.

But betweene Ioſua and Saul, we haue the time of the Iudges; in the ſtorie of whom ſome haue marked, that the mightie deedes of Hercules are feyned out of ꝑ doings of Sampſon, and the vow of Agamemnon out of the vow of Iephtha. Dauid (ſaith ꝑ ſame Author) ſubdewed the Ammonites, Moabites, Itureans, Nabatheans and other nations that extend vnto the Riuer Euphrates, and made the King of Tyre and the Phenicians tributarie to him. Afterward an Angell called Nathan ſhewed him the place where the Temple ſhould bee builded, for the which he prepared workemen, and rigged forth Shippes at the Cittie of Melan in Araby, and ſent them to an Ile of the red ſea called Vrphen, from whence he fetched great quantitie of Gold, Copper, Cedar wood and ſuch other things. Notwithſtanding (ſaieth hee) the Angell would not that he ſhould build the Temple, becauſe he had bene ſteined with blud in the Warres; and ſo that worke was reſerued to Salomon his Sonne, who came to the Crowne at the age of twelue yeeres. And of how great riches Dauid was, it may appeere by his tumb, wherein after the cuſtome of thoſe tymes, he did lay vp great treaſures. For about an eighthundred yeres after, Hircanus beeing aſſayled by Antiochus the godly, toke three thouſand Talents out of one vault to content him withall. And within a while after, Herod opened another vault and found as much there. What notable things reade we of Salomon? Firſt his building of the Temple, which is deſcribed (ſaith Ioſephus) as well in the Chronicles of the Tyrians, the Competitors of the Iewes, as in ours. And in their Treaſorie are kept the Letters of Salomon to Hyram King of Tyre, and Hirams letters vnto him; which make mention of the great nomber of Carpenters that Hiram ſent vnto him; of the order that Salomon toke for the finding of them by impoſts, and of the Contribution that euery Prouince made to that ende; which

Saul.
Dauid.

The Scripture of the Prophet

Ioſephus libr. Antiquit: 15. Cap. 16. & lib. 16. cap 11. & of the Iewiſh warres. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Salomon.

Ioſephus in his antiquities. lib 8. cap. 2. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 4.

things

things are reported at length by Eupolemus also, and likewise by Alexander Polihistor, Hecatæus the Abderite, Dius a Phenician, and diuers others, yea and that so particularly and with such care, as that there is not that measure, vessell, tole or instrument of the Temple, which they haue not noted, which thing we reade not that they haue done in the behalfe of any of their owne Temples. Yea and the Tyrians doe note the very yere and the day thereof in their Chronicles; to witte, that it was a hundred fortie and three yeres and eight monethes afore their building of Carthage. Secondly the Scripture maketh great commendations of Salomons wisedome; insomuch that the Quéene of Saba came from a farre to see him. And we reade in Plutarke, that it was a custom among the Kings of old tyme, to put questions one to another, to trye the abilitie of their wittes, and that a certeine prayse was appointed for him that wonne the victorie. And Dius an Historiographer of the Phenicians, rehearseth the Riddles and Questions that Salomon sent to King Hiram, saying that it cost Hiram very much because he was not able to assoyle them, vntill at length he found a yong man of Tyrus named Abdemon, who decyphered vnto him the most part of them. And as touching the Quéene of Saba, who came from the Ile of Meroe to sée Salomon; the Chronicles of Æthiope report that her name was Makeda, and that she had a sonne by Salomon, which was named first Meilirh, & afterward Dauid, whom she made her Heire of that great Empire which we now adayes doe call Prester Johns Land. Likewise it reporteth that she caried with her twelue thousand Jewes, of euery Tribe a thousand. And because the noblest men of that Countrie, do vaunt themselues to bee of the blud of Israell; although they haue receiued the Gospell, yet doe they reteine Circumcision; not that they thinke it necessarie to saluation (say they;) but to kéepe still the prerogatiue of their blud.

Plutarke in his feast of Seuen Sages.

Iosephus li. 8. cap. 2.

The History of Ethiop. Makeda.

What remayneth yet further? The Sayling of Salomons Shippes; which lasted three yeeres; and that séemeth vnto them incredible. And so by that rule, let vs alwaies be at this poynt, neuer by our good willes to beléeue that which wee vnderstand not. But who is he at this day whom the Spaniards and Portingales haue not perswaded that? Specially the Portingales, which are a yere and eight monethes a making their voyage, notwithstanding that they haue both the vse of the Compasse, and better knowledge of the Seas, and more certeine Harborroughs, and a shorter cutte.

2.Chron.3. And surely it is not to bee passed ouer lightly, that the Gold that was brought home by the sayd Nauigations, is called in Hebrew in the duall nomber Paruaim, as if a man would say, brought from the Perous, or from the Indies as well the East Indies as the West Indies, as a certeine learned man of our tyme hath noted. So is the wood Brazill called by the name of the countrie of Brasill from whence it is brought: and Mechoachan the Drug, by the name of Mechoachan the countrie, and so forth of other things. For as touching the Nauigation to the Indies by the red Sea, it was ouer comon, both to imploy so much tyme about it, and also to make so great a matter of it.

Gilbert Genebrand in his Chronologie.

The remouings of the ten Trybes. 1.Kings.15. In the Hystories of the Kings following, the chiefe things that are to be marked, are the three remouings away of the tenne Tribes of Israell, the first vnder Phacea the Sonne of Romelia and Oseas Kings of Israell, by Tigbath Phalassar and Salmanasar Kings of the Assyrians. The maner whereof was that the Israelites were caried away into farre Countries, (specially the best sort of them,) and other Nations were placed there in their stead. For the Israelites were conueyed thence into Media, and receiued the vninhabited Countrys to dwell in, and of them came partly the Cholchians who in the time of Herodotus caused themselues to be circumcised; and partly the Tartarians, who about the yere of our Lord a thousand and two hundred, ouerwhelmed the earth lyke a waterflud vnder the leading of Cingi, and afterward did set vp the Empire of the greate Cham. And in very deede they were Circumcised afore they euer heard of Mahomet; and they yelded willingly to goe to his Lawe, so much the rather because it seemed to hold of theirs. And the word Tartars or Totares signifieth Remnants or Leauings in the Syrian tongue. Verily euen among the Hordes of the Tartars, in the furthest part northward, there are which haue reteined still the names of Dan, Zabulon & Nepthaly; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that there be so many Iewes in Russie, Sarmatia, and Lituania, and so the nerer to the Tartarians still the mo. The same hath no lesse lykelyhod of trueth concerning the Turkes. For the word Turk in Hebrewe, signifieth banished men, and is taken in way of reproche. And it is very lykely, that Mahomet to eschewe the offending of those so great Nations, which at that tyme began to awake, held still Circumcision, and the Cleansings, and the Ceremonies of Moyses Lawe.

2.Kings.17. 4.Esdras.13.

Herodotus li.2

As

As touching the remouing away to Babylon, which was peculiarly of the tribe of Iuda: Alexander Polihistor saith expressly, that in the time of Ioachim King of Iuda, Ieremy was sent vnto them from God, to foretell them of extreme calamitie, because they worshipped an Idoll called Baall; Ioachim commaunded him to be burned quicke; and that Ieremy sayd further, that the King of Assyria should make them labour to digge a Channell to sayle out of Euphrates into Tygris: and that vpon that hope Nabuchodonozor putting himselfe in Armes with all his power, spoyled Samaria, toke Hierusalem, and led away Ioachim prisoner. The same thing is witnessed by Diocles, and likewise namely by Berosus the Chaldean, who sayeth that the sayd captiuitie indured three score yeeres and ten. Alpheus addeth that Megasthenes an auncient Author writeth, that Nabuchodonozor at his returne home, was striken with madnesse, and dyed crying incessantly to the Babylonians, that a great mischief was neere them, which all the power of their Gods could not stay. For (quoth hee) a Hafe-asse of Persia shal come and make vs his thralles. The man that he spake of was Cirus; who (as Alexander Polyhistor and Hecateus the Abderite do witnesse) builded vp the Temple of Hierusalem ageine. The Deliuerance by Cirus

Ioseph. in his Antiquitie. lib. 8. cap. 4.

As concerning Sesakes voyage against Roboam, Herodotus speaketh euidently enough, albeit that he name him not, declaring that he crept vppon his belly to Ægipt, Syria, and Palestine. And the storie of Sennacherib is there vnder that selfesame name, and how hee was slayne at his comming home, and that an Image was set vp vnto him with this inscription, Learne by me to feare God, for a memorial of Gods iudgement against him. Moreouer, Menander an Ephesian made mention in his Tyrian Historie, of the great Drought that was in the tyme of Achab, and of the abundance of rayne that was obteyned by the prayers of Helias: after ỹ imitation whereof, the Greekes feyned the like of Aeacus. And Iosephus witnesseth that hee had read the storie of Ionas in many Commentaries; the which is rife in remembrance yet still among the Arabians of Affrick. And as touching the greatnesse of Niniuie, it is described fully alike in Diodorus.

1. Kings. 14. Herodotus li. 2.

1. Kings. 18.

Diodorus li. 2.

The token that God gaue to Ezechias by making the Sunne to retyre backe certeyne degrees, was registred in the Chronicles of the Babylonians, and of the Wisemen of Persia; the which token (some say, and not without some ground) was giuen so vnto him,

Esay 38. Denis in his Hierarchie.

him, because he delighted in Astronomy, and had reformed the Hebrewe Calender. But many auncient bookes are lost, which might tell vs much more of these matters. Neuertheless, I would fayne haue these controllers of our Scriptures, to tell me if they haue any History among the Heathen, that hath moe witnesses of the trewnesse thereof, than the History of the Iewes. And whether any, euen of the greatest Empyres of the world, be so confirmed by the Historyes of frends, as the History of that little Nation is confirmed by his enemies.

And whereas they obiect, that wee see no such myracles in our daies: I will proue vnto them in another place, that the like haue bene seene since, which haue proceeded from the same power. But it is enough for me at this tyme to put them in remembrance, that if true myracles had not bene wrought in the world, we should not haue had so many false myracles among the Heathen. Nay, I say more, wee should not haue so much as the very name of Myracle, which could not haue bene giuen at the first, but to things that exceede the abilitie of man, yea and of all other Creatures, as things rightly worthie of that name.

Obiections concrneing Absurdities.

Now remaine the Absurdities which they will néedes finde, because they vnderstand not the reason. That law of yours (say they) stands talking of Beastes, of Pastures, of Oxen that dosse with their hornes, and of such other things. These are too base things for the word that proceedeth from GOD. Why say they not likewise, that they were too base things for God to create? And wherefore are Lawes made, but for the benefite of man? And although they might seeme vyle in respect of God; can they denye them to haue bene profitable in respect of men, at that tyme when men for the most part liued by grazing? But of these nice fellowes I would knowe what the Lawes of Plato were, and what the Lawes of the twelue Tables were, at such tyme as the Romanes were Tilmen and Grazyers: or what the Lawes of Venice were, when they were but Fishers: Yet do we reuerence those Lawes for their antiquitie; insomuch that if wée find but some old fragment of them, we thinke we haue a Jewell: and the Emperours of Rome being in their chief glorie, raced not out of their Digests the Lawes that begin thus, If Cattell: nor the Venetians their Statutes of Fishing: nor the Frenchmen their ordinances of Hunting and Hawking; which might in many Coūtries seeme matters to be laughed at in our daies, and yet there were euen then which caryed them

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into other Countries, as necessarie to appease strifes in their due tyme and place. To bee short, as long as Rome was champpon-ground, it made Lawes against the harmes of Cattell. But when it fell once to building, it made Lawes for Gutters, Chanels and Sinkes. When it began to seeke the ruine of other men, it made Lawes of Battell, of Warfare, and of the sacking of Cities. And when it listed to destroye it selfe, it made Lawes of Rebellions, prescriptions and banishments. All the which were alike behouefull and necessarie in their tymes: and the first Lawmakers were no lesse honored than the latter: howbeit that the state of the Commonweale was worse and more corrupted in the latter tyme than in the other, because that whereas in the former tymes it had to do but with the repressing of Beasts, in ỹ latter tymes it had to deale with the byding of men worse than wyld Beastes, or to speake more truely, men that were become wood beastes themselues.

They ad, God (say you) created all things: and yet notwithstanding Moyses denounceth some beastes to bee cleane and some vncleane. Whereto may these bee good? They ought to consider, that oftentimes the things which of themselues are cleane, become vncleane by the abuse of them, like as the thing that is good and wholsome by nature, becommeth euill and vnwholsome by excesse or surfeting. And in that respect hath Wine bin prohibited among many people, and there are fewe which haue not abhorred some Beastes or others; after which maner wee see that at Rome, such as had murthered their fathers or their mothers, were put into a Sacke with an Ape, a Cock, and a Viper, and cast into the water; a thing whereof it were vnealie to yeeld a reason. But the sayd law of Moyses, not being vnprofitable, ne tending any higher than this present life, did not without cause put a difference betweene brute things. For if we loke well to it, it denoūceth al those brute things vncleane, whereby the Ægiptians made their diuinations or toke their foretokens, as the Wolfe, the Fore, the Dragon, the Hare, the Sparehauke, the Kyte, & so forth. And that was to make the people of Israell to abhorre the vanities and abhominations of Ægipt; like as if a man would keepe his children from fire, he would prohibite them euen the Chimney. And because those abuses were knowen among them; the end and aiming poynt of that Lawe, was the redresse of them. And therefore vppon this poynt, I desire our despisers to suspend their iudgement in the things they vnderstand not. For as in that tyme no fault was found with this difference

Origen against Celsus lib. 4.

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in the Lawe of Moyses; so should no fault be found with many o-thers at this day, if wee could set before vs the same tyme againe. I omit concerning the things that liued vpon pray, that ouer and besides that men toke foretokens at them, they had this doctrine in them without much stepping aside from the letter, that men should not take away one anothers goodes. And as touching the Swyne, it is well knowne that for the inuention of Tillage which hee shewed to the Ægiptians by wroting vp the ground with his groyne; they worshipped him as a God; in consideration whereof he was declared to be abhominable: besides the which thing, there appeared this euident allegorie, that men should not bemyre them selues in the dirt and dung of this world.

As for the Sacrifices, I haue touched them heretofore, and will treat of them more at large hereafter, forasmuchas they did put men hourely in remembrance of death dew for sinne, and of the ne-cessitie of a sacrifice to cleanse away the same, namely of ỹ sacrifice of Jesus Christ then to come, which should serue for the clensing of all mankynd. But admit that God to bring vs to obedience, had listed to giue vs Lawes whereof we could not conceiue the reason: What is it more than many Princes and Lawemakers haue done, as Plutark sayeth? Or than we our selues do to our Children and Seruants? And yet who will think it meete that they should aske vs a reason why we do so? Surely I desire no more, but that they which come to our Scriptures, should yeeld at leastwise the like regarde that they yeeld to Homer or Virgill. If they find in them any dark sentences; they say they will mark them with crosses and leaue them too Grammarians too martyr themselues withall. Therefore let them not thinke it straunge, that God hath left such things in his Scriptures, to humble the mynds of diuines withal. If in the Poet they meete any Solecismes, that is too say, incon-gruities of speeche; byandby they be elegancies or figures. Let them consider in the Scriptures also, that the thing which they think doth disagree at the first sight, wilbee found verie fit of him that vnderstandeth the figure. To be short if a Poet haue spoken a woord that seemeth needlesse or without reason; the Schole-mayster turneth it into al sences to find some sence in it: the Scol-ler is out of patience if his Mayster find none: and the Scholler will rather find fault with his Mayster, and the Mayster with his owne ignorance, than confesse any imperfection or ouersight in the Poet. Now then if in these bookes confirmed with so manie Mi-racles

racles and proceeding from soo greate authoritie, we meete with things which to our fleshly wit seeme vnprofitable or absurd; it were good reason that wee should bee the more diligent and heedfull in serching them and in turning them into al sences. And if in the end of all this, we find not wherewith to satisfie vs; let the hearer confesse his dulnesse of vnderstanding, and the teacher acknowledge his owne ignorance; and let vs pray God to voutsafe to inlighten vs with his Spirit.

Now I thinke I haue sufficiently shewed, by the antiquitie, the style and the matter, by the ende also and by the particularities of our Scriptures; that they be of God, and that they cannot procéede from any other than him. By antiquitie; for they bee the first of all writings, and God hath bin reuealed in them euer since there were any men. By their style: for they instruct the lowly, and pull downe the highmynded, speaking with like authoritie to all men. By their matter: for their onely treating is of Gods doings and of his communicating of himselfe to men. By the marke whereat they aime: for they tende not to any other thing than Gods glorie and mans welfare. And by their singularnesse: for there are things without number, which cannot bee bred in the mynd eyther of man or Angell. The absurdnesse which wee suppose to be there, is but a seeming so to our ignorance: and the impossibilitie which to our seeming is in them, is but in comparison of our disabilitie. The truth of them is witnessed vnto vs in Histories, at leastwise if the case so stand that Gods word haue neede of mans record. He that is the Child of God knoweth his fathers voyce: but yet it may be that for the better confirming of him, my writing hereof shall not bee in vayne. Who so refuseth that, no man can perswade him thereto: but yet shall this serue to conuict him; and (by Gods helpe) a great sort which as yet haue had their eares so dulled with the noyse of this world, that they haue hetherto but ouerheard it, shall hereafter incline both their eares and their hearts thereunto. Now I beseech the almightie who spake the worde and the world was made, to speake effectually in our daies, and that the world may beléeue him. And because the marke that beléef shootes at, is the welfare of man: let vs see what welfare wee finde in this word; which is our third marke of Religion, and shalbe the matter of the Chapter next following.

The

The xxvij. Chapter.

That the meane ordeyned of GOD for the welfare of mankind, hath bene reuealed alwayes to the people of Israel; which is the third marke of Religion.

NOw remayneth the third marke of true Religion to be examined: which is, that it teache the true and only way ordeined of God for the saluation and recouery of mankind; without the which (as I haue shewed already) all Religion is vnauailable and vayne. Howbeit forasmuch as this Doctrine importeth the welfare of the world, and I haue interlaced many things by the way, which may dim the remembrance thereof: Let vs here call ageine to mind how needfull this marke is in religion. And soothly it will be one further marke of the heauenlynes of our Scriptures, if we find that they teache vs the necessitie of that only meane, and also direct vs to it from the beginning forthon from tyme to tyme. We haue read in the booke of Nature, that Man is immortall: that his happinesse is not here beneath, but in the endlesse lyfe: that the blessednesse of that endlesse lyfe, is to inioy God aboue: and that the meane to attayne thereto, is to serue and honour him here beneath with all our heart. But the same booke hath taught vs also, that by sinne we bee falne from our originall: that we be falne from Gods fauour into his wrath: that we be infinitely departed away both from seruing him and from sticking to him: and consequently that we be gone astray from the happinesse which we should seeke & cannot find elsewhere thā in him. What remayneth then for vs, but vtter despayre? And whereto serueth the said endlesse lyfe, but to be turned into endlesse death? And the euerlasting happynesse wherevnto wee were created, but to our euerlasting grief? vnlesse some Boord be left vs at hand to saue vs from our shipwrecke: I meane vnlesse God do make vs some way, both to appease his wrath, and to come ageine into his fauour. In this extremitie therefore wee mæte with Religion, which directeth vs

The needefulnesse of this third marke.

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to the true God. But what els is that, than a sending of an offender to his Iudge? or a laying of Strawe to the fyre? considering þ God is infinitely good, that is to say, infinitely contrarie to euill, and if contrarie to euill, then also vnto vs, whose thoughts, sayings and doings are altogether euill. The same Religion hath set vs downe the Scriptures, wherein wee reade the will of our Creator: But what haue we yet found there? That mankind is corrupt from his rote, and as it were rotten at his Core: That all the imaginations of mans heart are alwayes vtterly euill: and yet notwithstanding, that God commaundeth vs to loue him with all our heart, and our neighbour as our selfe; behighting to them that doe it euerlasting lyfe, and to them that doe it not, euerlasting death. Which of vs feeleth not a stryuing in all his members ageinst the will of God? And consequently who is hée that ought not too feele a very Hell, when he entereth into himselfe and into the scriptures, to reade his Arreignement and Condemnation? And so, what is Religion but vanitie, and what is the Scripture or Gods word but a hartbyting, if wee find not there the Charters of grace and remission, which reconcyle vs to God, and knit vs ageine vnto him, and by that vnyting doe restore vs the happynesse whereunto we were created? So falleth it out, that God cannot be disappointed of his purpose, and that the Religion which hee hath graued so deepely in mans heart, cannot be in vayn. Néedes then must it be, that in the true religion and in the Scriptures we must find our grace and the meane thereof, which is the third and chief mark that we séeke.

Let vs expresse this Doctrine yet playnlier, for it is the very knot and forme or inshape of all Religion. The happynesse of man is to be vnited vnto God, and the way to be vnited vnto him, is to sticke vnto his will. The first man being created free and capable of good, disobeyed GOD, and by his disobedience became a bondslaue to sinne. So was hee farre remoued from God and from his owne welfare, and (had not grace stepped in) he had bin in extreme miserie, which we call Hell. Of this Rebell are we all borne, and his flesh hath begotten vs both fleshly and bondslaues of sinne as he was. By Nature than we can looke for none other than the wages of sinne, which is death; neither can wee haue any other inheritance than our Fathers, who hath left vs nothing els to inherit but damnation. Now let vs see what we our selues haue brought to this decayed succession. In sted of discharging our Obligation,

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we ronne on further in arrerages: and lyking well thereof, we dailie increase our debt. For none of vs al discharged himself to Godward, of the things which he requireth of vs iustly in his Law, and therefore wee continue still behind hand. Nay, there is none of vs which offendeth not the Lord infinite waies daily in thought, word and deede, by meanes whereof we plunge our selues in euer deeper and deeper. Now then, though wee found not our succession so decayed; yet doe wee our selues make it such by our excessiue debts and continuall offences; which in effect is all that wee can bring thereto. And against whom see wee these offences? Euen against God, against our father, against our maker; al which is a great aggrauating of our fault: namely, that the Child should rebell against his father, or that a thing of nothing should turne away from his creator; yea and (which worse is) take wages of the Deuill to fight against him. The crime is so out of al measure great, that it cannot nor ought not to bee inhaunced. But were there no further matter than this, that forasmuch as God is infinite, the offence is multiplyed according to the person against whom it is committed: our offence against GOD cannot but bee infinite, and consequently so must our punishment be too. Now therfore we poore wretches subiect to infinite paynes without number, which by our continuall misdeedes doe daily multiply the infiniteness of our punishments still euen to the vttermost; haue neede of a remedie. And what shall that remedie be? Gods mercie? Nay, mercie may not be contrarie to his Iustice. What then? Gods Iustice? No, wee haue neede of mercie. By what meane may GOD execute his Iustice without disanulling his mercie; or exercise mercie without preiudice of his Iustice; so as both of them may be verified, as well that God is infinitely gracious, as that he infinitely hateth all euill, both together? If he shewe mercie absolutely to an infinite offence, where is his Iustice? Or where is his vniuersall gouernment, whereby he yeeldeth good to the good and euill to the euill? Yea, and where is our owne Iustice become, which is but a shadowe of Gods? Againe, if he execute mere Iustice, what shall become of Mankynd after this life? Or rather, why hath he mainteyned him euer since his first fal, that his Iustice hath not deuowred vs of al this while, vs I say in whom is not any thing which burneth not before his wrath? It remayneth then, that to appeale his wrath and to make way to mercie, which wrath of his is nothing els but a iust intent to punish, and which mercie of his is likewise but a iust intent to

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forgiue: there must come some satisfaction betwene God and Man, without the which there would bee (as ye might terme it) an vtter Emptinesse in the world, whereunto nature it selfe cannot agree. But what a depth is here yet still, considering that the fault is infinite, and the punishment must be proportionable to the fault, and the satisfaction likewise to the punishment, that is to say, that satisfaction infinitely infinite is required at our hands? Let man offer the whole world vnto God; and what offereth he but that which he hath receiued of GOD, and that which he hath lost by his disobedience? And sith GOD hath created this world of nothing; how should a thing of nothing multiply so infinitely, as to satisfie for an infinite offence? Let Man offer himselfe; what offereth he but vnthankfulnesse and disobedience, blasphemie and froward deedes? That is to say, what shall he els do but prouoke Gods wrath more and more against him? May, let the very Angels step in, the Creature to pacifie the Creator; the thing that is finite in goodnesse to couer an infinite euill; the indebted in all respects, to discharge another more indebted: and what els will this be, than a couering that (as the Prophet sayth) doth but halfe couer; and a plaister infinitely too little for the sore? Surely, let vs say therefore that God himselfe must bee fayne to step in betweene his Iustice and his mercie, and as he created vs at the first, so to create vs newe againe; and as he created vs then in his fauour, so to acquit vs now from his wrath; and as he vttered his wisedome then in creating vs, so to implope the same now againe in repayring vs; and soothly so much the more (if more may bee) because that in our creation nothing resisted the goodnesse of the Creator, whereas in our reparation our naughtinesse withstandeth him as much as is possible. Out of one bottomlesse deepe wee goe still into another: but God bee praysed, they bee the deepes of his grace. Who then (say you) shall bee this Mediatour, God vnto God, Infinite vnto Infinite, and able both to discharge the bond, and to asswage the infinite punishmēt? Here let vs bethinke vs againe what hath bene sayd afore in the fifth and sixth Chapters. I haue declared there, both by reason and by record of all antiquitie, that in God there are three persons or Inbeings in vnitie of one essence, and that the same are coeternall and coequall in all respects: The Father as the ground and welspring; the Sonne, as the euerlasting word and wisedome of the Father; and the holy Ghost as the bond of kyndnesse and loue, whereby the Father and the Sonne are linked together: and I pray the Rea-

One Mediator God & Man.

der that for the refreshing of his memorie, he will voutsafe to reade ouer those Chapters againe vpon this poynt. Needes then I assure you must one of those three persons step in betwixt Gods wrath and our infinit Fault. And sith it is so, which of them should rather doe it than the wisedome, considering that the case standeth vppon the new creating of vs againe, and that we were created by the same at the first: or than the Sonne, seeing wee bee to be adopted, that is to say, to bee admitted to an inheritance? Nay moreouer, it behoued this Mediatour to step in for euer. For inasmuch as the world was created for man, and man is falne away from God: neither the world nor man now after his fall, could haue abidden before God one moment of an howre. Behold, in the maner of this mediation, there is againe another incomprehensible Misterie, howbeit such a one, as when it is once reuealed vnto vs, wee deeme it vnpossible to haue bene otherwise. We haue God infinitly iust, and Man infinitely sinfull. The infinite Justice due to so infinite offence, could not bee satisfied, but eyther by infinite punishment, or by an infinit reparation: and this infinite reparation could not proceede but from him that is infinite, that is to wit from God himselfe. It behoueth then that our Mediatour be God, and of his gracious goodnesse such a one haue we. But this infinite Godhead is not to recompence our disobedience otherwise than with obedience; nor our vndesert, otherwise than with desert; nor our stubbornnesse otherwise than with lowlynesse: neither againe is he to purchace vs grace, but by punishment; or life, but by death. And to the intent he may obey, he must abase himselfe; to deserue, he must serue; to become lowly, he must stoope downe beneath himselfe; to suffer, he must become weake; and to dye he must become mortall. Certesse we say therefore, that it is conuenient and behouefull, that our Mediatour should be both God and Man. Man, to bee borne vnder the Lawe; God, to perfourme the Lawe: Man, to serue; God, to set free: Man, to humble himselfe to the vttermost; God, to exalt himselfe aboue all things: Man, to suffer, God to ouercome: Man, to dye; and God to tryumph ouer death. Nay moreouer, forasmuch as he submitteth himselfe willingly to such things, for our sakes say I, and not for his owne: needes must his obedience become a discharge for the disobedience; his desert a discharge of the vndesert, and his lowlinesse a satisfaction for the stubbornnesse of them that beleeue in him; yea and moreouer, a purchace of obedience, desert, and lowlynesse vnto them; so that loke what is due to his obedience,

bedience, that is to wit, loue; to his desert, that is to wit, reward; to his humilitie, that is to wit, honor; to his sorowe, that is to wit, ioye; to his death, that is to wit, life; and to his victorie, that is to wit, Tryumph; the same is purchased and giuen by him, and imputed and made due at Gods hand to all such as honor that great benefite, and call vpon the father in his name. From this poynt we may proceede afterward to other conditions and circumstances requisite in the Mediatour God and Man, seeking him alwaies as may be most conuenient and agreeable, both to Gods Iustice, & to the office & dignitie of the Mediatour. It is necessarie for our welfare say I, ỳ the Mediator should be man to beare ỳ punishmẽts of men, & to recõcile Mankynd. And if he were not a mã; then like as we should haue no part in him nor he in vs: so should he not auayle vs any whitte, neither in way of satisfaction, nor in way of desert. Méte it is therfore that he should be borne of our race, and that he should be flesh of our flesh & bone of our bone, to the intẽt that as in Adam we be al become bondseruãts to sinne; so in him we may be deliuered and set free from the reward of sinne, which is death. Ageine, forasmuch as he was to ouercome sinne, it behoued him to bee without sinne; and forasmuch as it was for him to make vs cleane, it behoued him to be without vncleanneſſe. For we knowe that all of vs are conceiued in iniquitie; and borne in vncleanneſſe and corruption; and therefore it behoueth him to be such a man, as is conceiued after an other maner than man is. And this after so many wonders ought not to be counted a wonder: for he that deriued woman out of man without helpe of woman, can also deriue man out of woman without helpe of man. To these particularities we shall come time enough hereafter, and it suffizeth at this tyme, that Gods Iustice and mans offence haue euen by humane reason directed vs to a verie necessitie of a Mediator God and Man, able to discharge mã of euerlasting death ageinst God, and to purchase him the souerein felicitie of lyfe. And this is it that I meant in the beginning of the Chapter; namely that this marke is so of the very substance and inshape of Religion, that Religion without that, should be vtterly vnauaylable and vayne. The Heathen seeme to haue perceyued this necessitie by many examples. They knewe that man was created to liue for euer, and that hee could not inioy that benefite, but by turning again vnto God. But in this they fell short, that they considered not that from vs to God the way is vnpossible to man, if God himself be not our way whereby to come thither.

Man borne without Corruption.

The opinion of the Heathē concerning the cleansing of Mankind.

thither. It may be that they haue heard, that it behoued a man to dye for the sinnes of the world. And thereupon the diuell did put in their heads to sacrifice men, and so to lay the sinnes of a whole Citie or countrie vpon the backe of some one poore wretch. And loke who was the greatest offender of all others, and whom they had vowed to the gallowes for the multitude of his misdeedes; him did they put to the pacifying of Gods wrath towards them. Such are the accustomed Apish toyes of the Diuell. But how shall he that is in Gods displeasure, appease his displeasure? And what shall the worst do, if the best can do nothing? The Emperour Julian could not tell how to rid his hands of this necessitie in his disputations against the Christians. By reason whereof, perceiuing that there must néedes bee a meane betweene God and man for the cleansing of mens Soules, hee bare himselfe on hand, that Esculapius the Sonne of Iupiter was manifested to the world by the lyuely ingendring of the Sonne, and that hee shewed him selfe first in Epidaurus, and afterward in diuers other places, to heale mens Bodies and to amend their Soules: Which is a proof, that the impossibilitie of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, which is pretended by some, séemed not to him to be vnpossible, forasmuch as the Incarnation of Esculapius the sonne of Iupiter, God (in the opinion of Iulian,) and the some of God, seemed to him not onely possible, but also come to passe. And in verie déede, why should it seeme strange that he which hath knit the Soule of man being a spirituall substance, vnto his body being an earthly; should bee able to vnite himselfe vnto man? But I haue shewed afore, that this Esculapius was a man; and that the spirit which abused his name, was a diuell, and that both of them were wicked creatures. And moreouer, who euer beléeued or setforth this Fable of Esculapius, but onely Iulian? May verily, Porphyrius hath outgone all antiquitie in this behalfe. For hauing laid this foundation, That the souereine welfare of the Soule is to sée God, That it cannot see hym vnlesse it be first cleansed from the filth thereof, and therefore that by Gods prouidence there must be some meane procured to cleanse mankind: whē he commeth to the seeking of it out, he saith, That the Artes and Sciences do well cleare our wits in the knowledge of things, but they cannot so cleanse vs, that wee may come vnto God. And wheras many men deceiued themselues in séeking this cleansing by Magik and Theurgie: he sayd that imagination and common sence might well bee helped thereby in the perceyuing of bodily

Saint Austin concerning the Citie of God. lib. 20. Cap. 9. & 23. & 32.

bodily things; but they attepned not to the purging of the vnderstanding of the Soule, neyther could they make a man to see his GOD or the trueth it selfe. Againe, whereas some Philosophers sought this clensing in the Misteries of the Sonne, and of Iupiter, that is to say, in communicating (as they surmised) not with Deuils, but with such as were estéemed to be good Gods, he declareth that there was as small likelyhood thereof in their Misteries, as in the Misteries of the rest: and moreouer that those things extended but to very fewe men, whereas this clensing ought to be vniuersall to the benefite of all mankind. In the end, hauing reiected all other clensings; his conclusion is, that the Beginnings onely and none others, can worke and bee the meane to worke this vniuersall Clensing. What he meaneth by the Beginnings, the Platonists can tell well enough: and I haue declared it by many sentences of his in my fifth and sixth Chapters; that is to wit, the persons or proprieties that are in God, whom Porphyrius calleth expressely the Father, the vnderstanding of the Father, and the Soule of the World. He could not almost haue come any nérer vs, vnlesse he should haue met iumpe with vs: and surely he seemeth to haue had this of the Chaldees, from whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to haue receyued many diuine Oracles concerning this matter. But it is enough for vs that wee haue gayned these poynts of him, That there must of necessitie be some meane ordeyned of GOD for the clensing and sauing of mankynd: That none can worke that Cleanesse, except it bee some one of the Beginnings, that is to say, except it bee God himselfe; and that he neuer met yet with any Sect in all Philosophie that setteth forth the meane thereof. Therefore it standeth vs on hand to seeke it; not in Philosophie, but in our Scriptures. For seeing they bee of God, and are reuealed for the welfare of Man, they ought to direct vs to the only meane of the Saluation which we long for. And like as Religion was bred and borne as soone as Man, as I haue sayd afore; so must it needes be, that the meane of Saluation was reuealed as soone as Religion, and set forth in the holy Scriptures from tyme to tyme. And if we finde it so; it will be an vnfallible testimonie, both of our Religion, and of our Scriptures together.

The Mediator promised in the Scriptures, from the one end of them to the other.

Let vs then begin with the Creation of man. The Scripture sayeth that as soone as he was created, God gaue him this Lawe: If thou eate of the tree of the skill of good and euill; thou shalt dye the Death. That is to say, If thou turne away neuer so

little from the obeying of me, thou shalt fall into my displeasure, and from my displeasure into endlesse death. Byandby after, man is seduced by the Serpent, that is to say by the diuel, and breaketh the Lawe of his Creator, by meane whereof he is in his displeasure, and by sinne is become subiect to endlesse damnation. Now seeing that this man was alone; and that the world was made for him; what should haue followed but the vtter destruction of the world out of hand, and the burning of man euerlastingly in Gods wrath? But see how Gods wisdome stepped in for the sauing of man, and for the preseruing of his owne worke; and sinne was no sooner bred, but the scripture immediatly sheweth vs the remedie thereof.

Gen. 3. I will set emnitie (sayeth the Lord to the diuell) betweene thy seede and the womans seede. Hir seede shall crush thy head, and thou shalt byte it by the heele. That is to say, I will cause one to be borne of the womans seede, which shall subdew the diuell: and the diuell shal do his indeuer to trip vp his heeles by tempting him all maner of wayes; but he shall treade the diuell vnder his feete, and make him to yeeld vp his weapons, that is to wit, Sinne and death. Now, who seeth not that to ouercome the diuell, it behoueth him to be God; and that to be borne of a Woman, it behoueth him to be man, that is to say both God and man, as I haue sayd afore? Here beginneth our controuersie ageinst the Iewes of these later tymes, who hold opinion that the Messias or Christ, whom we vphold to be the Mediator betweene Gods Iustice and Mannes sinne; shalbe some greate Emperour that shall deliuer them from bodily oppression; whereunto I haue answered at large heretofore. Howbeit, they cannot denie, but that by the death which God threateneth to Adam for his transgression, Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon vnderstandeth a spirituall death, that is to wit, the death of the Soule wounded with sinne and forsaken of hir lyfe which is God: and that by the venoume of the Serpent, he meaneth sinne it self, which shall ceasse (sayeth he) vnder the Messias; and that the same is also the Interpretation of the auncient Cabalists: and lykewyse that the Sinagog of old time vnderstoode the sayd text to be ment of the Messias, as the Interpretation of the three score and ten Interpreters, and the auncient Translation of Hierusalem it self, do giue vs cause to beleeue. For (sayeth this Latter expressly) so long ô Serpent as the womans Children keepe the Lawe, they kill thee: and when they ceasse to doo so, thou stingest them in the Heele, and hast powre to hurt them much. But

Christ is a spirituall King, contrary to the opinion of the Iewes of our tyme.

Let the reader beare in mynd once for all, that the word Messias in Hebrewe, & the word Christ in Greek, signifie both one thing, namely the Lords Anoynted.

The Thargū of Hierusalem

whereas

whereas for their harm there is a sure remedy, to heale it, for thyne there is none. For in the last dayes, they shal crushe thee al to peeces with their Heeles, by meanes of Christ their King. Now if the death bee spirituall, and the enemy spirituall, and his weapons spiritnall: how can it be denyed that the battell betweene him and the Messias who is to vanquish him, is lyke wise spiritual, his power spiritual, and his Kingdome spirituall? Moreouer, what were Adam, Henoch, Noe, and Abraham benefited by this promise; if it extend no further than to temporall things? Which of vs would indure here a thousand miseries, vnder pretence that certeine thousands of peres hence, we should haue an Emperour borne which should be redouted euerywhere? Now lyke as the scripture beginneth with the promise of the Messias, that is to say of the deliuerer of our Soules: so doth it shewe euidently, that it aimeth not at any other mark than that. For leauing the great States of the world, and the breeding of Kingdomes and Principalities, which are things whereon Histories stand so curiously; it leadeth vs directly too the birth and offspring of Abraham, whereof the Messias was to be borne. And vnto the same Abraham doth God repeate this promise oftentimes; that in his seede al nations should be blessed; that is to say, that one should be borne of his seede, by whom Saluation should be profered to all nations of the Earth? And agein, that in Isaac the seede should be called vnto him: which thing surely is not spoken of the Posteritie of his Sonne Ismael, notwithstanding that GOD told him that his fleshly posteritie should be verie flourishing. But this preface which the Lord maketh, shall I hide any thing from my seruant Abraham &c. Sheweth euidently how it is a misterie that passeth al vnderstanding of man, and whereunto Abraham had no lesse ryght than his seede. From Abraham this promise passed by hand to Isaac, from Isaac to Iacob, and Iacob left it by his last will too his children with these woords; The Scepter shalnot be taken from Iuda, nor the lawgiuer from betweene his feete, vntil Silo come; and vnto him shall the Nations resort. Which woords were spoken to Iuda by name, bycause the sayd holy seede was to come of his stocke. And that the same saying was ment of the Messias; the Thargum of Hierusalem and the Onkelos which are bookes of cheef authoritie among the Iewes, do assure vs. For they translate it thus, vntill Chryst or the Anoynted come; whereunto is added this; too whom the Kingdome belongeth. And the schole of Rabbi Sila

The Talmud in the Treatise intytled Sanhedrim, in the Chapter Melec.

being demaunded in the Talmud, what should bee the name of the Messias; answereth, Silo is his name: for (say they) it is sayd, vntill Silo come. Albeit now that the sayd kingdome be other than a temporall Dominion; yet is the text formall in that place. For the Iewes wayt that the Messias or Christ should come of the Tribe of Iuda, and that at the tyme of his comming the Scepter and the Lawgiuer should both be taken from Iuda. Surely the thing that Israell loked for as then, was not to subdue other Nations, seeing that Israell himselfe was not to reigne at that tyme. And wretched had the hope of other Nations bene, which loked for him also, according to this text, if his comming should haue bene but to spoyle them and make hauocke of them. But he was to reigne, yea euen ouer all Nations, yea and to the benefite of all Nations. His reigning then shalbe according to the first promise, namely ouer mens Soules, the which he shall deliuer from the bondage of Sinne and the tyrannie of the Deuill. In the Lawe of Moyses, the Sacrifices and Ceremonies doe represent vnto vs ỹ satisfaction which Christ was to make for the sinnes of the people by the sacrificing of himselfe. But specially the Passouer Lambe, the Sacrifice of the red Cowe, the sending of the Scapegoate into the Wilderneſſe, and the raising vp of the brasen Serpent for the healing of diseases, were all of them Memorialles for the people, to put them in mynd both of the comming of the Messias, and to what ende hee should come. For whereas wee reade that the dorepostes of the houses were besmeared with the blud of a Lamb, to the intent that the destroying Angell should not touch them: that the Ashes of a Cowe without spot were kept for the sinnes of the Congregation: That the Highpriest laying his hand vppon a Goates head, acknowledged the sinnes of the people ouer him, and the Goate went away with them into a place vninhabitable, to the intent (as ye would say) he might neuer be heard of any more: and that as many as beheld the brasen Serpent, were healed incontinently of the stinging of Serpents: seeing that the things which were imployed to those purposes, could not of their owne nature serue thereunto: we must needes conclude, that they were signes; signes (say I) of spirituall and inward matters, like the Scripture it selfe, which is spirituall and serueth for the inward man: That is to wit, That the Deuill hath no power ouer those which are reconcyled to God by the Sacrifice of the Messias who is charged with their Sinnes: and that those which haue an eye vnto him, are by and by healed of the Serpents

pents deadly sting. And whereas some thinke it straunge that so great a thing, should bee figured by so vyle and base things: the figure is the more profitable, and the lesse daungerous in that it is so. For had so high things bene figured or foretokened by things approching to their highnesse: men might haue bene decepued by thē, and haue taken the figures for the things themselues, and so haue rested vpon the gaynesse of the sheath, without looking into it. As for example, if in stead of the Goate, they should haue Sacrificed the man of greatest reputation in the Congregation: Men, being giuen to yeeld too much vnto man, would haue mistaken him for the very Mediatour himselfe. But when the figure of our reconcilement vnto God, and of the forgiuenesse of our sinnes, is taken at a brute beast which hath nothing sutable thereto, sauing that he is giltlesse and capable of death: wee bee taught that it is but a figure, and that it behoueth vs to wade into the thing it selfe: & that so much the more, because those Sacrifices are so solemnely and so expressely commaunded to posteritie, as things which for the welfare of mankynd, ought to be alwaies in remembrance, or rather present before mens eyes.

But yet the Hebrewes held opinion that Asar, Elcana and Abiasaph the three sonnes of Chore mentioned in the sixt Chapter of Exodus, were authors of diuers of the Psalmes that are gathered into the second booke of Dauids Psalter, and so is Moyses also of some one or two in the third booke; whereby they comforted the Fathers in the wildernesse, assuring them of the cōming of Christ. Unto Dauid (who was of the Tribe of Iuda) God himselfe confirmeth the sayd promise, telling him that the blessed seede should come of him. I will rayse vp (saith he) thy seede after thee, which shall come out of thy loynes; his kingdome will I stablish for euer; I will be to him for a Father, and he shall be to mee for a sonne. And although this may seeme to be ment of Salomon Dauids sonne, who was in deede but a figure of Christ; yet notwithstanding the often repeating of these words eternally, euerlastingly, and for euer, giueth vs to vnderstand, that it cannot bee verified but of the thing figured, that is to wit, of the eternall or euerlasting King. And in very deede Dauid sheweth well in his Psalmes, that hee hath looked further with the eyes of his mynde, than to his sonne Salomon. For in the second Psalme, Thou art my sonne (saith the Euerlasting,) this day haue I begotte thee. I will giue thee the Gentyles for thyne inheritance, and the vtmost

Midrach Thehilim.
A tradition of the Hebrewes.
2. Sammuel. 7. 1. King. 5. 6. 1. Chron. 17. Plal. 89.
Psalm. 2. & 45 & 47. & 67. & 72.

vtmost coastes of the earth for thy possession. And in the fiue and fortieth Psalme, speaking of the mariage of this Sonne, with an extraordinary preface, Thy Throne ô God (sayth he) is from euerlasting; and the Scepter of thy kingdome is a Scepter of righteousnes. And in the seauen and fortith, The princes of the Nations are assembled togither (sayth he) to be the people of the God of Abraham. And in the threscore and seauenth; Thou shalt iudge folk righteously, Thy sauing health shalbe knowen to al Nations, and thou shalt direct the Nations of the earth. And this later clause is shet vp with this worde Selah, which the Hebrewes are not wont to vse, but in some profound misterie. To be short, in the threscore and twelfth Psalme, after he hath sayde. All Kings shall worship him, and all Nations shall serue him: He addeth, for he shall deliuer the poore that cry vnto hym, and the distressed that hath no helpe. Yea and which more is, All Nations shall report themselues to be blessed in him, and they shall also blesse him. Dauid is full of such sentences, which shewe that he speaketh of a King, howbeit of another than Salomon his owne sonne. For Salomons kingdom extended not much further than his fathers, neither did the Nations mete togither vnder him; and as for his kingdome, it ended with his death, and within a day or twayne after was rent in peeces. And therefore the auncient Synagog did alwayes vnderstand those texts to be ment of Christ, who was to be borne of the seede of Dauid, as we may perceyue by the Chaldee translation, which interpreteth them to be spoken concerning the same partie. Howbeit sith it is not said in any of the Psalmes, Reioyce thou Israel, for thou shalt reigne ouer the Gentiles; but, Reioyce ye Gentyles, be glad ye Nations and Kings, for I will giue you a King: surely it is euident that the ioy which he reporteth to be so greate, is not for that they should haue a Iewe to be their king, for euery Nation had leuer to haue one of their owne countrie; or for that this King should haue a souereine Monarke aboue them all to controll them, for euery of them had leuer to reigne by himselfe alone: but rather because this King should bee of a farre other nature and qualitie than all other Kings, namely a King of soules, a deliuerer of men from the bondage of sinne, and a spirituall Monarke. Also the Song of Songs is an expresse poetrie cõcerning the vnion of Christ & his Church, and hath bene so vnderstode of the Iewes, as it appeereth by the Chaldee Paraphrase therof which we haue. As for the Prophets,

we

we find nothing els in them almost line by lyne, but foretellings of Christ to come, of ỳ Nature of his Kingdome, of the calling of the Gentiles, of the stablishing agein of godlynes, and such other matters; as wel to put ỳ people then present in remembrance of them, as to prepare the aftercommers to receiue them. Insomuch that if the Prophets speake of the returne from Babylon, of the stablishing ageine of the kingdome, of the building ageine of the Temple, and such other things; by and by within two or three verses, yee shal see them caried away to the spirituall kingdome of Christ, and to the true Temple which is the Church: as though they had ment to say vnto vs, that we must not rest vpon these temporall things which are but shadowes; but remember that we be men, that is to say Soules; and that our welfare cõsisteth not in liuing, in gouerning, and in reigning heere, but in serving God that we may be vnited vnto him, & ruled by him, howbeit not so as we should reigne in the world, but that God should reigne in vs by the Scepter of his word, and by the power of his spirit, and be obeyed of vs. It shall come to passe (sayth Esay) that in the latter dayes the hill of the Lords house shalbe set vp vpon the toppe of the mountaynes, and that all Nations shal come flocking to it, and many folke shall say, Come, let vs goe vp to the Lords hill, and to the GOD of Iacobs house. This text is spoken manifestly of Christ and of his reigne, and of the blessing that was to be shed out vpon all Nations by him. But let vs reade further. He will teach vs his wayes (sayth he) and we shall walke in his pathes. The Lawe shall come from out of Sion, and the word of the Lorde from Hierusalem. He shall iudge among the Heathen, and reproue the Nations. They shall turne their Swordes into Culters, & their Speares into Sythes. Here is no speaking of wars, of fighting or of force; but the Lawe of Gods worde, and of teaching. And in the fourth Chapter, At that day (sayth he) shall the Lords braunch be much made of, and glorious, and whosoeuer abydeth in Hierusalem shall be called holy. If this glorie were not expounded, some would thereby behight here a triumph. But at the same time (saith he) the Lord will wash away the filthynes of the daughters of Syon, and clense away the blud of Hierusalem from the middes thereof, by the spirit of iudgement and the spirit of burning. It is then a glory, yea and a true glorie, but yet a farre other glorie then the flesh vnderstandeth. Now the Iewes vnderstand this text of the Messias: for whereas the

Esay. 2. Micheas. 4.

Esay. 4.

Esay.9. the Hebrewe hath Braunch; the Chaldee Interpreter hath translated it the Lords Anoynted or Christ. In his nineth Chapter he sayth that he shalbe called the Prince of peace; (and the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated it the Christ or Anoynted of peace;) and that his kingdome shalbe increased, and that there shall bee no end of his reigne, and that he shall execute Justice vpon the throne of Dauid for euer. If he shalbe a Prince of peace, where shal warre become? And if there bee no warre, what shall this increase of his kingdome bee? That doth he shewe vs apparantly in his eleuenth Chapter. A blossome shall spring (sayth he) out of the stocke of Isay, and a braunch shall growe out of his roote. The spirite of the Lord shall rest vpon him, the spirite of wisedome and vnderstanding, the spirite of counsell and strength, the spirite of knowledge & of the feare of the Lord. He shal smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, & kill the wicked with the breath of his lippes. The Goate and the Lambe shall dwell together, and the Leopard with the Kid. The Earth shall bee full of the knowledge of the Lord as with an ouerflowing of the Sea, and the Gentiles shall inquire after the roote of Isay, which shalbe set vp as a Standard for people to resort vnto. The Conquests then of this Emperour shalbe of mens Soules; his tributes, their worshippings; his armour and weapons, the spirit of the Lord; his peace, the vniting of all folke together into one Church in the fauour of their Maker. Also in the fiue and twentie he saith thus: He shall destroy death for euer, and take away the veyle that hydeth the face of all people. And in the fiue and thirtie, The eyes of the blynd shall bee opened, and the eares of the deaffe shall be vnstopped. And in the two and fortie and the nine and fortie: He shalbe no outcryer nor loude of speech; his voyce shall not be heard in the streates. He shall set iudgement on the earth, and the Iles shall wayt for him. He shalbe a maker of leagues among people, and a light vnto the Gentiles. Some shall come from the North, and some from the South; so as the land shall be to narrowe for them. The Kings themselues shalbe fosterfathers to my people, and Qũeenes shall bee their Nurces. Which of all these things can bee vnderstood otherwise than of a spirituall kingdome? On the contrary part, let vs see how the same Prophet speaketh of Cyrus the great Emperour, which was to deliuer Israell by the force of armes out of the hands of the Chaldees. I haue taken thee by the right hand (sayth the Lord) to

Esay.11. He had said afore, that the high Cedars should be cast downe, that is to say the great Princes. And against those Cedars he setteth expresly this litle brãch of the roote of Iesse, or Isay. This Iesse or Isay was Dauids father.

Esay.25.35.42 49.

make

make Nations subiect vnto thee, and to weaken the reynes of Kings; to set open the doores vnto thee, and to vnlocke the gates against thee. I will breake open the gates of brasse, and burst asunder the barres of yron. I will giue thee the hoorded treasures, and the things that lye hid in secret places. What likenesse is there betweene this maner of speaking and the other, and consequently betweene the deliuerances or the deliuerers themselues? But in the two and fiftie and three and fiftie, he taketh away all doubt. Behold (saith he) my seruant shall behaue himself happely, and be exalted and aduanced very high. As how? He shall bee despised of men (sayth the Prophet) and thrust out of their companie. A man full of sorowe and heauinesse shall he bee, and euery bodie shall hide his face from him. He shall bee wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The chastisement of our peace shal lye vpon him, and by his stripes shall wee bee healed. And he sayth afterward, Although there was not any vnrightuousnesse in him, yet was it the Lords will to breake him with sorowe. And because he shall giue his life for sinne, the will of the Lord shall prosper in his hand, and he shall see the labour of his Soule, and inioy it. For by his knowledge he shall make many rightuous, and he shall take their iniquities vpon him. Now this text is interpreted expressly of the Messias by the Chaldee Paraphrast. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Iacob being asked the name of the Messias, sayth he shalbe called Leaprous; and there he bringeth in this text to proue it. By which reckoning his life should be but languishing and paine, sauing that he trumphed ouer the Deuill and Death, and that we vnderstand it spiritually. To be short, in the fiue and fiftie he is called the Law giuer of the Gentiles: and in the nine and fiftie, The Redeemer. And in the threescore and one, The Phisition of the helplesse, and the Proclaymer of the acceptable yere of the Lord: And in the threescore and two, The Sauiour, & the League or Attonement which he bringeth to the people; not that he Loueth it, but that he is holy; nor that he giueth lawes to other Nations of the earth, but that he hath the word of GOD in his owne mouth and in the mouthes of his seede; sauing that in the kingdome of his Christ, God will giue a better place to straungers then to them.

Esay. 52. 53.

In the Talmud in the treatise intitled Sanhedrin in the Chapter Helec.

Esay. 55. 59. 61. 62.

As for al the other Prophets, like as they shote not at any other marke, so haue they not any other voyce. Neuertheless we will content ourselues with a fewe of their sayings, which shall giue credit

credit to all the rest; and so much the more, because their writing was comonly both at sundry times, and in sundry places. We haue seene how the Messias was promised to the Iewes of Dauid and to Dauid himself. Thus therefore doth Ieremy speake thereof conformably to that which we haue sayd heretofore. I will rayse vp a braunch vnto Dauid (sayeth the Lord), and hee shall reigne as King, and prosper, and execute Iustice and Iudgment vppon Earth. And if ye aske the Prophet what maner of prosperitie this shalbe: It is (sayeth he) that in his dayes Iuda shalbe safe, and Israel shal dwell without feare, and the name whereby he shalbe called, shalbe the Euerlasting, our Ryghtuousenes; that is to say the Iustifier of vs. For (sayeth he) the Lord hath sayd it. Dauid shall neuer want a Successor sitting vppon his Throne, neither shall there euer want a Priest of the Priests the Leuites to offer sacrifice before me: Neither is it any more possible for you to breake this couenant; than to breake the couenant that I haue made with day and nyght. Now, the Iewes cannot denie, but that euen by the record of their owne Paraphrast, this text is ment of Christ, and yet notwithstanding, that there hath not wanted a Successor both to Dauid and to Leuie; and that both the Kingdome and the Preesthod are come to an end; and therefore that he speaketh here of another Kingdome and of another Preesthod: Likewyse sayeth Ezechiell, I will set a shepherd ouer my flocke, which shall feede them, namely my Seruant Dauid. I will bee their God, and he shalbe their Prince among them. I wil enter into a Couenant of peace with them, and make noysom beasts to ceasse from the earth. I will rayse them shortly a plant of Renowne, and they shall no more bee the iestingstock of the Gentyles. And if we aske, how? They shall nomore be defiled (sayeth he) with their Idolles, nor with their abhominations, nor with their misdeedes: but I will saue them from all their sinnes, and make them cleane, and they shalbe my people, and I wil be their God. And that this text also is ment of the Messias, the Iewes cannot denye. For in their very Talmud they say that the Messias is called Dauid, because he was too be borne of Dauids race: and they alledge this present text and others for the same purpose. Daniel in his second and seuenth Chapters expounding Nabugodonozors Dreame, treateth of the fower greate Monarchies, which should rise vp in the world euery one in his tyme: the which are betokened there, vnder these fower Metalls, Golde, Siluer,

Ier. 23. 30. 33.

Ezechiel. 34. 37.

Talmud in the treatise intytled, Sanhedrin, in the chapter Helec.

Daniel. 2. 7. 9.

Siluer, Brasse, and yron. But when the Dreame representeth vs the stone heawen without hand, which stryketh the Images vpon feete and breaketh them apeeces: it is as much as if it had told vs, that the Kingdom of the Messias shall seeme to be of small stuffe, without stay and without force of man; and yet that it shall indure for euer, bycause it is set vp by God. And therefore whereas he addeth in another place, That all People, Nations and Tongs shal serue that Kingdome, it is to be vnderstode of another kynd of seruice than the ordinarie. But in his fifth Chapter he sheweth wherein the same peculiarly consisteth. It is (sayeth he) in bringing disobedience to an end, and in sealing vp sinne, to clense away iniquitie, and to bring ryghtuousnes into the world; to close vp prophesying and visions, and to anoynt the holy of Holyes. Yea and it is so little ment that Hierusalem should be the seate of that kingdome, that it was to be destroyed anon after by the Romanes. The nomber of the Children of Israel (sayeth Ose) shalbe as the sand. And where it hath bin sayd, you be not my People; there it shalbe sayd, ye be the people of the liuing God: which is as much to say as that many people should become Israelytes. And this shalbe done (sayth the Lord) not by bowe, nor by swoord, nor by battel: but bycause I will shewe mercy, and saue them by their Lord God, and marry them to me of my compassion. Iewry (sayth Ioel) shalbe inhabited, euerlastingly, and Hierusalem from generation to generation. Yet had they greate ouerthrowes afterward, yea euen in the Prophets owne tyme. But yet he addeth, I will wype away the blud from those whom I haue not yet cleansed, that is to wit, the Gentiles, and the Lord shall dwell in Syon. Then speaketh he of another Iewrie and of another Syon, that is to wit, of the spirituall one, which is the Church. To the same end tendeth Amos when he sayth, I will set vp the Tabernacle of Dauid againe, and stop vp the breakes thereof, and amend the decayes, that he may possesse the remnant of Edom, and of all other nations. And Micheas sayth that many Nations shall come to the Lords Hill, and talke there one with another, saying as followeth; namely, that the name of the Lord shall bee called vpon ouer them, and that the Law shall come out of Syon and the word of the Lord out of Hierusalem, which shall teach them his waies. And to the intent wee should not thinke, that whereas Micheas sayth that the name of the Messias shall shortly bee magnified to the vttermost parts of

Osee. 1. 2. 3.

Amos. 9.

Micheas.

the

the earth; Israell shall trvmph after the maner of the world: The Assyrians (sayth he) shall not cease to come into our Land, and to walke vp and downe in our Palaces. That is to say, the good and vertuous folke shall not cease to be persecuted for all that: but yet howsoeuer they fare, Idolatrie shalbe ouerthrowen, as he saith afterward, and the Anoynted shall reigne through the power of the Lord, and he shall be our peace. And Sophonie foretelleth to the same effect, That God will starue all the Gods of the earth, so as euery man shall worship in his owne place throughout all the Iles of the Gentiles: that is to say, That Hierusalem shall not bee the only place to worship in, but rather that God will haue euery place to bee a Hierusalem. In Zacharie the Lorde hauing sayd I will make my seruant Braunch to come; addeth immediatly, and I will wipe away the wickednes of this land in one day. And hauing sayd, He shall reigne vpon his seate: He addeth forthwith, that the Highpriest also shal sit there with him, That is to say, that Christ shalbe both King and Priest. He sayth in deede, Bee glad thou daughter Sion and triumph; For thy King commeth: But see here with what furniture; A righteous Sauiour & a lowly, sitting vpon an Asse, euen vppon an Asses colt, which is the Chariot of Ephraim and the Horse of Hierusalem, & the bowe of warre. He shal speake myldly to all Nations, and yet shal he be obeyed from the one side of the earth to the other. If there be no greater triumphe than this, what needeth so great ioy? But he expoundeth himselfe in these words following. Thou shalt bee saued by the blud of thy couenant, and I haue let out thy prisoners from the waterlesse pit. Now, that this text is ment of Christ, it appeareth by Rabby Samuel and Rabby Ioseph in the Talmud. And Rabby Selmoh ben Iarchi (as great an enemy as he is to vs,) expoundeth it not otherwise. Agein, In that day (saith he) a Welspring shalbe opened to the house of Dauid, and to the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, to wash away their sinne and their filth; & I will roote out the names of the remembrance of ydols from the earth sayth the Lord of Hostes. All this is nothing els but the clearing of men from their sinnes, and the abolishing of Sathans reigne. To bee short, Malachie telleth vs of Christ, That he shall bring vs an Attonement betweene GOD and vs. And of the Ambassadour whom GOD ment to send afore him to prepare his wayes, He sayth that hee shall turne the heartes of the Children to their Fathers, and the heartes of the

Sophonie.2.

Zacharie.3.6. 9.13.

In the treatise Sanhedrin: cap. Halec.

the Fathers to their children. By the preparation of the Ambassadour, we iudge of the Office of his Maister: namely that his comming is properly to reigne in our Soules, seeing his Ambassadour prepareth them for him, exhorting vs to turne away from our sinnes. Now of this long but yet needefull discourse, wee gather two things. The one against the Gentyles, which is, that the meane of cleansing mankind hath bin promised and preached euen from the fall of Adam, and that the same promise is from time to time brought to our remembrance by our scriptures: to wit that it is done by Christ, who was to bee borne of the womans seede by Abraham, Iuda, Dauid and others. The other is against the Iewes of our tyme, who loke still for a Christ to come: which is, that the deliuerãce promised by him, is not ment of the tyranny of some earthly Prince ouer vs; but of the Tyranny which the diuell exerciseth in our Soules by the vnrighteousnes of sinne, the rewarde whereof is euerlasting death. The Gentiles of old tyme yelded vnto these texts, when they had once imbraced the spirituall kingdome of Christ: and it may be that if we had to do with the Iewes of elder tyme, the matter should sone bee dispatched. For all the forealledged Texts haue bene vnderstood of the Messias and of his reigne, both by the auncient Rabbines and by the Chaldee Paraphrasts. Moreouer it is very manifest, that ỹ Cabalists who wrate long tyme afore the Talmudistes, and who (as they say) do pearce into the very Marowe of the Scriptures, wheras the Talmudists doe but grate vppon the barke of them: haue vnderstode that the cleansing away of sinne and the heating of the contagious venome which the Serpent did shed into Adam, and by him into the whole offspring of man: was to bee wrought by the Messias. Yet for all this, notwithstãding al ỹ forecasts of mans wit, we want not some euen of the newer sort of Writers, which haue vnderstode it after the maner aforesaid. The exposition of Salomons Balett vpon these words, A Grape of Copher, makes this allusion; *Eschcol Haccopher*, That vnto the Church, Christ is a man of full attonement, who shall be borne of the Children of Abraham, and shall make satisfaction for sinnes, in such sort as he may say to the measure of Iudgement. It is enough: that is to say, he may stay Gods wrath and punishment; and God (sayth he) will lay him to gage and deliuer him for those that are his. And vpon the fourth Chapter where it is written thus, A thousand sheelds hang there, that is to say, in the Tower of Dauid, the sayde exposition hath

The Iewes of old tyme looked for a spirituall King. Misdrach Hasirim.

Ballet. Cap. 1. verse. 14. & cap. 4. verse. 4.

these words: Often haue I (saith the Lord) taken my people in in protection, for the dezert of one that was to come after a thousand generatiõs, And I haue made them to succeede one after another, to bring the Sheeld at the last vnto him, which is the onely desyre of my Children, and shal defend them better then a thousand Sheelds. Also the Rabbines say, That the Creatures which are growen out of kind by Adams fall, shall be set in their perfect state againe by the Sonne of Perets, and according to their accustomed fondnesse, for proofe thereof they bring in a Text of Ruth and another of Genesis, where this worde *Toledoth* is written very plainly, that is to wit, with two *Vaus*. And as touching the sayd Sonne of Perets, euery man knowes among them that it is the Messias, whom they looked for to come of Iuda by his sonne* Perets. Concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the Talmud maketh this comparison, That the Horse shalbe set in the stall of the halting Oxe. Which wordes Rabbi Iacob and Rabbi Selomoh expound thus; namely that forasmuch as the Iewes shall haue forsaken the Lawe, God will put the Gentyles in their place, and yet not driue them away afterward, though the Iewes turne again vnto him: which is a thing very farre of from the Monarchie which they imagin as oft as there is any speaking of the calling of the Gentiles. To bee short, the notablest of their Rabbines are ashamed of the feastings & extraordinarie pastimes, which the Iewes behight themselues at the comming of the Messias; and conclude with Rabbi Moyses ben Maimon, (of whom they report that since Moyses hymselfe vntill this Moyses there was none so like vnto Moyses) that the felicities and pleasures of that tyme, ought to bee vnderstood according to this saying of Esayes, That the earth shalbe as it were ouerflowed with ỹ knowledge of the Lord, and that euery man shalbe occupyed in seeking and in knowing GOD. But Rabbi Hechadosch sayth yet more plainly, That the Messias shall by his death saue Adams race, and deliuer mens Soules from Hell; and therefore shall bee called Sauiour.

Rabbi, Barachias in his Bereschith. Rab ba Misdrach. Exod. 21. *We call him Phares.

Thalmud in the treatise Sãhedrin, cap Helec.

Esay. 11.

Reasons against the Iewes of our daies.

Let vs yet further by reason ouercome the wilfull sort, if it bee possible. They hold it for an Article of their faith, both by Scripture and by tradition, that there shalbe a Messias. He that denyes that (say they) denyes the Lawe & the Prophetes, and is condemned to Helfyre. And therefore (say they) he that denyeth the comming of the Messias, cannot be saued. If he which is to reigne in

It is the 13. article of the beleef of the Iewes

Rabbi Moyses ben Maimon.

Israell

Israell and to giue them prosperitie, bee a temporall King: what skilles it me greatly whether I knowe him and beleeue in him, or no? or what ioy can it bee to me, sith I cannot see him? Nay rather what a griefe is it to mee that I shal not see him, and what a peine is it to pyne away in wayting for him? Ageine, what goodnesse is it in GOD to haue foretold vs it: if by beleeuing it we fare neuer the better, & yet must dye euerlastingly for not beleeuing it? In ỹ Articles of their faith, they beleeue in ỹ only one God. There is greate reward in beleeuing well. They beleeue a blessed lyfe. As it is the Soule that beleeueth; so doth the reward redound vnto her. And euen so is it with all other things which are no Articles of fayth, furtherforth than a man hath benefite by beleeuing them. But as for this Article of the Messias, what boted it Abraham, Moyses, so many Kings, so many Prophetes, & such a nomber of people; if there were no further secret in it? Why was it foretold so carefully by the Prophetes? Why was it so oft repeated, no lesse in the prosperitie than in the aduersitie of that people, and no lesse vnder the good Kings than vnder the Tyrants? Nay, which more is; why was it more, yea farre more carefully repeated to those which were not at the tyme when he should come, than to those which were to be borne in his time; if the Messias be not certeinly more than simply a good King, and the prosperitie another maner of prosperitie than any is on earth, and the ioy another maner a ioy than is conceiued by the sences? And yet for all that, vnto a Iewe it is an Article of fayth, and of the necessitie of saluation. We say therfore, that the Messias is not a King of temporall delightes, but the King of Saluation and welfare.

Agein, they beleeue that the Scriptures are of God, and that they teache them the way to Saluation. Now the ordinarie voyce of them is ageinst the Pompe, the brauery, and the vanitie of the world: saying that God will turne them into sorrowe, mourning and dung. Herewithall, the same Scriptures turne vs away from all other delights, to talke of that, and from all honor and reputation, to the atteynement of that kingdome. Who seeth not therefore, that this ioy which the Scriptures doe so much commend, is of another kind, than the ioy which they discommend, and that the kingdom which they make vs to couet, is to be possessed in heauen and not on earth? Be glad O Daughter Sion (say the Prophets) reioyce thou Hierusalem, sing ye nations and peoples. And wherfore? For certeine thousand yeres hence, there shall rise vp a great

King in Israell. What greater fondnesse can there bee than this? He shall make a good peace say they: what passe I for that, if I my selfe be in Warre? He shall open the Prisons: what is that to mee, if I in the meane whyle doe rotte there? He shall triumph ouer al the Nations in the world. What am I the better for that, if in the meane season other Nations trample me vnder their feete, and leade mee in triumphe ouer all the worlde with my hands bound behind mee? The father [say they] reioyceth for his Sonnes welfare: yet is that but a light and slightfull ioy, and who is hee that wilbe moued for the afterspring of his children that are long hence to come? And who would not count him a fole for reioycing thereat, and much more for beléeuing it? Surely, then doth this ioy extend farther, so as euen the foretellers thereof doe feele it themselues and are cheered therewith, and the hearers thereof doe taste of it and finde themselues comforted: and both of them in their Soules inioy the Fraunchises and Freedomes of that kingdome aforehand, ere the sayde King whom they looke for be borne into this world. Let vs put the case farther, that they which shall attend vpon the Messias, shalbe rewarded abundantly with all the pleasures of this lyfe: what shall become of him in the ende? Hee shall dye (say they) and his generation with him, and therevppon they keepe a sore contention how many yeeres hee shall liue. How farre of is this geere from that which the Prophetes speake of, concerning a ioy that shall neuer haue end? What if they passe a hundred yeres in all ioy? what is it but a long feast, which as soone as a man sleepeth is quite and cleane forgotten? And if ye dye altogether, what remayneth of it any more? And if ye liue out of the world, what remayneth thereof but greef? And what reason haue the Fathers to reioyce so much at that flash of Lightening, which passeth away in a moment? Soothly much lesse thā for a Mariage feast, at leastwise which is accompanied with the birth of some children. In very deede these things are topes to laugh at, but yet among the Iewes they bee earnest matters, and they rest vpon them at this day lyke silly soules as they be, as though there were none other lyfe for man than this, or as though they should euer be babes still in this life. But some to shunne this absurditie, haue falne into another, namely that all they which haue hoped for the Messias, shal come to lyfe agayne as they were afore, yea and euen the wicked sort too, that they may burst for spight and sorrowe. They that be in the glorie of God shall come backe again to see the

glorie

glorie of that man. They that are free from this Prison of sinne, shalbe shut vp againe in it to see this licentiousnes. They that liue euerlastingly in all felicitie aboue, shall come downe to eate of fat beastes. What is this but a tittletattle of Children, which in their conferences can go no higher than Tartes and Junkets, nor conceiue any higher pleasures than those? And what els in effect is all this, than to ryse from Bed to Bord, and from Borde to Bed ageine to sleepe? But if all this must be done in Palestine, so as all that are spoken of afore shall come thither: How will Palestine or Iewrie suffice to receiue them, or what Leuiathan wil suffice to fede them? And if the Gentiles also shabe admitted thither, as they say: what maner a Temple shall there be? And if all men shall bring their Sacrifices thither, what shall Hierusalem be, but a continuall slaughterhouse of beastes, and all Iewrie an vniuersall streame of blud? Who seeth not then, that (as the Prophetes declare vnto vs) the Gentiles shall not in very deede bee gathered in Hierusalem, but Hierusalem shall be spred out among the Gentyles? And that they shall not come ronning from a farre to the Temple, but that they themselues shalbe the Temple, I meane their heartes, where God shalbe serued and worshipped: And seeing that GOD so greatly refuseth our sheadings of blud, our fat Muttons, and our perfumes: who can thinke that those shalbe the feast which he will prepare to chere vs withall.

The Iewes of our dayes say that this Leuiathan is a Whale powdred for the feast of the Messias.

The xxvij. Chapter.

That the Mediatour or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to be both God and Man, that is to wit, the euerlasting Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.

NOw then, let it stand for a poynt concluded, That the Christ our Messias promised in the holy Scriptures is a Redeemer from spiritual bondage. But forasmuch as I haue proued, that he ought not to fetch vs out of prison without Raunsome; nor could pay the Raunsome being infinite, vnlesse he were God and Man; Man to suffer, and God to ouer-

come: it followeth that I must shew, that Gods word hath promised vs that he shalbe such a one: and that shall serue as well against the Gentyles, as against the Iewes. Now, if wee had none other proofe thereof than this, that Christes office is to vndoe sinne and death, and to appease Gods wrath against mankynd, as I haue sayd; seeing that these things are such as no creature can doe, nor ought to presume to doe: as oft as we reade that his office is such, wee must needes conclude that the Messias must needes then bee God. For (as the Gymnosophist of India sayd vnto Alexander) he is God in very deede, which doth that which no creature can do. But the Scripture intending to succour our infirmitie, the elder the world waxeth, speaketh euer the more manifestly thereof vnto vs; and surely after such a sort, that the skilfullest among the Iewes of late tyme become most vnskilfull when they goe about to darken it. First of all at the making of the promise in Genesis, it is sayd that this seede, that is to say this Christ, shall crush the Serpents head: and this Serpent (as I haue said afore) is the Deuill, and his venome is sinne: and by meanes of sinne we be all become thralles to the Deuill, against whose power we know that no force of man can doe any thing. It followeth then that this Christ must haue another nature than mans, yea or than Angels: For the Angels and the Deuils differ not in power, that is to wit, diuine. Afterward where the promise is repeated to Abraham; of what man can it be verifyed, In thy seede shall all Nations be blessed? Or who can blesse so effectually but only God, who commaundeth his blessing (sayth he diuers tymes) and then doth it shead it selfe out vpon vs and our workes. But as the Prophetes doe preach the Messias vnto vs, so also doe they describe vs his natures and qualities, so as we neede not any other Commentarie vpon that promise, than the Prophets themselues. Unto Dauid therfore it was renewed, and in his issew was it to be accomplished. See here how he speaketh of it in the 45. Psalme. My heart (sayth he) intendeth to vtter good matter, and my worke shalbe to speake of the King, (that is to wit of the Messias, and so doth the Chaldee Paraphrast himselfe interpret it:) Thou art more perfect than the Children of men. This might be ment of a man: but let vs reade further: O God (sayth he) thy Throne is from euerlasting to euerlasting, the Scepter of thy Kingdome is the Scepter of Rightuousnesse. Thou louest rightuousnesse and hatest wickednesse: And therefore God thy God hath annoynted thee with

That by the Scriptures, Christ the Mediator is both God and Man

Gen. 3

Deut. 21. ver. 8

Psalm. 45.

with the oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. Theſe ſo expreſſe woꝛds cannot bee ſpoken, (ſpecially among the Hebrewes who were not ſo lauiſh of Gods name as other people are) but of one that is very God and very man both together. In the hundꝛed and tenth Pſalme, The Lord ſayd vnto my Lord (ſayth Dauid) ſit thou at my right hand, vntill I haue made thyne enemies thy footſtoole. And a little after, Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedeck. To ſit at Gods right hand, and to be a Pꝛieſt foꝛ euer, cannot be attributed to a man. May (which moꝛe is) Dauid who knewe well that there is but one Loꝛd, calleth him his Loꝛd. And wee reade that with this ſelfeſame text Chꝛiſt ſtopped the mouthes of the Phariſies. Now, that the fathers of olde tyme vnderſtod theſe things to be ſpoken of the Meſſias, it appeareth by the tranſlation of Ionathas, cited in ỹ booke of Collections; foꝛ he tranſlateth it, The Lord ſayd vnto his word: and it is alledged to pꝛoue, that the Meſſias ſhould ſit on the right hand of God. Inſomuch that the Iewes Commentarie vpon the ſecond Pſalm, ſayth expꝛeſſely that the Miſteries of the Meſſias are rehearſed in the hundꝛed and tenth Pſalme. And Eſay in his nineth Chapter ſayth thus: A Babe is borne vnto vs and a Sonne is giuen vnto vs, and his kingdome ſhalbe vpon his ſhoulder. Ye ſee here the birth of a man. But he ſayth further, His name ſhalbe called, the wonderfull, the Counſeller, the mightie God, the euerlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace. Nœdes then muſt this ſelfſame man be alſo God. And whereas he is ſayd to bee the Prince of Peace; Ionathas tꝛãſlateth it the Chꝛiſt (oꝛ the anoynted) of Peace. And Rabbi Ioſes the Galilæan, ſayth vpon the Lamentations, that the Meſſias ſhalbe called the father of euerlaſtingneſſe, the Prince of peace and ſo forth: and foꝛ confiꝛmation thereof, he alledgeth this text, and ſo doth alſo the Commentarie vppon Geneſis. And the holy Rabbi (as they terme him) ſayth expꝛeſſely, that the Meſſias in that he ſhould bee both God and Man, ſhould bee called Emanuell; In that he was God, the wonderfull and the Counſeller: In that he was mightie, Gheuer, that is to ſay Strong: In that he was Euerlaſting, the Father of euerlaſtingneſſe; In reſpect ỹ peace ſhould be incꝛeaſed vnder him, The Prince of peace: In that he ſhould deliuer mens Soules from Hell, The deliuerer out of bondage: and in that he ſhould ſaue men, Ieſus that is to ſay, The Sauiour. Foꝛ whereas Rabbi Selomoh, to conueye theſe titles to Ezechias, interpꝛeteth them after this maner: And God,

Pſalm. 110.

The Booke *Sepher kibbutſim.* Midraſch Thehilim vpon the ſecond Pſalm.

verſe. 7.

Eſay. 9.

Lament. 1. ver. 16.

Bereſchith Rabba vpon Geneſ. 55.

Rabbi Hecadoſch.

the wonderfull, the Counseller, & the euerlasting father, hath called Ezechias the Prince of peace &c. Besides that the Hebrewe Grammer and the phrase of that tongue are repugnant to that Construction: it is well enough seene that such things cannot be verified of King Ezechias, and that it is but a deuice of this late borne Iew against the opinion of al antiquitie to escape from this text which is so expresse. Esay in his seuenth Chapter sayth thus. Behold, a Virgin shall bee with child and bring forth a Sonne. Here ye see that Christ shall bee a man. And thou shalt call his name Emanuell, that is to say, God with vs. Then shall he bee both God and Man, that is to wit, God dwelling among men as a man. But vnto this and such like texts, they answer vs that the *El*, that is to say GOD, is imparted to Princes and Iudges: And therefore let vs heare further. In that day (sayth Esay) the Lord of Hostes *Iehouah tsebhaoth*, shalbe in sted of a crowne of glory and of a Diademe of honor to the residue of his people. The Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth this concerning the Messias. And againe; In that day shall the people that were harryed away and rent a peeces, be brought for a present to the Lord of Hosts. The Commentarie vpon Genesis vnderstandeth this also to be spoken of the same person. This is another: I will wayt for the Lord who hath hidden his face from the house of Iacob, and I will attend vpon him. The Disciples of Rabbi Hija applye this in the Talmud to the Messias. And yet in all these places whersoeuer is the word Lord, the Hebrewe hath the word *Iehouah*, that is to say the Bëeer or he that is, which is the vnspeakable or vnutterable name of the Creator, and in opinion of the Hebrewes is not to be imparted to any Creature. Wherevpon it ensueweth, that the Messias, to whom it is imparted, should be the very euerlasting God; and that the auncient writers who attributed those sayings to him, loked that he should bee such a one. In the three and twentie and in the three and thirtie of Ieremie wee reade thus: Behold, the daies shall come, that vnto Dauid I will raise vp a rightuous braunch, and he shall reigne as King. These words belong to Christes Manhood. But by and by after he sayth, And in his daies Iuda shall bee saued; and behold, the name whereby he shalbe called, shalbe *Iehouah*, the Euerlasting, our Rightuousnesse. Heere againe is the foresayd vncommunicable name of God, which the Iewes doe so greatly reuerence. Yet notwithstanding, the threescore and ten Interpreters, who were all

Esay.7.

Christ is called Iehouah, that is to say, the euerlasting God.

Esay.18.& 28. &.1.

Bereshith Ketana.

In the treatise Sanhedrin.cap Dine Mammonoth.

Iewes

Iewes, vnderstood it so. And Ionathas interpreteth it of Christ in both respects. As touching the latter Rabbines, who will needes correct the text, and in stead of *ykreo*, doe set downe *ykra*, to the intent that the sence might be, He that calleth him shall bee the Euerlasting: I report me to all their owne Grammarians, whether it be not both a corrupting and a racking of the text. And truely in the three and thirtie Chapter the Prophet sayth the same thing in diuers words: wherevnto this forgerie cannot be applyed. That is the cause why Rabbi Abba vppon the Lamentations of Ieremie demaundeth what shalbe the name of the Messias, and afterward answereth *Iehouah schemo*, the Euerlasting is his name. And to that purpose alledgeth he the selfesame texts of Ieremies. And the Commentarie vpon the Psalmes sayth, Seeing that none of the Subiects of a King of flesh and blud, that is to say of a temporall King, is called by his name (that is to say King): How happeneth it that God imparteth his owne name to the Messias? and what name is that? Soothly *Iehouah* is his name according to this saying, The man of warre, *Iehouah* [that is to say the Euerlasting] is his name. And Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan expounding this saying of Sophonie, to call vppon the name of the Euerlasting; saith thus: Here *Iehouah* is nothing els but the King, the Messias, [or the anoynted King.] And the same thing is repeated in the selfesame words in the Thalmud. And wheras some, to disappoynt vs of the consequence of these texts, doe say that in Ezechiel, Hierusalem is called by that name, where it is sayd thus *Iehouah schammah*, [that is to say] the Euerlasting is there; that is to say, the Euerlasting hath chosen his dwelling place in Hierusalem: They by chaunging the Hebrew vowels doe make him to say *Iehouah schemo*, [that is to say] the Euerlasting is his name. But besides the consent of all Copies repugning to this vnshamefastnesse; Ionathas can assoyle the case, who translateth it expressly, God hath placed his Godhead there. Now, besides the sayd texts, which shewe that the Iewes of old tyme wayted for a Messias that should be both God and Man: we haue also great tokens thereof in those fewe writings of theirs which remayne dispersed here & there, notwithstanding ỳ the Iewes hide thē from vs or els corrupt them as much as they can. The Commentarie vppon the Psalmes sayth, Because the Gentyles ceasse not to aske of vs where is our God; the time shal come ỳ God wil sit among the Righteous, so as they shalbe able to point him out with their fingar.

Lament. 1. vers. 16.

Midrasch Tehilim vpon the 23. Psal. vers. 1.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon Genesis ca. 41.

Thalmudin the treatise Sāhedrin, Cap. Helec.

Midrasch Tchilint, vpon the fortith Psalm.

In the booke intytled Siphrei vpon the 26 of Leuiticus.

fingar. And whereas it is so often sayd, I will walke among you, it is all one (say they) as if a King should go walke in his Gardyne with his Gardiner, & his Gardiner should alwaies shrink behind him: and the King should say, shrinke not backe, for lo, I am lyke thee: euen so will GOD walke among vs in his Gardyne of pleasure in tyme to come. And therefore another

The booke Mechilia vpon the 14. of Exo. The Ballet. 8. vers. 1.

sayth that the Euerlasting shall one day bee as a brother of Iacob, that is to say in the tyme of the Messias, according to this saying of the Ballet, I would fayne that thou wast to me as a brother. And the Commentarie vppon the Ballet sayth in another place, That God himself who is the Husband of the Church, should come

Leuit. 25. vers. 25.

in his owne persone to marrie her. Vppon the xxv. of Leuiticus, where mention is made of one brother that redeemeth out another,

The booke Tanhumah. Midrasch vpō Leuiticus.

in the yeere of Iubilee; many make an Allegorie, that that brother is Christ. And the Commentarie affirming the same, sayth that Israell shalbe redeemed of God, who shall come in his owne beeing,

Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan vpō Gen. 49. Psal. 49.

and that Israell shall no more bee brought in bondage. And vppon Genesis, Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan alledging this saying of the Psalme, I will shew him the Saluation of God; sayth thus: This is one of the Texts of Scripture of greatest weight, that the Saluation of Israel is the Saluation of God. For God wilbe the pryce and payment of Israels Raunsom, lyke as if man hauing

Midrasch sir Hasirim cap. 1 Rabbi Eleazar vnto Zohar.

but a little Corne of the second Croppe, should redeeme the same. Hereof came this Tradition, that God left some portion vnperfect on the Northside, to the intent that if any reported himselfe to be God, hee should fill vp that want, and that thereby his Godhead should be knowen. And all men knowe that ordinarily by the North, they ment the Euill, which should be remedied by the Messias. But the Cabilists were farre more spirituall in this behalfe

The Cabilists. R. Simeon. B. Iohai vpon Gene. 1. ver. 17. & cap. 17. ver. 1.

than the Thalmudists. And first of all Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in his Commentaries vpon Genesis in the language of Hierusalem, saith that the feare or mercie of the Lord should take a body in the Wombe of a Woman, and be Crowned King the auncient of dayes for euer. And that it was decreed that a holy body and a woman should be incorporated togither, and (for proof whereof he alledgeth an auncient booke whereof he toke it) the same should bee

In the booke of Shamesastnes.

accomplished in the third age, that is to say, in the third Period of

The same vpō Genesis. ca. 10.

the Church; and that then the higher world should by the said holy body be united to the inferiour world: so as God should bee sanctified beneath as well as aboue, and the holy Ghost should come as

out

out of a sheathe, that is to say, should be shewed forth openly; and that all this is but one, namely the Euerlasting himself. And to be short, that the Woman of whom the holy word should take his body, and out of whom the said faythfull was to come; should be holy and blessed aboue all other women. Now it appeareth that hereby he ment the Incarnation of the Messias. For in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Hamina being demaunded the name of the Messias, answered Hamina, that is to say, Mercy is his name. And in the Prophetes, they betoken the Messias by the name of mercie. Another Cabilist sayth, That sinne shalbe brought to ende by the Messias, who shalbe the power of God, euen by the spirit of wisedome wherewith he shalbe filled. And another sayth, that the misterie of Messias the King, is that his operation cōsisteth wholly in *he*, *vau*, and *iod*, *he*, (which is the misterie of the seuenth day) that is to say in calmenesse of mynd, without force; and that his name whole together shalbe composed of these letters, to wit, *Jehouah*, the Euerlasting. But the holy Rabbi vpon the 9. Chapter of Esay where Christ is called ỹ euerlasting father, playeth the Philosopher yet further vpō the letters of that name. Like as the letter *he* (sayth he) is made of *daleth* and *vau*, (as appeareth by the shapes of those letters) so shall the Mesias be of the nature of Man, and of the nature of God. And like as the double *he* cōsisteth of a double *daleth* and two *vaus*: so bee there two Sonships in the Mesias, that is to say, two sorts of beeing Sonne; the one in respect that he is the Sonne of GOD, the other in respect that he is the Sonne of a Prophetisse, as it is sayd in Esay 8. And as those shapes are distinct in one selfesame letter, and yet are both one letter: so shal the natures of Christ or the Mesias be distinct, and yet shall make but one Christ. I stand not vppon the foundation which he taketh of the letters, which I make none account of: but the onely thing which I meane to gather, both by this text and by the former texts, and by all others that may bee gotten together, is that the expectation of the Iewes in old tyme, was of a Messias that should bee both God and Man: and that they haue not bin able to race it out of their bookes to this day, for all the diligence that they could vse in that behalfe.

In the treatise Sanhedrim. cap. Helec. Ieremy. 16.

The booke of Faith and Reconciliation.

In the booke Hecadma vau, He, Iod, He.

In his booke intytled the Gate of light. Cap. 1. Rabbi Hecadosch.

And for asmuch as I haue sayd that in God there bee three persones in one substance, the Father the Sunne and the holy Ghost: it followeth that wee must see which of these three the Churche of Israell wayted that the Messias should be. And as we haue found it

That the Second Persone tooke flesh.

it meete that hee by whom God created vs (to wit the sonne of the woord) should be the meane to create vs now agein; so also shall we find by the Scripture, that the same second person is he that was promised. In Genesis the Messias is called Silo, and promised to be of the stocke of Juda. Now the woord Silo (sayeth Kimhi) signifieth the Sonne of him, and is derived of a woord which signifieth a womans Afterbirth as they terme it, which thing is not to be passed ouer lyghtly. And therefore Dauid repeateth and expoundeth the same promise in these woords; I wilbe his Father (sayeth the Lord) and he shalbe my Sonne. And in the lxxxix. Psalme he addeth, I will make him my firstbegotten, and souereine of al the Kings of the earth: which word Rabbi Nathan expoundeth concerning the Messias and thus doth Dauid himself expound it in the second Psalme: The Lord hath sayd vnto me, thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. And ageine, Kisse the Sonne ô ye Kings & Rulers of the Earth and happy be they which put their trust in him. Surely it appeareth ꝑ in all that text he speaketh of the Sonne of God, and not of the sonne of a man. For otherwise he that hath sayd vnto vs, Cursed be hee that trusteth in man, and a foole is he that leaneth vppon the Princes of the earth, would not say vnto vs, Blessed are thei that put their trust in him. But yet further Rabbi Selomoh ꝑ sonne of Iarchi, and Aben Esra (as much enemyes as they be vnto vs) also do witnesse that the sayd Psalme was vnderstoode in old time to concerne the Messias; neither do they themselues expound it otherwise. Insomuch that Aben Esra sayeth expressly, that *Bar* signifieth a Sonne in that place as well as in the xxxi. Chapter of the Prouerbes. And the exposition of the Iewes vppon that Psalme, is that there God resembleth a King that would destroy a toune in his anger, if he were not pacified by his sonne. In the lxxij Psalme, where the reigning of the Messias is manifestly described, His name (sayeth he) shall continew for euer, his name shalbe euerlasting as long as the Sonne indureth. And the Hebrew woord *Ijnnon* which he vseth, commeth of the woord *Nin*. Which signifieth a Sonne, as if a man would say Sonned or Sunnified. In the Commentarie vpon the fowerscore and thirteenth Psalme, these woords Thy throne is from euerlasting to euerlasting, are expounded to concerne the Messias. And the paraphrast (which is reported to be Rabbi Ioseph the blynd,) agreeth thereunto. And in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Ianai being asked the name of

Kimhi in his booke of Rootewordes.

Psalm. 89.

Psalm. 2.

Midrasch Thehilim vppon the second Psalm.

Psalm. 72. vers. 17.

Psalm. 9. vers. 2.

In the treatyse Sanhedrin. Cap. Helec.

of the Messias, answereth, Innon is his name; for it is sayd in the Psalme, before the Sonne was in the sky, Innon is his name. Esay, Ieremie and Zacharie in the texts afore alledged, do call him Impe and in all those places the Caldee paraphrast translateth it the Lords Anoynted: and Iosua the sonne of Leuie sayeth that Impe is his name. But least wee should thinke that this Impe were but an Impe of Dauid; he is called there, the Lords Impe the Impe of the Euerlasting, and the Euerlasting himself. Now there is not a nearer nor a properer metaphor thã to terme a sonne an Impe, or an Impe a sonne. This sonne we call moreouer the woord; wherein the Iewes dissent not from vs. In the xlv. of Esay it is sayd, Israell shalbe saued by Iehouah (that is to say by the Euerlasting) with endlesse saluation: which saying Ionathas translateth, by the woord of the Lorde. In Ose, I will saue the house of Israel (sayeth the Lord) by the Lord their God: which saying the sayd Ionathas translateth By the woord of the Lord their God, and so forth ordinarily in all other lyke texts. And it is not to be douted but that by the sayd woord they ment the Messias. For in the Hundred and tenth Psalme, (which as they themselues affirme, conteyneth the misteries of the Messias) vpon these woords, the Lord sayd vnto my Lord &c. Ionathas saieth, The Lord said vnto his woord, sit thou on my ryght hand. And Rabbi Isaac Arama vppon Genesis, expounding this text of the Hundred and seuen and fortith Psalme, The Lord sent foorth his woord, and they were settled, or as others translate it, were healed; sayeth expressly that this woord is the Messias. Yea and Rabbi Simeon the sonne of Iohai, the cheef of the Cabalists, wryting vppon Genesis and by the way expounding there these woords of Iob, yet notwithstanding I shall see my God in my flesh: sayeth that the mercie which proceedeth from the highest wisdome of God, shalbe crowned by the woord, and take flesh of a woman. But let vs heare Philo the Iewe vpon this point; Hardly can I say (sayeth he) what tyme is appoynted for the returne of the banished Iewes For men hold opinion that it shalbe at the death of a hygh preest, which as some think is at hande, and as othersome thinke is farre hence. But my opinion is, that this high preest shalbe the word or speech of God, cleere from sinne aswell willing as vnwilling, who to his father hath GOD the father of all, and to his mother hath the wisedome wherby al things in the world were created, And therefore his head shall be anoynted with

Rabbi Iosua ben Leui in his Echa Rabethi, Cap. 1. vers. 16.

Esai. 45. ver. 17

Osee. 1. vers. 7.

Psalm. 110.

Gen. 47.

Psal. 147. vers. 18.

Gen. 10.

Iob. 19. vers. 26

Philo the Iew in his booke of the banished.

Oyle,

Oyle, his Maiestie shall shead forth beames of light round about him, and he shalbe clothed with light as with a garment. For the auncient worde of him that is, is clothed with the world, &c. Also in Malachie where it is sayd, I will send myne Ambassadour before my face; Rabbi Moyses the sonne of Maimon expounded it, Before Christ the Anoynted. And in Osee where it is written, Wee shall liue before his face: Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan sayth it is Christ the King. And in the 17. Psalme where it is sayd, I shall behold thy countenance in rightuousneesse, and bee satisfied at the rysing vp of thy likeneesse: Rabbi Nehemias sayth, I shall bee satisfied with the sight of thy Messias, who is thyne Image. And to the same purpose might a great many moe bee alledged. The thing which they say is all one in effect with that which wee say, namely that the Sonne or worde of God is the image of God, and the brightnesse of his countenance. To bee short, we say that the Sonne is light of light, and they say the same of the Messias. For vpon the Lamentations of Ieremie, Rabbi Biba being asked the name of the Messias, answereth in the ende, that it is Nehira, that is to say Light, according to this saying in the second of Daniel, Light is with him. And vppon the place of Genesis where it is written, Let there bee light; Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan sayth that it is the Messias, according to Rabbi Abba, and Rabbi Iohanan vppon the 36. Psalme, where it is sayd, We shall see light in thy light. Oftentimes (say they) hath the light of Israell bene quenched and kindled againe, when they were one while subdewed and another while deliuered. But in the end he sayth, it is not to be required that flesh and blud (that is to say a mortall man) shall inlighten vs, but God himselfe in his owne substance will doe it. According whereunto it is sayd in the 18. Psalme, God hath bene our light. And likewise in Esay, Israell shall be saued by the Euerlasting. To bee short, like as we say that the Sonne as in respect of the Father, is as a Riuer in respect of the Spring, or as Reason is in respect of the Wynd: so say the Cabalists that the light of the Soule of the Messias, is in respect of the liuing God as Reason is in respect of the Wynd; and that the liuing God, as in respect of the Messias, is as a Fountaine or Welspring of liuing water, in respect of the streame or riuer of life that floweth out of it.

Malachy. 5. vers. 8.
Osee. 6. ver. 2.
Psal. 17. ver. vlt.
In Echa Rabathi cap. 1. vers. 6.
Dan. 2. ver. 22.
Gen. 1.
Psal. 36. ver. 9.
Psalm. 18.
Esay. 45.
In the booke intitled the Gate of light. cap. 2.

Now then, we haue in our Scriptures a Mediatour that is both God and Man. But reason hath led vs to two circumstances moe:

The

The one is that this Man must be of our race; and the other is that he must be borne after another maner than wee bee; the one for our behoofe, the other for his owne dignitie; and therfore let vs enquire yet further of the Rabbins concerning these poynts. As touching the first poynt, it is euident enough of it selfe, and needeth no long proofe. For Christ is promised to come of the seede of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Iuda, and Dauid; and the Iewes haue beleeued it so certeinly, that euen during the tyme of their Captiuitie at Babylon, they chose their Resch Caluta, that is to say, the chiefe Capteyne of their Banished folke, out of the house of Dauid, as from whence they looked for a deliuerer. And as touching the second poynt, Behold (saith Esay) a Virgin shall conceiue & beare a Sonne, and call his name Emanuell; which is as much to say, as that the Messias shalbe the sonne of a Virgin, and that he shall bee begotten without fleshly copulation. The late writers of the Iewes say it is not written a Virgin or mayden, but a wench or yoong woman. I will not vrge them that the Hebrewe word Alma is taken ordinarily for a yong Mayden or Virgin, as in the fower and twentie of Genesis where Rebecka is so called; and in the second of Exodus where it is spoken of the Sister of Moyses. And euen in this place, the threescore & ten Interpreters translate it in Greeke, idou he Parthenos, ỳ is to say, Behold a Virgin &c. But I would haue them to tell me what the token is that is giuen here to the house of Dauid, and whether a token ought not to bee some speciall and notable thing, and whether it bee not a matter of earnest, sith it is God that giueth it, who sayth expressly, Aske me a token, whether it be from beneath or from aboue? I beseech them what straunge signe or token is there, in that a yong woman beareth a Child? What thing is more ordinarie in the world, and consequently more fond to bee giuen or taken for a myracle? May, the auncient Rabbines haue well waded euen into the depth of this matter. And therefore Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan writing vpon the 85. Psalme, vppon these words, Trueth shall bud out of the earth, sayth thus. Rabbi Ioden noteth here, how it is not sayd here, shalbe borne, but shall bud, because the begetting and birth of the Messias shall not be after the maner of other worldly creatures, but he shall bee bred without companie or copulatiõ. And it is certeine that no man nameth his father, but he is concealed and kept secret, vntill he himselfe come and reueale him. And vpon Genesis, You haue sayd (sayth the Lord)

And of a virgin.

Esay. 11. 14.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon the 85 psalme.

Vpon the 25. of Genesis.

Lord) we be fatherlesse: and so shall the Redeemer be whom I
Zach. 4. vers. 7 will giue vnto you, according to that which is sayd in the 4. of Zachary, Loe, this is the man whose name is Braunch; and ac-
Psal 110. cording to this which is sayd in the 110. Psalme, Thou art a
Gen. 2. Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech. Also he repor-teth that Rabbi Berachia gathereth the like. But Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai sayth yet more expressly vpon Genesis, That the spirit hauing bin shut vp in a [womans] wombe, should come forth with great force to bee the highest Prince, which is Messias the King.
Hacadosch. And the holy Rabbine procedeth so farre, as to seeke out by the proportion of their Cabalie, what should be the name of the Israelitish Virgin that should beare the Messias. There remayne many other things to bee treated of concerning the tyme, the place, the life and the death of the Messias, which are reserued for another place, peraduenture more conuenient for them. Let it suffice vs for this tyme, That in the Religion of the Israelites, there was promised from tyme to tyme euen from the beginning, the Mediatour betweene Gods Iustice and Mans Sinfulnesse, the Sauiour of mens Soules, and the Author of the selfesame clensing which the very Heathen themselues deemed to bee so needfull; namely Iesus Christ, God and Man, the euerlasting Sonne of GOD, borne of woman in his due tyme, without sinne, free from [desert of] Gods wrath as in respect of himselfe, and able to appease it towards others, cleane in his humane nature, and sufficient through his diuine nature to cleanse ours. And this is the third marke which I haue shewed to be so needfull in Religion, and so peculiar thereunto, that whersoeuer the same is found, there is Religion, that is to say, a way to Saluation; and whersoeuer the same wanteth, there is no Religion at all.

The conclusion of the three Markes of the true Religion in Israel. Sothen, in the Religion of Israell we haue all the three marks of the true Religion, namely, the true God, the Lawe of God, and the Mediator of Saluation. And I beseeche all men to looke well about them and to see whether they can find them elsewhere in any other of the Religions that haue bin of old time. Nay, aske in them, in sted of the true God, we shall find diuells, men, and Stocks. In sted of Gods word to inlyghten vs to Soulehealth, we shall find doutfull Oracles and answers of Idolls, vayne, fond, without ground, without end, which speake not a whit of Gods glorie nor of mans welfare. In sted of a sufficient Mediator, wee shall find a sort of washings that passe no further than the skin; we shall find man-

slaughters,

slaughters, and sacrifising of wretched kaptifs condemned for their misdœdes. But how should there be any religion, where is no God? Or how should Religion be certeine, where God speaketh not? Or how should it be a healthful one, where he himself is not the meane of attonement? Certesse therefore let vs say, that only in Israell was the true Religion; and that Israell was as a Schoole or Universitie founded by God, wherein he himself voutsafed to teache, that men myght learne their owne Saluation.

But behold here is yet one obiection ageinst God. How happeneth it (say they,) that this schoole was among this people only? why was it not in all Nations? Why was it not (at least wise) in some other as well as in that? O man, it becommeth man to hold his peace when God speaketh, and to yeeld to whatsoeuer he will haue done. Thou art ryghtuous but so farre forth as thou doest righteous deedes: but as for God, it is farre otherwise with him: for with him, things are not righteous further forth than hee doeth them. Neuertheless, I pray thee what canst thou say? That in Adam, God the Creator made all mankynd: and in Adam al mankynd is forlorne. But the wisdom of the Creator stepping in byandby, reuealeth his word, and vttereth the promise of the mediator to all men. Here now thou seest no distinction of Nations or people. Of Adams Children, some imbraced the seruice of God and the promise; and some forsoke it, and regarded it not. Some (say I) toke part with the Diuell; and othersome stacke to the gracious goodnesse of God. What haste thou too alledge here ageinst the Righteousenes of the Creator? After this followeth a general corruption of mankynd; and God exhorteth them by Noe to repentance, threatening them with his wrath if they did otherwise. Still they refuse Gods mercy, and for so doing are all drowned by his Iustice, saving only Noe and his household, who were saued in the Arke. Now were not all men hitherto onely one people still? And so; were not Gods word and the reuealing of himself directed still to al men? Ageine, ye see that in the Arke al mankind was gathered ageine into one Howsehold. At that tyme there was no difference of circumcysed and vncircumcysed, of Iew or Gentyle. Anon they turned away vnto Idolls and forsoke the Couenant that God had made with them. Who hath not cause here to honour the patientnes of God in bearing with them, and to woonder, not that he suffered men to take their owne wayes, but rather that he voutsafed to reserue any men aliue in the world? Yet notwithstanding, euen

Obiections.

at that tyme he chose Abraham out of the mids of Idolatrie, manifested himself new ageine vnto him, vttered his secrets vnto him, deliuered him his promises in pawne, and entered into couenant with him and his seede. All which things were not doone alonly for him and his seede, but to bleſſe all the Nations and kinreds of the earth in the partye that was to be borne of his seede, and to renue his Couenant with them. Who then seeth not here, both that the couenant was offered to all Nations, howbeit that all of them had refused it; and that when God of his infinite mercy renewed it with Abraham, he renewed it in effect with all men? Thou desirest that God should be iuſt; and yet wouldest thou also continew still. Were he iuſt after that maner which thou wouldest haue him iuſt, thou hadſt bene vndone in Adam; thou hadſt, bene swept away with the flud; thou hadſt bene destroyed in ỹ ouerflowing of vngodlines & Idolatrie after ỹ flud; thou hadſt (say I) bene either vtterly foredone, or continued forlorne for euer. Thus desirest thou things both contrarie in themselues, & contrary to thine owne meaning. And therfore appeale not to Gods iuſtice, but cry vnto him for mercy with both thy hands. And yet in thy desiring of this his mercy, or grace there is yet another error, in ỹ thou wilt needes appoint him the maner & measure thereof; and thou wilt haue him to do it at thy pleasure: whereas notwithstanding, if he should do it according to thy deuice, thou wouldest find fault with him for it; & if thou hadſt liked well of it, another man would haue misliked it. But what aduice couldest thou haue giuen him for the creating of thee, who as then wast not? Or what counsell wouldest thou giue him for the recreating of thee, who art but ỹ worse for that which thou hast already? Thou wouldest that God should haue reuealed himself alyke to all men. He did that at the beginning. Well, such Reuelations tend to a Mediator, and the same Mediator must be God and man: and to be man it behoueth him to bee borne of some one stocke or other. And thou seest that that priuiledge must needes befall to some one certeine stocke: for he that is to saue all men cannot be borne of all men. If thou be a Romane, the gloriousenes of thy Citie will seeme to deserue it: But yet will Babylon and Ninive stand in contention with thee for it, and Athens will thinke to be no lesse regarded for hir learnings sake. How much speedyer way were it for vs, to cut of this stryke by yéelding vnto God who sayeth, The case here standeth not vpon merit, but vpon mercy: and to the intent al men may perceyue it to be so; I will haue the welfare of al king-

domes

comes too come of a Hillocke that is hidden in the middeſt of the woꝛld, in the diggingdowne whereof they haue taken ſoo much peynes & pleaſure. And leſſe this ſame Hillok itſelf ſhould growe pꝛoud, I wil make it to ſpꝛing, not out of the top, but out of the foote thereof; noꝛ out of the head Citie, but out of a little village that is vnregarded. Yea and moꝛeouer, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) where it ſpꝛingeth vp, there ſhall it be refuſed, and ſtraungers ſhall ſet it on fire; inſomuch that where the foundations of the Kingdome thereof are layd, one ſtone ſhalnot be left ſtanding vppon another. Let all the wyſe men of the woꝛld wey theſe Circumſtances, yea euen acꝛoꝛding to their owne wiſdome; and ſeeing that Saluation is a reward of free fauour, and not a recompence of deſert; a thing that concerneth Gods glozie which is the ſtnall ende of all things, and not mans vanitie: let them tell mee where the Mediatoꝛ of mans Saluation could bee boꝛne, oꝛ where the Myſteries of his comming ought rather too be beſtowed, than in Iſraell? Yet notwithſtanding if we conſider ſtill all circumſtances; the woꝛld ſhall ſtill be found vnexcuſable. Foꝛ the firſt Kingdomes were in Siria, Aſſiria, Perſia, Arabie and Egipt: vppon the boꝛders of all which Kingdomes, Hieruſalem ſtode as a Watchtower, foꝛ them tolooke at, oꝛ as a Lanterne to giue lyght to all thoſe nations round about it. And as the Empires began to remoue further of, into the Leſſer Aſia, Greece, and Italy; we ſee how Gods pꝛouidence did diſperſe the Iewes and their Synagogues into them thꝛoughout the whole woꝛld as Pꝛeachers of the true God, Schooles of his ſeruice, and Heraults of the Mediatoꝛ that was to come, to bꝛing ſaluation to all mankynd. Now foꝛaſmuch as the ende of Religion is mans Saluation; and the end of our Scriptures is Chꝛiſt the Mediatoꝛ the bꝛinger thereof: we muſt hencefoꝛth ſee how he hath bin pꝛomiſed from tyme to tyme ſince the firſt beginning, and whether hee haue bin exhibited to the woꝛld in the tyme aſoꝛelimited vnto him. And that is the thing which we haue to treate of in the Chapters next following. Obiections.

The xxjx. Chapter.

That the time wherat the Mediator was promiſed to come is ouerpaſt, and that he muſt needes be come, as well according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.

WE knowe already by our Scriptures, that there is a Mediator, we knowe his office, his Nature, and the intent of his comming: and we knowe theſe things, not onely by our ſcriptures, but alſo by the Commentaries of the auncient Iewes. Now followeth that wee ſee whether he be come into the worlde or no, which is the poynt wherein lyeth the chiefe difference and diſagreement betweene the Iewes and the Chriſtians. The Iewes looke for him ſtill, and thinke long for his comming. The Chriſtians beléeue he is come alreadie, & put their truſt in him: and both of them ground themſelues vpon the ſame preſidents, yea and oftentymes vppon the ſame clauſes. Let the Scriptures therefore bee iudges of this caſe, and let vs ſee what time they behighted for his comming, and what tokens they giue vs of his comming. Firſt of all, The Scepter (ſayth Iacob) ſhall not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawgiuer from betweene his feete, vntill Silo come. This text is expounded of the Meſſias, by the Zohar of the Cabaliſtes, and by the Talmudiſtes in diuers places, by the Chaldee Paraphraſes, and by Rabbi Dauid Kimhi himſelfe. And the Sence is cléere; namely that the ſouereintie and chéef authoritie of gouernement, ſhould continue in the Trybe of Iuda vntill the cõming of Chriſt, as the Onkelos and the Commentarie vpon Geneſis expound it. Whereupon Rabbi Hama the ſonne of Hauina ſayth in the Talmud, The ſonne of Dauid ſhall not come, ſo long as any ſouerein authoritie be it neuer ſo ſmall remayneth in Iſraell: and to the confirmation thereof he alledgeth a text out of the eightéenth Chapter of Eſay. Alſo Rabbi Mili alledging Rabbi Eliezer the ſonne of Rabbi Simeon, ſayth that Chriſt ſhall not come, vntill there be a cleane riddance of all Iudges and all Magiſtrates in Iſraell

The marks and tokens of Chriſtes comming Gen. 49.

In the Talmud. vnder the tytle Sanhedrin, the Cha. Helec.

The booke called Zohar.

Kimhi vppon Geneſis, and in his booke of Rootes.

The Kingdome is ceſſed Bereſchith. Rabba.

The Talmud in the Chapter Chelek.

Eſay. 18 verſ. 5 and 7.

Eſay. 1. verſ. 25. and 26.

Israell. Which thing he will needes gather likewise vpon the first Chapter of Esay. Therefore when they once sawe that the souereintie and all maner of Iurisdiction ceassed in Hierusalem; they should haue taken it for a sure token, that the Messias was at their dores. Now therefore let vs see if this alteration be come to passe, and the very peculiar tyme when it came to passe. Saule (say some of their newe Rabbines) was chosen King in Silo of the Tribe of Beniamin, and it may be that these things were spoken of hym. Nay: for it is sayd, The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda. And seeing that the Scepter had not as then bene in Iuda, nor was to come into that tribe, vntill Dauid was afterward anointed King: the Scripture should rather haue sayd, The Scepter shall not be in Iuda, vntill it haue bene taken from Silo. Whereby it appéreth that the sayd text cannot bee meant of Saule. Others say that Ieroboam the Sonne of Nabath remoued the state of Ephraim from the subiection of Iuda, by the Rebellion of the ten Tribes, and was crowned in Silo. Yea say we; but the Scepter remayned still in Iuda, and the chief Senate in Hierusalem; and the state of Ephraim was brought to ruine long tyme afore Iuda was caryed away vnto Babylon: yea & Ieroboam was crowned in Sichem, and not in Silo. Agein, what maner of interpretation is this, vntill Silo come, that is to say, vntill Ieroboā come who is crowned in Silo? Some therefore by the word Silo, will needes vnderstand Nabuchodonosor. For (say they) he toke Ierusalem, caried Iuda away to Babylon, and destroyed the Temple; and by that meanes they thinke to shift of the sayd Prophesie. But euen in the time of the captiuitie, the Iewes had a Reschgaluta, that is to say a Chief or head gouernour of their Captiuitie, whome they chose of the Tribe of Iuda, and peculiarly of the house of Dauid, as their own Histories do testifie, wherein they set downe the succession of their Princes very carefully from Zorobabell forth. And therefore the Talmud saith, that by the Scepter, we must vnderstand the heads of the Captiuitie; and by the Lawgiuer, the Sonnes of Hillell, that is to say the disciples of Hillel; of whom ỹ two cheefest were Ionathas the sonne of Vziel the author of the Chaldee paraphrasis vpon the Prophets, and Simeon the righteous of whom mention is made in S. Luke. To be short, the Machabies them selues who held both the Souereintie and the Priesthod in Israell, were (as they themselues report) of Iuda by the Mothers side, and of Leuy by the Fathers side (for those two Tribes were wont to go

1. Kings. 12.

Sedar Olam. Zura. Origen in his 4. booke of Princes. The Talmud in the treatyse Sanhedrin, Chapt. Dine Mammouoth. Rabbi Moyses the Egiptian in the preface of the Maemonims. This Hillel was a great Doctor among them out of whose Schoole issewed many greate lerned men in the Lawe. Rabbi Dauid Kimhi vppon Haggeus.

togither by alyance) or rather (as otherſome repoꝛt) of Iuda by the Fathers ſide, and of Leuy by the Mothers ſide. And as foꝛ the Sanhedrins, that is to ſay, the threeſcoꝛe and ten Iudges, (who in the opinion of Rabbi Moyſes Hadarſan, were not to ceaſſe afoꝛe the comming of the Meſſias) they continued ſtill euen vnder the captiuitie of Babylon, & vnder the Dominion of Machabies. Hitherto therefoꝛe the Meſſias could not be come: and beſides that, it were an vtter wreſting of the Text, to conuey it any other way then to the comming of the Meſſias, againſt the whole conſent of all Iſraell. But (ſayth Ioſephus the Iewe) after the Warres betweene Ariſtobulus and Hircanus the laſt of the Machabies, the Romanes being Loꝛds of Iewrie, did ſet vp one Herod the ſonne of Antipater an Edomite, that is to wit a mere Stranger) to bee King there. Which Herod foꝛ the eaſier ſtabliſhing of his ſtate, maried the daughter of Hircanus then priſoner in Parthia. Afterward when hee ſawe that Hircanus (who onely remayned of the ſtocke of the Machabies, was returned home; fearing leaſt the Iewes, who bare an affection to hym, ſhould ſet him vp againe in the kingdome: he killed both him and his daughter whom he had taken to wife, and alſo the Childꝛen whom he had begotten of her. And not contented with that outrage, he roted out as many of the houſe of Iuda, as liued in any countenance oꝛ credit, defaced their ſtyles and tytles, and burned their Pedegrees. Alſo he made High Prieſtes whom it pleaſed him, but not accoꝛding to the Lawe, noꝛ accoꝛding to their Trybes. Finally (as ſayth Phylo the Iewe) hee ſlew all the Sanhedrin, that is to wit the Threeſcoꝛe and twelue Senatoꝛs of the houſe of Iuda, which were aſſiſtents to the king, and did put Proſelites and Straungers in their place; inſomuch that hauing by his crueltie aboliſhed both the Prieſthod and the Senate, & vtterly cõfounded the whole ſtate; he bꝛought to paſſe, that at length about the thirtieth yere of his reigne, he was accepted of all men foꝛ King, and ruled all things as he liſted himſelfe. This is the time (ſay I) wherein the Souereintie and Juriſdiction of Iuda did ceaſſe; and that not lyke an Eclipſe foꝛ a fewe hoꝛers, dayes oꝛ yeeres, but foꝛ a continuall tyme. Inſomuch that from that tyme foꝛth (which is now aboue fifteene hundꝛed peres ago) there hath not riſen vp any one man in all the woꝛld, beeing a Iewe boꝛne, that hath any where had any authoꝛitie great oꝛ ſmall among the Iewes. May further, Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Adrian, and diuers other Emperours of Rome, haue indeuered to

Rabbi Moyſes Haddarſan vpon Geneſis. chap. 49.

Ioſephus in his firſt booke of the warres of the Iewes. cap. 5. & 25. lib. 15 cap. 9. & 10.

Sedar Olam.

Philo in his booke of Times.

roote

roote out the whole house of Iuda; and they of the Tribe of Iuda haue sought to cõceale themselues, and manifestly to corrupt their owne Pedegrees, to rid themselues from the rigorous inquisition that was made for them. Insomuch that at this day, there is not a Iewe (I report mee to themselues whether I say not true) which can vaunt that he hath his pedegree certein, yea or which can shew any lykely coniecture that hee is of the Tribe of Iuda, that is to say, of the blud Royall of the which Christ was promised. That which I haue sayd appeareth sufficiently by the present state of the Iewes, which haue so long tyme continued, and yet still be without King, without Gouernour, without Priest, without Iudge, without Genealogie, and without certeyne succession. But forasmuch as they refuse the witnesse of the whole world; let vs heare their owne. In the 17. Chapter of Deuteronomie where mention is made of the King, it is sayd thus: Thou shalt set him ouer thee to be thy King, whom the Lord thy God shall giue thee from among thy brethren, and thou shalt not set a straunger ouer thee. And the custome was to deliuer the Lawe to the King to reade therein, as is expressly commaunded there. Now (sayth the Commentarie vpon that place) when Herods Agrippa who was a Iewe in Religion, came to the reading of that verse, he fell a weeping. Neuertheless, all the people bad him be of good courage, and told him that he was their brother, notwithstanding that he came of the stocke of a bondwoman. And in another place it is reported, that at the tyme of this chaunge, there was heard a voyce from heauen saying, Now shall the seruant prosper without doubt, which steppeth vp in Israell against his maister: Whereby Herode the great, toke courage to pretend tytle to the Kingdome: And that as touching the Sanhedrin, (that is to wit the Senate of Israell,) Herode the great slew them euerychone saue only one whose name was Bota, who could not create any moe Senators, because it could not bee done without the laying on of the hands of moe than one: And that a while afore, the Romaines had driuen them out of the Palace of Hierusalem, and that thereuppon they toke themselues to Sackcloth and Ashes, and cryed out with passing great sorowe, Wo vnto vs, for the Scepter is taken away from Iuda, and the Lawgiuer from betweene his feete; and yet for all that, the Sonne of Dauid is not yet come. Thus ye see that the tyme of Christes cõming fell out in the reigne of Herode, in whom the Kingdome was conueyed to Straungers, and the

Deut. 17.

Midrasch vpõ Deuteronomy

In Bauabathra cap. Hasutaphim.

In the Talmud of Hierusalem in the chap. Sanhedrin.

Rabbi Asse & Rabbi Rahamon.

In the foresayd place of the Talmud.

Seder Olam.

Iewish Senate was vtterly rooted out, which thing had neuer happened at any tyme afore.

The ouerthrowe of the second Temple.

Here followeth another marke of his comming. Wee knowe there had bene in Hierusalem two Temples: the first builded by Salomon & destroyed by Nabugodonozor; the second builded by Zorobabel vnder the protection of Cyrus and Darius Kings of Persia, and destroyed afterward by the Emperour Tytus. Now, of the second Temple thus speaketh the Prophet Haggeus who was one of the builders therof; Who is left among you that saw this house in her first beautie? But what thinke you by it now? Is it not in your eyes as a thing of nothing? This doth vs to vnderstand that the second Temple was nothing comparable to the first in Maiestie and statelinesse. And in deede wee reade in Esdras, that the good old Fathers which had seene the first, could not forbeare weeping when they behild the second. Also the Rabbines do report, that there wanted chiefly fiue things in the second which were in the first: namely, Fire from heauen that consumed ỹ burnt-offerings, the glorie of God among the Cherubins, the manifest breathing of the holy Ghost vppon the Prophetes, the presence of the Arke, and the Vrim and Thumim. And they affirme, that to the same end it is sayd in Salomons Ballet, Wee haue a little Sister, &c. which they say is meant of the Church vnder the second Temple, which in outward showe should not match the Church that was vnder the first Temple. To bee short, the Chronicle of the Hebrewes beginning the Historie of the Church of Israell vnder the second Temple, sayth these wordes: Hitherto the Prophets haue spoken by the holy Ghost: but henceforth bowe downe thyne eare, & hearken to the voyce of wise men: which is as much to say, as that in all the tyme of this second Temple, wee see not one Prophet rise vp. Yet notwithstanding, the same Prophet sayth thus also; The glorie of the latter house shall be greater than the glorie of the first. And therefore he exhorteth Zorobabel and Iosua the sonne of Iosedec and al the people to be of good cheere. It was méete then that vnder this second Temple, there should be some peculiar and extraordinary gift giuen of God, which should excel both the Arke, and the Vrim and Thumim, and the Prophesying, and whatsoeuer other glorious thing the former Temple had.

Haggeus. Cap. 2. vers. 4.

Rabbi Samuel in the treatyse Sanhedrin.

In the Talmud of Hierusalem.

R. Aha in his booke of Dayes.

Midrasch on the Canticle. Cap. 8. vers. 8.

Seder Olam.

Rab. Selomoh vpon the first of Haggæus, in the word *Geiccabbedúh* where *he* wanteth

Some say that of the newe things the stuffe was much richer than of the former. Admit that the first was of Siluer and this latter

ter of Gold. What is there herein that can match the gift of Prophesying? Another sayes, that the fashion and workmanship thereof was more curious. What is that to the presence of God, who shewed himselfe so openly in the first? Some (because the text is flat against them) haue accounted that the second Temple continued longer than the first by ten yéeres, the second hauing stood fower hundred and twentie yéeres, whereas the first stood but fower hundred and ten yéeres. What can be more vayne or more cold, or lesse beseeming, either for God to teach, or for a man that hath any wit, to heare? I say, for God before whom a thousand yéeres are but as one day; or for Man, whom one day of aduersitie in his lifetyme doth more greeue, than a thousand yéeres continuance of his buildings can pleasure him after his death? Moreouer, who knoweth not that this second Temple was oftentymes defiled, and spoyled by Antiochus, by Pompey, by Crassus, and by others? But the Prophet speaketh shirle enough to them that list to heare. As yet (sayth he) there remayneth a little tyme sayth the Lord, and then will I remoue both Heauen and Earth; I wil remoue all Nations; and they shall come; the desire of all Nations shall come, and then will I fill this house with glorie. What is this desire of all Nations? We knowe it is Christ, of whom it is sayd in another place, that he is the hope of the Gentiles, & that they shall bee blessed and happie in him. And the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated here, the Anoynted. Also in the Talmud, Rabbi Akiba vnderstandeth that text of Christs comming, howbeit that he mistake his person. And the Prophet Malachie who prophesied at the same tyme, expoundeth it in these wordes. The Lord whom ye seeke, and the Ambassador of the league which you desire, shall come incontinently into his Temple. The very meaning hereof is, that vnder this second Temple, the Church of Israell shall haue the good fortune to see Christ the Lorde whom they looked for so long tyme. Now at the same tyme that the kingdome of Israell fayled, that is to wit in the reigne of Herod, about a fortie yeres afore the destruction of the Temple, the little beautie that was in it did vtterly ceasse. For the spirit of the great Sinagogue (say ỹ Iewes) which after a sort supplied the want of ỹ Prophetes, came to an ende in Simeon surnamed the Rightuous (of whom mention is made in the first Chapter of Saint Luke.) And then also ceassed all the speciall blessings of the second Temple reckoned vp in the Talmud. Yea and God shewed visibly that he

Gen. 49.

Malachie. 3.

In the Talmud, in the Treatyse Sanhedrin, Chapt. Helec.

The Talmud in the Treatise Pirkei auoth: and in the Treatyse Ionmach. Tereph Becallpi.

abhorred

abhorred them, in that (say they) the ordinarie appearing of an Angell at the entering in of the Sanctuarie, was turned into an vgly and blacke Bugge. And whereas aforetymes thirtie men could scarce open the dore of the Temple; now it opened of it self, wherat Rabbi Iohanan Ben Zaccai one of Hillels Disciples was very sore amazed. And in the end, the Temple was so destroyed, that one stone was not left standing vppon another. And notwithstanding that the Iewes had leaue to build it again, specially vnder the Emperour Iulian the deadly enemie of Christians, who of his owne purse gaue greatly to the building thereof: yet could they neuer bring it to passe; but (as the very Heathen writers of that tyme doe witnesse) fires issewed out of the earth, and thick Lightenings from the Skye, and burnt vp the workmen and beate downe the workes which they had begun with so extreme pride and so excessiue cost. Soothly wee may well say therefore, and hardly can the Iewes geynsay it, that the second Temple is destroyed long ago, without hope of recouerie; and that Christ was promised to come afore the destruction therof. Therfore it must needes be that Christ is already come into the world. And that the hope of Israel was so, it appeareth yet further. For vpon the last chapter of Esay where it is sayd, Afore her pangs came vpon her, she brought forth a manchild: Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saith, The Redeemer of Israel shal be borne afore the birth of him that shal bring Israel in bondage. And Ionathas the great Disciple of Hillell saith vpō the same text, Israel shall be saued afore her extremitie come, & the Anoynted shalbe shewed openly afore the throwes of her Childbirth come. Also Rabbi Moyses of Tyroll, and Bioces, both according to this Text and by their owne reckoning vppon Daniell, doe looke for this thing towards the ende of the second Temple. Likewise the booke which they call Bereschith Rabba maketh this Parable, As a certeyne Iewe was at plough, an Arabian passing by heard one of his Oxen lowe: and herevpon willed him to vnyoke his Oxen, because the destruction of the Temple was at hand: and that byandby the other Oxe lowed likewise: wherevpon he bad him againe vnyoke out of hand; for the Messias was alreadie come. And Rabbi Abon hauing repeated the same in another place, saith thus: What neede we to learne it of the Arabians, seeing the text it selfe declareth it? Surely I passe not for their Parables, which haue no very good grace with them, and oftentymes bewray that they wanted wit in very

Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

Esay. 66. vers. 7.

Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan.

Bereschith Rabba.

In the treatyse Barachoth. In the Talmud of Hierusalem. In Echa Rhabathi vpon the lamentation of Ieremie.

very deede: but my intent is to gather of them, that it was a common opinion among them, that Christ or the Messias should come into the world a little afore the destruction of the Temple.

Let vs heare what the Angell Gabriell sayth to Daniell: for he goes nearest of all to the matter. Threescore and ten weekes (sayth he) are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy Citie, to make an end of the disobedience, and to anoynt the Holy of Holies. Knowe thou therefore and vnderstand, that from the going foorth of the commaundement for the building againe of Hierusalem, vnto Christ the Prince, there are seuen weekes, and threescore and two weekes; and then shall the streates and the broken walles be repayred again in short tyme. And after threescore & two weekes, Christ shalbe slaine and nothing shall remaine vnto him. And the people of a Prince that is to come, shal destroy the Citie and the Sanctuarie; and the end thereof shall be as with an ouerflowing, and it shall bee digged vp with desolations to the end of the warre. And he shall stablish his couenant with many in one weeke, and in the middes of the weeke shal he cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to ceasse, and for the spreading out of abhomination he shall lay it waste, &c. This only one Prophesie is enough to conuince the Iewes, and therefore it behoueth vs to examine it from poynt to poynt. First, that this text is ment of the Messias, it is so euident and absolute, that it is a starke shame to denye it. And so is it applyed by Rabbi Saadias vpon Daniell, by Rabbi Nahman of Geround, and by Rabbi Hadarsan, who be the notablest among them. For as for Rabbi Selomoh, who vnderstandeth it of Cyrus; or Aben Ezra, who applyed it to Nehemias; or Rabbi Leui the sonne of Gerson, who vnderstādeth it of Iosua the Highpriest: there is not that word in this text, which doth not disprowe them; besides that the Anoynting which is spoken of here, must needes be a spirituall anoynting, considering that there was not any more anoynting at all vnder the second Temple. There are (sayth he) threescore and ten weekes. Let vs see what maner of weekes they be. The Scripture telleth vs of weekes of daies, and of weekes of yeares; and examples of them both are in Leuiticus and in diuers other places. The weekes of daies serue for ordinary matters; and the weekes of yeares for matters of great weight and of long continuance. But Daniell may bee his owne expounder. For in the next Chapter hee speaketh expressly of mourning three

Daniels Weekes. Daniel. 9.

In the treatise Sanhedrin in the Talmud of Hierusalem.

Leuit. 25. & 25

Dan. 10.

weekes

weekes of daies; whereas here in a matter of estate, which passeth with slower steppes and requireth larger measure; he speaketh of weekes simply without addition. And in very deede Hierusalem could not bee builded agayne in seuen weekes of daies; but it was to be builded agayne in many weekes of yeeres. After that maner are they taken by Rabbi Saadias, Rabbi Moyses, and Rabbi Selomoh also, vnto whom all the best of them consent: and there is not any one of them (to my knowledge) which taketh these weekes to be weekes of daies. But as for the ponger Rabbines, whensoeuer they bee pressed, they say these weekes conteyne eyther ten yeares a peece, or fiftie yeres, yea or a whole hundred yeres a peece; a thing without reason in this text, and without example in all the whole Scripture.

It followeth, from the going forth of the Commaundment for the building again of Hierusalem to the anoynted Prince, are seuen weekes and threescore and two weekes. That is to say, (as the Prophet himselfe expoundeth it) for the building vp of the Citie of Hierusalem and the Temple, seuen weekes, which make nine and fortie yeares. And from the building againe of Hierusalem vnto Christ, threescore and two weekes, which make fower hundred thirtie and fower yeares; all which together amount vnto fower hundred fowerscore and three yeares. And in good sooth, if wee begin (as the Prophet teacheth vs) to account the weekes frō the day wherein the word was spoken that Hierusalem should be builded againe, that is to wit from the threescore and tenth yere of the Captiuitie, or from the first yeare of King Cyrus when Ieremie wrate to the prisoners at Babylon, assuring them of their deliuerance, at which tyme Cyrus gaue commaundement for the building againe of the Temple, vnto the tyme of Herode King of the Iewes, or of Tyberius the Emperour of Rome: we shall finde that in that very tyme were fulfilled the fower hundred fowerscore and three yeres, yea and the very threescore and tenth weeke wherin Christ was to stablish the Couenant of God with men. And it seemeth that Daniell or rather the Angell ment in these threescore and ten weekes, to allude to the threescore and ten yeares spoken of by the Prophet Ieremie; as if he should haue sayd, At such tyme as ye were led away captiue to Babylon, Ieremie assured you that you should bee deliuered from that temporall Captiuitie within threescore and ten yeares, and ye see it is so come to passe. And now I tell you that within threescore and ten weekes of yeeres, ye shall

Ieremy. 29.
1. Esdr. 1.

be

be deliuered from the spiritual captiuitie, by Gods couenant made vnto you, whereof the Anoynted shalbe the Mediatour. I am not ignorant how some writers begin the account of these weekes at the first yeere of King Cyrus; and some at the second yeere of Artaxerxes; & othersome at the twentie yeere of the same Artaxerxes, because at that tyme there went out another Proclamation in fauour of Nehemias, by reason that the building of the Temple had bene stayed. But which way soeuer they goe to worke, the ende of these weekes falleth still vpon the tyme of Herod and Tyberius, and meeteth iumpe with the prophesies that went afore. And it can not bee denyed but that they were accomplished according to the circumstaunces set downe here by the Prophet. For the Prince of the people that was to come, destroyed the Citie; that is to wit, the Emperour of Rome did ouerthrow Hierusalem and beate downe the Temple, and abolish their Sacrificings through the whole Land of Iewrie, and bring vpon them the extreme desolation that is spoken of here by the Prophet. And therefore some of the Rabbines being vnable to shift of this text, haue presumed to say that Daniell had sayd well in all the rest, but that he ouershot himselfe in this account. 2. Esdr. 2.

The very traditions of the Iewes themselues doe bring vs to this tyme. At leastwise there is not any whose date is not out long ago. In the Talmud is this saying of the schole of Elias so greatly renowned among them. The world shall indure Sixthousand yeeres; Two thousand yeeres emptie, that is to say without Lawe; Two thousand yeeres vnder the Lawe; And two thousand yeres vnder Christ. And Rabbi Iacob sayth hereupon, that the first two thousand yeeres ended in the tyme of Abraham; the second about the destruction of the Temple (which thing he proueth by an account of the tymes) at the ende of which latter twoo thousand he sayth that Christ should come and deliuer Israel from captiuitie. Thus farre he agreeth with vs. But he addeth, for our sinnes sakes his comming is deferred. This glosse marreth the text. For in other places it is sayd flatly, that the tyme of the comming of the Messias is past now seauen hundred and fortie yeeres ago, which thing they lament in both their Talmuds. And vppon this verse of Esay, I will make haste to doe it in his tyme, which is spoken expressly of Christ and of his Kingdome: Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy apposeth these words, I wil make haste, against these other words, in his tyme. I will make haste sayth the Lord, at

The traditiõs. Moyses of Geround.

The Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrin, Chap. Helec, & euerywhere els.

The Talmud in the treatise Auodazara.

Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrin. Chapt. Helec.

at leastwise if they be worthy [addeth Rabbi Iosua] In his time, [saith the text] that is to say, euen when they would not, [addeth Rabbi Iosua] which meaning of his he might haue expressed much more fitly in saying, That Gods grace gainstandeth our sinnes in such sort, as that all our iniquities cannot stop or stay the course thereof.

Talmud in the booke Sabbath, and in the treatise Sanhedrin.

We haue another Tradition vpon the ninth Chapter of Esay, where he setteth downe this excellent Prophesie cõcerning Christ, A Childe is borne vnto vs, &c. In that place are written these words, *lemarbeh hammisrah* concerning the increasing of his kingdome, with the Hebrewe Letter ם *Mem* closed in the mids of the word, notwithstanding that the said Letter which as our *M*, is not wont to be written so, but in the end of a word. Here therefore according to their custome, they fall to dilating vpon the letters, and because the ם *Mem* is here closed vp, whereas it ought cõmonly to be written open thus, מ: they say there must needes bee some great misterie hidden and shut vp there: and that as Rabbi Tanhuma was seeking the reason thereof, a voyce from heauen answered him, *razi li razi li*, that is to say, I haue a secret: which by the consent of them all, concerned the Messias. But some of them passe further, and say that this cyphred Letter importeth sixe hundred, that is to wit, sixe hundred yeeres, which are to be reckened from this Prophesie vnto the Messias. And in very deede, frõ the fourth yeere of the reigne of Achas, at which time the Prophesie was vttered, we shall find by account that they fall not out long after the time of Herod. Another is read in the Talmud in these wordes:

For so M is called with the Hebrewes.

In the treatyse Sanhedrin. Cap. Halec. Rambam in his Epistle to the Iewes in Affricke.

Rabbi Elias sayth to Rabbi Iehudas brother of Rabbi Sala the Essene, The worlde cannot haue any mo than fowerscore and fiue Iubilees, that is to say, Fower thousand two hundred and Fiftie yeres, and in the last Iubilee, shall the sonne of Dauid come without doubt; but whether in the beginning thereof or in the end thereof I cannot tell. Rabbi Asse is of his opinion in the same case. To be short, R. Moyses Ben Maimon sayth in his Epistle to the Iewes of Affricke, that there is an auncient Tradition that Christ should bee borne in the yeere of the Worlde fower thousand fower hundred seuentie and fower. The which according to their owne account should be past, now more then nyne hundred yeres ago. And Rabbi Moyses of Geround and Leuy the sonne of Gerson speake of another, which behighted it in the yere of the world fiue thousand one hundred and eighténe: which

R. Moyses of Geround vpon the fiue bookes of Moyses. In the Capter Halec, of the treatise Sanhedrin.

by

by their owne account is expired more than two hundred yeeres since. Finally after much alteration and vayne expectation to no purpose, the conclusion of the greatest Rabbines commeth to this poynt, That it is needeles to calculate any more for the comming of Christ, That all the tymes limited by the Prophetes are already past, and that there remayneth not any thing els than repentance and good workes.

Ouer and besides the tyme, they doe also deliuer vs certeine tokens of Christs comming, in their traditions. When the Messias commeth (say they) there shalbe fewe wise men in Israell, and many Seducers, Inchaunters and Wizards. The wisedome of the Scribes shall stinke, and the Schooles of Diuinitie shall become Brothelhouses. Good men in Israell shall bee abhorred, and the countenances of the men of that age shalbe ful of vnshamefastnesse. Is not this a liuely description of the maners of the Iewes, yea euen of the Pharisies themselues, in the tyme of Herod and of ỹ destruction of the Temple? Let vs hearken what Iosephus their owne Historywriter speaketh of them. Iewry was at that time (saith he) a Den and Harbour of Theeues, of Murderers, of Inchaunters, and of Seducers of the people. And doubtlesse God was offended at their extreme vngodlinesse; insomuch that he abhorred both Hierusalem & the Temple, and brought in the Romaines thither to purge thē as it were with fire. Yea, and I beleeue (sayth he) that if the Romanes had staied neuer so little to come to destroy them; either the earth would haue swallowed them vp, or some great waterflud must haue drowned them, or els they had bin burned vp as Sodom was. For that generation was much worse than euer Sodom was. Thus then aswell the writings as also the notablest Traditions of the auncient Iewes, doe poynt vs to the tyme of Herod. And truely, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Iosephus himselfe (witnesses voyd of suspitiō) report that in that age it was bruted euery where, that out of Iewrie should come a King that should reigne ouer all the whole world; and that this saying was grauen in a very open and renowmed place of ỹ Castle at Hierusalem; which thing caused the Iewes to bee so readie to rebell, and so loth to serue the Romaines. And it appeareth by the whole Historie of that age, that all the people, yea and Herod himselfe had their eyes and eares euer open wayting and watching for the Messias, the one to imbrace him and the other to destroye him. For as in all the former tymes,

R. Iohanan. R. Iuda, & R. Nehoray in the Chapter Halec.

Iosephus in his Antiquities. lib. 20. cap. 6. & 8. & in his warres. lib. 6. cap. 15. & lib. 7. cap. 9.

Tacitus and Suetonius in the lyfe of Vespasian. Iosephus. lib. 7 Cap. 12. Hegesippus lib. 3.

False Christes in that age.

tymes, wee reade not that any man toke vpon him to be the Messias, & much lesse that any was receiued as he: so in this age there scarsly passed any one yeere, but some one or other stepped vp to be he, verely because that (to their seeming) they had the disposition of the people, and the very tyme it self answerable to their intent. Herod therefore who perceiued himselfe to haue bene but newly proclaymed King by the Romaines, fearing to bee dispossessed of his Crowne, did what he could to destroye the blud royall of Iuda, defacing their Genealogies, and not sparing euen his owne sonnes. Yea and there stepped vp certeine Courtyerrabbins, which would nedes make the world beleeue that Herod was ỹ promised Messias, whereof some will haue the Herodians to proceede which are spoken of in the Gospell. And this sect was greatly furthered by the opinion of the fleshly sort, which by the Messias looked for a restitution of their State; that is to wit, of Vineyards, of gorgeous buildings, of precious Stones, and of all things sauing of themselues. Also about the same tyme stepped vp one Iudas a Gawlonite, who called the people to libertie, and mainteyned with some assistence of the Pharasies, that they ought not to pay tribute to the Emperour. So also did another Iudas the sonne of one Ezechias, a Capteyne of Cutthyrotes, and a certeyne Shepheard named Athrouges, whose pretence was no lesse than to bee Kings, and to deliuer their followers from the yoke of bondage. Likewise vnder the gouernement of Fælix, and in the reigne of Agrippa, a certeyne Ægiptian taking vpon him to be a Prophet, led certeyne people vp to Mount Oliuet, and made them beleeue that from thence they should see the walles of Hierusalem fall downe, and then they should goe in thither. Againe, vnder the President Cuspius Fadus, one Thewdas vndertoke the like enterprise. Al which are signes that they toke aduauntage of the tyme, and abused the hope of the people to the maintenance of their owne ambition. But (which more is) we reade in ỹ Talmud, that in the tyme of Agrippa one Barcozba (which name signifieth the Sonne of Lying) stept vp among the people, and pretending to be Christ, was taken so to bee by the Rabbines themselues, and reigned thirtie yeeres and a halfe: yea and that as Ramban reporteth in his sentences of Kings, they required not any signe of him; insomuch that the great Rabbine Akiba the wisest of al the Talmudists, became his Harnesbearer, and applyed vnto him the second Chapter of the Prophet Haggeus expounded heretofore; vntil at length after long and pernicious

Iosephus in his Antiquities. lib. 18. cap. 1. & 2. & lib. 17. cap. 8. lib. 20. chp. 2. & 6.

Talmud in the Treatise Sanhedrin Chapt. Halec-

R. Moyses ben Maimon in his Sentences.

pernicious abusing of them, when he could not deliuer them from the yoke of the Romaines, in the end they knockt him on the head. Yet notwithstanding, afterward againe, about a fortie yeres after the destruction of the Temple, another of the same name gathered into the Citie of Bitter all the Iewes that were thereabouts; and of him they report wonders, as that he should haue a hundred thousand men about him, which vpon trust of their inuincible strength, did cut off one of their fingers; that going to battell he was wont to say, Helpe vs not thou Lord of the world seeing thou hast forsaken vs, &c. And that the Rabbines which had bene deceiued by the former, (so greatly were they perswaded of the tyme) receiued this man neuertheless, and made him also to be receiued of others, applying vnto him this text of the booke of Nombers, A Starre shall come out of Iacob, because the Hebrewe word *Cocab* signifieth a Starre; and saying that in stead of *Cocab* it ought to be written *Cozab* or *Cozba*, which was his name. And this is written by their owne Histories, and confirmed afterward by ours, and also by the very Heathen writers which wrate the life of the Emperour Adrian. Yet for all this, they were still the more wasted, and carped away into Spayne, and Hierusalem was peopled with other Nations, and the whole Land of Iewrie made vtterly heathen. And as many as went about afterward to abuse the Iewes vnder that pretence, (as one did not long since in Italie) were by and by destroyed and welnere wyped cleane out of remembrance. Let vs adde yet further, that since that tyme (which is now aboue fifténe hundred yéres agoe) they neuer had any Prophetes, any comfort from GOD, any extraordinarie gifts, no nor any knowledge of their Tribes: which is a most euident token, that the Prophesies which amed chiefly at Christ, are fulfilled, and that in him the Church is comforted and indewed with the giftes which it hoped for; and to bee short, that he for whose sake the pedegrees were to be kept certeyne, is not now to be borne. And therefore wee see how some of them doe say with Rabbi Hillel, That the daies of Ezechias haue swallowed vp the Messias; that is to say, that he is not to bee loked for any more; and that folke haue made themselues vnworthie of him: and that some others through extremitie of despayre, do pronounce them accursed which determine any certeyne tyme of the comming of the Messias.

Bereschith Raba. R. Iohanan.

Talmud in the treatise Col Istael.

Thus then we see now that the holy Scripture and the auncient interpretation thereof, doe méete together in the tyme of Herod

rod, to shewe vs the Messias there: and thereupon it is, that we see the people in the Gospell so ready to renne after Iohn Baptist and Christ; and to moue these ordinarie questions, Art thou hee that should come? When wilt thou restore the Kingdome of Israell? Shall we waite for another yet still? and such other. But

The vaine answers of the Iewes.

But let vs see what startingholes stubbornes hath inuēted against the things aforesaid. The Messias (say the new Rabbines) was borne at the very same time, and in the very same day that the second Temple was destroyed, that this Prophesie of Esay might

Esay. 66. ver. 8.

be fulfilled, Before hir throwes or pangs came, she was deliuered of a Manchylde: but he is kept secret for a tyme. For so doe

Bereschith Rabba vppon Gen. cap. 30.

we reade vpon the xxx. Chapter of Genesis. And in the Talmud,

The Talmud, treatise Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec

Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayth, that it is a Reuelation that was made vnto Elias. I would faine then haue them to shewe me what one Text in all the Scripture giueth any inckling thereof.

The Children of Core were three brethrē, which were Prophetes at the same time that the Israelites were in the wildernes.

They ad that he shalbe hidden fower hundred yeeres in the greate Sea, eight hundred yeres among the sonnes of Coree, and fower score yeres at the gate of Rome. And Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy saith in the Talmud, that he himselfe sawe him there lapping vp his sores among the Lazermen. What are these things (euen by none other witnesse then them selues) but tales contriued vpon pleasure, of purpose to mock folke? Some say he shalbe set vp in great honour next vnto the Pope, and that in the end he shall say to the Pope as Moyses did to Pharao, Let my people goe that they may serue mee, and so foorth. If he be borne so long agoe, and keepe him selfe secret (as they say in their Talmud) but till he be called to deliuer them; what cause is there why he should keepe himself away still, seeing they haue called him so much and so lowd and so many hundred yeres, seeing also that the time is expyred, yea and almost dubble expyred, and finally, seeing that euen according to their owne exposition, it is sayd. I will hasten them in their tyme? They answere yet still, there remayneth but a good repentāce. Twice miserable surely were we, if God should not preuent our repentance with his grace. For the very repentance of the

In the treatise Sanhedrin. ca. Helec. Ieremy. 4. Esay. 24.

best men, is but a sorynesse that they cannot be sory enough. But let vs heere a prety Dialogue of two Rabbins disputing in their Talmud of this matter. It is written sayth Rabbi Eliezer, Turne againe yee stubborne Children, and I will heale you of your stybbornesse. Yea, but it is also written sayth R. Iosua, Ye haue bene sold for nothing, and ye shall be redeemed with mony:

that

that is to say, ye haue bene sold for your Idolatryes, which are nothing, and ye shalbe redeemed without your repentance & good workes. Yea but it is sayd sayth R. Eliezer, Turne yee to mee, and I will turne to you. But let vs also reade sayth R. Iosua, I haue taken ye in mariage as a wyfe, and I will take you one of a Citie and twoo of a Household, and giue you enterance into Sion. R. Eliezer replyeth thus: It is sayd, ye shalbe saued in calmnesse and in rest. Nay sayth R. Iosua, it is written in Esay, thus saith the Lord the Redeemer of Israell to the despised Soule, and to the people that is abhorred; that is to say, that your wickednes shal not stop the course of Gods decree. In the end, Eliezer sayth, what meaneth Ieremy then to say, If thou turne thee ageine ô Israell: seeing it is a conditionall maner of speaking? Nay saith Rabbi Iosua, what ment Daniel then by this Text, I heard the man that was clothed in linnen and stood vppon the Water of the Riuer, and he lifted vp his right hand and his left hand vp to Heauen, and sware by him that liueth for euer, and it shalbe for a tyme and tymes, and halfe a tyme? And the Talmud sayth that at this tert R. Eliezer was blankt and held his peace, which was as much to say as that he condescended to that which R. Iosua had sayd, namely that the offences of Israell should not stay the comming of Christ, but that God would preuent Israell with his holy grace. Agein, if the want of a generall Conuersion do withhold the comming of the Messias; then considering that the punishment which lyeth vppon that Nation is vniuersall, and their banishment of so long continuance and so farre from whome. In so much that their Temple, Cittie & Countrie be destroyed, and they may not so much as once see them a farre of; what is the cryme that is so exceeding great, so vniuersall, and so continuall among them? I meane what is the fault peculiar to that Nation, and not common to them with all other Nations of the world? The first Temple (say they) was destroyed for Idolatrie, for superfluitie, and for sheading of giltlesse blud, and specially the blud of Zacharie and Esay. Yet notwithstanding they wanted not Prophetes in the time of their Captiuitie; nay they neuer had mo than then; so mercifully did God measure his comfortes to them according to their afflictions. What is too bee sayd then, seeing that now in so many hundred yeres they haue not bene comforted at all, no not euen at this day when they be both lesse giuen to Idolatrie, and (to all seeming) more constant in their

Malachy. 4.

Esay. 25.

Daniel. 12.

Lawe; and in effect lesse giuen to Royot and lesse bluddy than euer they were? May further, seeing that vnder the second Temple they shewed so great zeale against the Romaines, that they admitted not any Idolatrie among them, but chose rather to dye a thousand deathes, than onely to receiue either the Emperours Image, or the Romayne Standard peinted with an Eagle; insomuch that they left the breache of the wall of the Citie vngarded, rather than they would breake their Sabboth day: What might be the cause that God should withold the open manifestation of the Messias, whom they affirme to haue bene borne at that tyme, or multiply their miseries so extreemely? Some say it was for their worshipping of the Golden Calfe in the Wildernes, that is to say for a fault that was committed a two or three thousand yeres ago, when as (notwithstanding) the people were then presently punished for it out of hand, and many recoueries and ouerthrowes had ensewed since in the meane whyle. Others say it is for the selling of Ioseph by his brethren; and thereupon some of them bring vp againe the fleeting of Soules fathered vpon Pythagoras. Why doe they not rather acknowledge herein their owne colde absurdities? nay (sayes one of their bookes) it is for a fault which they knowe not, and therefore it is not foretold them when they shalbe deliuered, as it was to the Captiues of Babylon. If they knowe not the fault, then can they not acknowledge it; and if they cannot acknowledge it, in vayne are all their Penances and Repentance. And yet in very deede they haue from tyme to tyme (and that not long ago) done publick and open penances, much more exactly to outward apparance, than euer they did; of purpose to hasten their Messias, who notwithstanding (by the report of their Talmud) is so neere and ready at hand, that (by their saying) he will not stay one day, if they turne vnto God according to this saying of the psalm. Tooday if yee heare my voyce. But wee say, that forasmuch as their punishment is so vniuersall, so long, and so extreme; their fault must needes also be so too: And that seeing the former Idolatries and vnrighteousnes were pacified in the destruction of the first Temple, as they themselues say; It must needes bee some greater matter, that continueth their punishment still after so many desolations. And thereupon I conclude, both that Christ is come at his foreappointed tyme, & also that they haue refused him; so as God hath sent them saluation in ỹ selfesame maner ỹ he promised it them by his Prophets, & they haue trampled it vnder their feete.

The booke Mechilta.

Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec.

Psalm. 90.

The

The xxx. Chapter.

That Iesus the Sonne of Mary came at the tyme promised by the Scriptures, and that the same is Christ.

NOw then, in the time of the first Herod, wherein both the Prophesies of the holy Scriptures and the auncient traditions of the Iewes doe méete, let vs examine who could haue bene the Messias. For at that tyme (as I haue declared afore) many pretended themselues to bee he, of whom both the liues, the doctrines and (almost) the names also are now worne out of mynd, notwithstanding that they were vphild by great multitudes of people, and authorized by the chiefe Doctors among them. Neuertheless, in the same tyme, and euen in the selfesame yéere that Herod was accepted of the Iewes for their King, Iesus the Sonne of Mary was borne, whose whole life was nothing els but a teaching of Saluation to that people; and whose end was to be crucified by the Synagog; and yet for all that, his doctrine and name continue still through the whole world. He it is whom wee call Christ, and whom wee affirme to be the Anoynted. And therefore let vs see first how al the prophesies are come to effect in him, and how he hath fully performed the office of the Messias. Philo in his book of times.

Here let vs call to mynd the circumstances which we haue noted hertofore. The Prophets haue told vs that he should be borne of a Virgin. The Gospell affirmeth Mary his mother to haue bin such a one; and yet the Iewes which haue come afterward, haue written that she was taken in adulterie. Wel, seeing that in al their doings they shewe so greate rage ageinst hir Sonne; forasmuch as they had to deale but ageinst a silly womã that had no stay to stand vnto, and their Lawe is so expresse and peremptorie ageinst aduoutryes: why did they not indyte her of it, which would haue quashed the reputation of hir sonne and of hirself both togither? Or why say they not rather that he was the sonne of Ioseph; but that Ioseph knew and sayd the contrarie? And seeing that Ioseph disclaymed Esay 9. Ieremy 34. The Prophesies fulfilled in Iesus. Borne of a virgin.

him for his sonne, had they not the more aduauntage to haue made him partie and playntif against hir aduulterie? But she liued safely by them, both after hir sonnes death, and without lifting in his lyfe-tyme. And what greater proofe of hir chastitie desire we, than to see so many Pharisies, and so many Iudges inraged against one silly woman, and yet not daring to charge her with any tryme? But the talke of one Theodosius a Iew with a Christen Merchantman named Philip in the time of the Emperour Iustinian, is worthy to be noted in this behalf. In the Temple of Hierusalem (as the Iew) there were twoandtwenty ordinary Preestes; and as soone as any of them dyed, the residew chose another in his place. Now it happened that Iesus for his singular Godlynes and doctrine was chosen by them. And to the intent they myght knowe the name of his father and moother, and inregister it according to their custome; they sent for them, & Mary came thither alone, bycause Ioseph was then dead. She being asked the name of the father of Iesus, answered vppon hir othe that she had conceyued him by the Holy Ghoste, and reported to them the woords of the Angell. Moreouer she told them the names of the women that came to hir labour vnlooked for; vppon dew inquisition whereof, when all things were found to fall out true, they registred his name in the Register of the Prieستes in these words. IESVS THE SONNE OF THE LIVING GOD AND OF THE VIRGIN MARIE. And this Register (as Theodosius) was saued at the sacking of Hierusalem, and afterward kept in the Citie Tiberias, where it is preserued in secret, and I haue seene it as one of the cheefe among the Iewes, and as one from whom in respect of my degree, nothing was restreyned. And I beleeue therby that it is not ignorance that holdeth me in the Iewish Religion, but the honor which I haue among my Countrymen, the lyke whereof I could not haue elswhere. Now there is greate lykelyhod that this should be true, considering that Iesus (as we see) did preache in the Temple, and went sometymes vp into the Pulpit, which thing the pryde of the Pharisies would hardly els haue indured. And the holy Rabbine also sayeth expressly that the mother of the Messias should be a virgin, and that hir name should be Marie; and he gathereth it after the arte of the Cabalists, out of these woordes in the nineth of Esay, *Lemarbeh hammisrah*. And Rabbi Hacanas the Sonne of Nehumia sayeth that this Marie was of

Suidas vpon the word Iesus.

R. Hacadoch, in the third Question. Esay. 9.

Bethleem

Bethleem the Daughter of Iehoiakin Eli, of the lyne of Zorobabel, of the trybe of Iuda, which was the trybe whereof the Messias should come. And of a trueth, we reade not in the Gospell, that Iesus was vpbrayded by his comming of the trybe of Iuda, or of the house of Dauid; but rather that he was the sonne of a Carpenter; for the longcontinued aduersities of ẏ house of Dauid, had brought some of his posteritie to lowe degree. And Rabbi Vla sayth that Iesus of Nazareth by name, being of the blud royall (that is to say the sonne of Dauid) was crucified the day afore the Passouer. And seeing the Messias was so precisely promised to be of that race; let vs not doubt but that the Scribes would willingly haue verified the contrarie, if they had could, for then had the Goale bene wonne on their side. To be short, to come backe againe to the virginitie of Mary, she was not a woman of such kindred, alyance, and wealth, as might be bold to hope that her single word would bee beléeued without tryall: neither were the people to whom she spake, besotted with ẏ opinion of the Heathen, who forged tales of their Gods to make themselues to be the easelyer beléeued: but the thing was so true, that the very trueth thereof imboldened her. And in very déede, that is the very cause why Simon Magus (to the intent he might not seeme any whit inferiour to Iesus) denyed not the same poynt, but rather graunting it to be true, was desirous to make his Disciples beleeue, that he himself also was the sonne of a Virgin. The Prophet Micheas sayeth, And thou Bethleem Ephrata which art but little to bee counted among the families of Iuda, out of thee shall come to me the partie that shall reigne ouer Israell, and his foorthcommings are from the beginning, and from the daies of eternitie. Here againe we haue two births of Christ; the one in tyme, the other euerlastingly afore all tyme. And thereuppon rise these farre differing speeches of the people in the Gospell, saying one while; When Christ commeth, wee shall not knowe whence hee commeth; and another while; Is it not written that Christ shall come of the seede of Dauid, and of the towne of Bethleem where he dwelt? Now, that it was so vnderstoode by the Fathers of old tyme, the Chaldee Paraphrase giueth credit, where it is translated thus: Out of thee shall Christ come which shall hold the souereintie ouer Israell. And Ionathas the author of the sayd Paraphrase, a principall Disciple of Hillels, was yet aliue at the same tyme that Iesus was borne: and the holy Rabbine and Rabbi Selomoh consent thereunto. And

The Talmud, the treatise Sanhedrin: Chapt. Nigmar Hadin.

Clemeus in his Recognitions.

Micheas, 5. vers. 2.

In Berhleem. Iohn. 7. ver. 42.

Ionathan ben vxiel.

that Jesus was borne in Bethleem, euen after such a fashion as was not loked for, I see not that any of them denyeth it. Moreouer, there was to bee seene the Stable wherein Christ was borne, heawen out of a Rocke; which place Origen reporteth to haue bin singularly reuerenced of the Infidels in his tyme.

Origen against Celsus.

The Gospell telleth vs that Jesus certeine daies after his birth, was caryed to Hierusalem to bee offered to the Lord according to the Lawe, and that there a man named Simeon, a man that was rightuous and feared God, being certified by the holy Ghost that he should not dye until he had first seene Christ the Lords Anoynted; toke him in his armes & praysed God, saying; This day haue I seene thy saluation, &c. Here I charge the Iewes before God, to bethinke themselues well of the things which they both write and reade of this Simeon: namely, how that the Disciples of Hillel should neuer fayle til Christ were come: That this Simeon surnamed the Rightuous, and Ionathan the sonne of Vziel were two of the chiefe of those Disciples: That in this Simeon the spirit of the great Synagog did vtterly fayle and ceasse: That God himself did then shewe by all signes, that he abhorred that Synagog and the Sanctuarie, and that all should goe away, and that all things were full of darknesse there. Whereof comes this chaunge which they themselues doe marke so aduisedly, but of their contempt of Christ: And whereas they say further, that the Temple opened of it selfe, and that Rabbi Ionathan Ben Zaccai fellowdisciple with Simeon being astonished thereat, bethought him of this saying of the Prophet Zacharie, Open thy doores thou Libanus, and let the fire cōsume thy Cedars: what is it but the same that Simeon foretold vnto Mary, saying; Behold, this child is sent to bee the ouerthrow and the raising vp of many, and to be a signe that shalbe spoken against? This Child is named Iesus, that is to say Sauiour: and the Gospell adding the cause thereof, sayth; For he shall saue his people from their sinnes. Who ruled and directed his birth, to bee of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and vnthought of, to make it mete iust with the Prophesies going afore, and to make his name now to agree both with the Circumstances going afore, and with all the whole course of his life? For of so many men that had borne the name of Iesus afore, as well in the tyme of the first Temple as of the second; in which of them shall wee finde all these things to concurre as they do here? Neither is this naming of him so, in vayne. For like as neither Abraham nor Moyses did bring

Simeon.

Luke. 2.

Talmud. treatyse Pirkei auoth. & in the treatise Iomach. Chapt. Tereph Becalpi.

Zachary. 11.

Iesus.

the

the Israelites into the land of Canaan, but Iesus the sonne of Nun: so neither the lawe of Nature nor the lawe of Moyses, could bring vs into our true Canaan, that is to wit our spirituall inheritance, but only grace by the true Iesus. And therefore the Saint Rabbi saith; That because Christ shall saue folke, therefore he shall be called Iesus; and because he shall be both God and Man, therfore he shall be called Emanuell, [that is to say, God with vs.] And in another place, The Gentyles (saith he) shall call him Iesus. And he draweth this name out of the nine and fortith Chapter of Genesis by a certeyne rule of the Cabale which they terme Notariak, by taking the first letters of the wordes *Iabho schilo velo*, which make the word *Ieschu*: and likewise of these wordes in the 72. Psalme *Ijnnun schemo veiythbarecu*: and also of these in the 96. Psalme, *iagnaloz sadai vecol*: all which are texts that are ment expressly of the Messias. Although I force not of these their doings, yet haue I alledged them against them selues, because it is their custome to shewe the cunning of the arte of their Cabale. And after the same maner haue the Machabies also their name, that is to wit, of the first Letters of the words of this their deuice, *Mi camocha baelim Iehouah*; that is to say, Which of the Gods is like thee ô Iehouah? That the name Iesus should bee reuealed vnto them, it is no strange matter, considering that in the third & fourth bookes of Esdras, Iesus Christ the sonne of God is named expressly and diuers tymes, and the tyme of his comming precisely set downe according to Daniels weekes. For although the Iewes account those bookes for Apocriphase, & the Primatiue Church hath not graunted the like authoritie to them, as to the other Canonicall bookes: yet is it a cleere case, that they were written afore the comming of Iesus Christ, of whome neuertheless they speake by name.

R. Hacadoch. Esay.9. Gen.49. Psalm.72. Psalm.96.

Now the Scripture promised also a Forerunner, that should come afore the manifesting of the Messias to the world. For Malachie saith, Behold, I send my Ambassadour to make way before him, and byandby after shall the Lord whom you seeke, enter into his Temple. And in the next Chapter following, he is called Elias, by reason of the lykenesse of their offices; and this text (as I haue shewed afore) is vnderstood by them concerning the Messias. And soothly we haue certeine foote steppes thereof in these wordes of the Gospel, The Scrybes say that Elias must first come. And in another place, Art thou Christ, or Elias, or one of the Prophets?

A Forerunner. Malachy.3. vers.1. R. Moyses Ben Maimon in his Sentences. Mark.9.ver.11.

The Ghronicle of the Princes of Israell vnder the second Temple.

Prophets? Alittle afore that Christ disclosed himself, Iohn the Baptist stoode vp in Israell, and was followed by such a multitude of people, that all the greate ones grudged at him: and he is the same man who by way of prerogatiue, the Chronicle of the Iewes calleth Rabbi Iohanan the greate Preest. Concerning this Iohn the Baptist, forasmuch as they suspect our Gospel, let them beléeue their owne Storywriter. There was (sayeth he) a very good Man that exhorted the Iewes to vertue, and specially to Godlynes and vpryght dealing, inuiting them to a cleanneſſe both of body and mynd by baptim. But when Herod perceyued that great multitudes of people followed him, which (to his seeming) were at his commaundment; to auoyd insurrections he put him in prison, where anon after, he cut of his head. And therefore it was the common opinion, that when Herods army was afterward ouercome and vtterly put to the swoord, it was through Gods iustiudgement for putting of Iohn Baptist vniustly to death. By this witnesse of Iosephus, we see what his office was, namely to preache repentance and to Baptize, or (as Malachie sayth) to turne the heartes of the Fathers to their Children, and the heartes of the Children to their Fathers. But the thing which we haue chiefly to note here, is that hauing the people at commaundement, yet when Iesus came, he gaue Iesus place, and humbled himselfe to him, and yeelded him the glory: the which thing man beeing led by affection of man would neuer haue done. Insomuch that after that Iesus had once shewed himselfe, the Disciples of this greate maister shewed not themselues as his disciples any more; and that was because his trayning and teaching of them was not for himselfe, but for Iesus. And as touching the peculiar act of Baptizing, it seemeth that the Leuites wayted for some speciall thing vpon it, in that they asked of Iohn, How happeneth it that thou Baptizest, if thou bee neither Christ, nor Elias the Prophet?

Iosepus.lib.18 Cap 7.

But let vs come now to treate of the lyfe of Iesus, not according to our Gospells, but according to such Histories as the Iewes themselues cannot denie: and what els is it than the verie body of the shadowes of the old testament, and the very pith and substance of the words that were spoken afore concerning the Messias? Let vs call to remembrance to what end he came, namely to saue Mankind: and the nature of his Kingdome, how it is holy and spirituall. Whereof are all his Preachings, but of the forgiueneſſe of sinnes,

The kingdom of Iesus is spirituall.

and

and of the Kingdome of Heauen: his Disciples were alwayes importunate vppon him in asking him, Lord when wilt thou set vp the Kingdom of Israel again? Instead of contenting their fantyes, he answereth them concerning the Kingdome of Heauen. They Imagined some Empyre of Cyrus or Alexander: that their Nation might haue bene honored of all other nations of the earth. One of them would néedes haue sit on his right hand and another on his left. What answereth he to this? Nay (saith he) whosoeuer will be greatest, let him be the least; and if I béeing your Maister be as a Seruant among you, what ought you to bee? Ye shalbe brought before Magistrates: that is farre from reigning. Ye shall be persecuted, imprisoned, tormented, and crucifyed: that is farre of from triumphing. I wil giue you to vnderstand how great things ye be to suffer for my names sake: ẏ is very farre from parting of Countryes. Yet notwithstanding, happy shall you bee when you suffer these things, and he that holdeth out to the end shalbe saued. Who can imagine any temporall thing in this kingdome, whereof the first and last Lesson is, that a man to saue his lyfe must lose it: and to become happy must wed himselfe to wretchednes? The people followe him for the miracles which hee worketh: and the Iewes deny not but he did very greate ones. But let vs see wherto they tended. He fed a greate multitude of people in the wildernes, with a feawe Loaues. This miracle was matter enough for him to haue hild them with long talke; but he preacheth vnto them of the heauenly bread which feedeth vnto euerlasting life. Also hee healeth all sicke and diseased folke that come vnto him: howbeit, to shewe that that was but an appendant or rather an income to that for the which he came; Thy sinnes (sayth he) be forgiuen thee. To be short, from Abrahams Well, hee directeth the Woman of Samaria to the Fountaine of lyfe. Béeing shewed the goodly buildings of Hierusalem and of the Temple, he foretelleth the ouerthrowe of them both. Beeing required a sitting place at his right hand or at his left; he answereth of a Cuppe that such a petitioner is to drinke. When men go about to make him King, he steales away from them. And whereas his Apostles looke for some greate triumphe; his accomplishing of it is after the maner that the Prophet Zacharie speakes of, namely by ryding vpon a Shée Asse, euen vpon the Colt of an Asse. And yet neuertheleſſe Herod the King trembleth at him in his throne, the whole Counsell of the Realme are in a perplexitie, and all the people are astonished. And in his doings

doings he maketh it to appeare sufficiently, that he hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and that if he himselfe listed hee should be obeyed both of the greatest persons and in the greatest matters. Surely then wee may well say, that the marke which this Iesus and the marke which the Messias leueleth at, are both one; namely to drawe men from the earth, and to make them to plant their whole hope by his meanes in heauen.

God and Man

It followeth that to this office which he did entirely take vpon him, he brought the qualities requisite to the executing thereof, that is to wit, that he was both God and Man: I say, God as the Sonne of God, and Man as borne of a woman, without sinne, and such in all poyntes as he was forepromised to be. Of this hope we haue some foretesteppes in the Gospell. For some say, We haue heard say that Christ endureth for euer. And Nathaneel himselfe sayth, Sir, Art thou the Sonne of GOD and the King of Israell? That is to say, art thou the Sonne of GOD whom we looke for to be the King of Israell? To the same purpose may wee set his two natures heere one against another. Hee himselfe was hungrie; and yet hee fed many thousands with a fewe Loaues. He suffered thirst; and yet he gaue other men liuing Waters that ouerflowed. He was weerie, and yet he saide come vnto mee all yee that are weerie. He payd tribute, but he commaunded the Fish to pay the Tributemony for him. He was dumb as a Lamb, but yet was the very speech itselfe. He yelded vp his spirit and dyed, but he told them hee had power to take it to him againe. To be short, hee was condemned, but he iustifieth: He was slayne, but he saueth: He prayed; but his praying was for vs, and hee heareth our prayers. For these countermatchings and the lyke doe wee reade of in our Euangelists, in whom wee haue the doings of both natures distinguished, and yet notwithstanding ioyned togither in one persone. But if they will vtterly deny our Gospels; then shall wee in that poynt be more vpright than they: for we will not deny al their writing. Now they agree with vs that hee was man; and for all their casting vp of their Foame against him in their bookes, yet are they not able to charge him with any vice euen in his priuate lyfe: and therefore the chiefe thing that wee haue to stand vppon, is the proofe of his Godhead.

John. 12. verse. 34.

The Miracles of Iesus.

Iesus (sayth our Gospell) wrought miracles. Hee healed the sicke, restored Limmes to the lame, gaue sight to the blind, and raised the dead vnto lyfe; and that not in one or twoo places, but in

many:

many: nor in a corner, but in the open sight of the world: and there are many thousands of men which will rather dye vpon the Racke than deny him, yea or not preach him. I aske them vpon their consciences, if they will deny that he wrought any miracles. If they deny it: then what a miracle is this, that so many people doe followe a poore abiect without miracles, and are contented to dye for his sake, euen when he himselfe is dead? And if these miracles of his (as namely the restoring both of sight and lyfe, & such others) were not very great and farre surmounting all nature of man; yet who would lose his lyfe, but for a better? and how could hee giue the better, which could not giue the other? And if it bee a miracle to worke vppon a man by touching him, and much more without touching him, and most of all without seeing him: what a miracle is it to worke in the heartes of whole Nations farre of, without seeing them; and to touche them without comming at them; and to turne them to him without touching them? And if the bones of Elias bee commended for prophesying in his Tumbe; what shall this Iesus bee for ouercomming so many people, and for conquering so many Nations after his death, yea and (which is a greater matter) euen by the death of his seruants, who preached nothing but his death? But the Rabbines saw wellynough that the miracles of Iesus could not be denyed. And truely R. Iohanan sayth in the Talmud, that a Meuew of R. Iosua the sonne of Leuy had taken poyson, and that beeing adiured by the name of Iesus, hee was healed out of hand: and this is a verifying of that which Iesus himselfe sayth, namely that if they drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: And Rabbi Ioses sayth, that when a Serpent had bitten Eleazar the sonne of Duma, Iames the Disciple of Iesus would haue healed him, and Rabbi Samuel would not suffer him. And Iosephus their owne Storiwriter speaking of the miracles of Iesus, findeth them so wonderfull, that hee cannot tell whether he ought to call him Man or God. And they ought not to thinke it straunge that he should worke miracles, considering that they beleeue the miracles of Moyses, of Elias, of Eliseus, and diuers others. But some of them did attribute his miracles to Magicke, and some to the power of the name of God which they charged him to haue vsurped: in the examining of both which poynts, I beseech them to ioyne with mee without affection.

The Talmud of Hierusalem in the treatise Auodazara.

Marke. 16.

Midrasch Coheleth.

Ioseph in his Antiquities. lib. 18. Cap. 4.

As touching Magicke, they say that their chiefe and tenne Senators whom they call Sanhedrin, were very skilfull in it; and

In the Talmud, treatise Sanhedrin. chap. Dinei Mammonoth col: lib. 20. Iap. 6.

so

so sayth R. Selomoh also, the better to conuince the Inchaunters. And we reade in Iosephus, that Magicke was neuer more frequented in Iewrie then it was among the Doctors at this tyme. Now if their meaning was to conuict Jesus as an euill doer; why did they not put him to shame? why did they not vse the rigour of the Lawe against him? How happeneth it that in their accusing of him, they charge him not with any Magicke at all? Or if they meant to ouercome him by the arte; why did not some one of them woorke the like things or greater? Why did not their miracles swallowe vp his? Nay contrariwise, whereof commeth it that Iosephus calleth Jesus a woorker of miracles, and the other sort Magicians and deceitfull Cousseners? And that his miracles woorke still euen after his death, whereas theirs vanished away afore they were dead? But like as in the tyme of Moyses, God suffered great Magicians to be in Ægipt, that hee might make his owne power the more euident in Moyses: so at this tyme there was great store of them in Iewrie, to the intent it might appeare what difference is betwixt that which man can doe by the Diuels abusing of him, and that which the finger of God himselfe can doe in man. And in good sooth I dare well say, there is not any arte in the woorlde, that doth more clearely verifie the miracles of Jesus, than Magicke doth. For by Plinies report, there were neuer mo Magicians, than in the time of Nero, (which was the tyme that Christes Disciples did spread his doctrine abroade) neither was the vanitie of that Arte euer more apparantly knowen (as he witnesseth) than at that time. And euen among the Iewes of our time, that science is more common at this day, thã among al other people. For they make bookes thereof, specially in the Eastpartes of the woorld. But what are they els than casts of Legierdemayne or Juggling trickes, and toyes for Babes to play withall? And as for the Magicians which the Princes of Christendome maintaine in their Courts, to the shame of vs all and to their owne confusion; what are the things which they doe, but (to speake fitly) mere illusions that vanishe away out of hand, as which consist in some nimble tricks in playing at Cards and Dyce, or in slipper deuises of slight and vayne things? Of which kind of folkes and dealings, I say not who would willingly dye for them, but who would not be ashamed to liue with them? As for Jesus, wee see it is farre otherwise with him. Hee woought very great miracles in the woorlde: and although hee was crucified, yet (sayth Iosephus) his Disciples forsoke him not:

and

And therefore euen after hee was gone from them, they wrought miracles still: and what maner of Miracles? Surely euen such as within the space of twentie yeres or thereaboutes, filled all the world full of Christians: and that miracle continueth still vnto this day. The Empires which had not heard any speaking of Christ, were conuerted to the Kingdome of Christe, and beléeued hym for his doings afore they heard of his name. The Emperours vnder whome hee had bene crucified, and his Disciples diuersly persecuted, are glad to doe him honour, and to build Temples vnto hym. Let the Iewes tell mée what Magician they euer heard of, that wrought such miracles after his death? If they say that Christes Apostles and Disciples also were Magicians; then séeing that no man which is well aduised, doeth any thing but to some end; let them tell mée what gayne the Apostles could get by exercising this Magike, which procured them nothing but hatred, sorrowe, imprisonment, torments, and cruell death? And seeing that Magicians doe hyde themselues and conceale their arte when they be pursued for it: what kind of Magicke is this, which will needes be knowen and exercised, euen in despite of Princes, and of the world, yea and of death; that is to say, euen in despite of the man himselfe (if I may so say) that doth practise it? If it be further replied that some extreme vainglorie led them: how happeneth it that euery of them did not cause himselfe to be worshipped alone? And that they did not their workes in their owne names, but referred all to Iesus, yéelding vnto him the power, the honour, and the glory of all? If they say (as of force they néedes must) that the power of the crucified Man wrought still in them and by them: Let them say also that the same man liued still euen after his crucifying, yea and a farre other lyfe than all other men (considering that after this lyfe he maketh men to be more than men) that is to wit, a lyfe not onely free from death, but also euerlasting and diuine in deede; and so is farre of from the punishment appointed by them to Magicians, that is to wit from béeing in Jayle and vnder torture, or (as they themselus terme it) in endlesse death. But as soone as they perceyue themselues stopped on that syde, by and by they seeke to scape out another away.

Iesus (say they) wrought his miracles by vertue of the vnutterable name of God, which he mynded. And thereupon they fall to an account, which sheweth (as many other in their Talmud doe) that in Gods matters they wanted not only the spirit of God, but

also euen the humane wit and reason: and God knoweth I would be ashamed to rehearse it, but for their owne welfare. Their saying then is, that in Salomons Temple there was a certeine stone of very rare vertue, wherein Salomon by his singular wisedome had ingrauen the very true name of God, which it was lawfull for euery man to reade, but not to cun by hart, nor to write out: And that at the Temple doore were two Lyons tide at two Cheynes, which roared terribly, that the feare of it made him to forget the name that had commited it to memorie, and him to burst asunder in the mids that had put it in writing. But Jesus the sonne of Mary (say they) regarding neither the curse annexed vnto the prohibition, nor the roring of the Lyons; wrate it out in a bill, and went his way with it with great gladnesse: And least he might be taken with the thing about him, he had a little opened the skinne of his Leg and put it in there, and afterward wrought his miracles by the vertue of that name. Now ye must thinke that if I was ashamed to repeate this geere, I am much more ashamed to stand confuting of it. Neuerthelater, seeing that the sumptuousnes of Salomons Temple is described so diligently vnto vs, and yet no mention is made either of that rare stone, or of those Lyons that were so zealous of Gods name: whence I pray them haue they this so fayre tale? And how commeth it to passe that Iosephus was ignorant thereof, who had so diligently perused their matters of remembrance; or how come they to the first knowledge thereof, so many hundred yeres after? Ageine, where became those Lyons at such tymes as the Ægiptians ond Babylonians spoyled Hierusalem and defyled the Temple? How found they them ageine in the second Temple? Or if they were immortall, where became they afterward? May further, how happeneth it that Salomon that great king who consecrated and ingraued the sayde Stone, wrought not the lyke miracles himselfe, specially sith we reade not that he wrought any miracle at all? And what godlynes had it bene for him, to haue concealed and kept secret that name, which would haue cured so many diseases of body and infirmities of mind? whereby folke might haue bene turned away from idolatrie, and the whole world might haue bene wonne vnto the lawe of God? But if I must needes answere fooles further according to their folly; then if Jesus be the seruant of the liuing God, and vse his name to his glory, why doe they not beleeue him? Or if he serued not GOD, how was it possible that the name of God should bee waged by a mortall man, ageinst the

glorie

glorie of God: And what a blasphemie is it to vphold, that the power of God is so tyed to his name, that his enemyes may (whether he wil or no) serue their owne turnes, both with his name and with his power, to the ouerthrowe of his kingdome, and to the stablishing of theirs: Nay rather, let vs say according to their owne teaching, that Iesus did great miracles, both in the name of God and in the power of GOD, and that God gaue power vnto his name, and not the name vnto God. Iesus therefore was certeinly the seruant of God, and endewed with such power from God.

In the treatyse Sanhedrin. ch. Helec.

Now, whereas some deny that Christ should worke myracles, when as notwithstanding, the Scripture sayth the contrarie, and the Iewes in the Gospel do continually exact signes and myracles at his hand, & their Talmud reporteth that Christ should discerne good from euill by the onely sent or sauour, by the want of which propertie they say that Barcozba was bewrayed not to bee the Messias; and whereas they affirme that the wild beasts should lay away their wodnesse, and that Hierusalem should bee hoysted vp three leagues into the ayre, and such other like: I confesse in deede that the chiefe end of Christes comming, was not to worke myracles, accordingly also as we see that his doing of them was but as byworkes and vppon occasion, and I esteeme more of those which do heare his word and keepe it, than of those which remoue Mountaines. Neuertheless, Rabbi Hadarsan sayth he had learned of Rabbi Natronai, that Christ should come with very great signes and myracles, and that the Pharisies should attribute them to Art Magicke, and to the names of vncleane Spirits, according wherevnto we reade in the Gospell, that they sayd thus, He casteth out Deuilles by the name of Beelzebub. And the Commentarie vppon the booke of the Preacher sayth, that all the myracles which went afore, are nothing to the myracles of the Messias. Also the Talmud in a certeine place sayth, That the myracles which shalbe wrought in the tyme of the Messias in the kingdomes of the Gentyles, compared with the myracles that were wrought in Ægipt, shalbe as the substance to the accident.

R. Hadarsan vppon the Psalme. 74.

Midrasch Coheleth. Capt. 1. Talmud. treatyse Baracoth. Chapt. Memathai korin-

Vnto Myracles is ioyned Prophesying, as a thing to be numbered among the chiefe myracles. That Christ should bee a Prophet, they will not denye: for they take the text of Deuteronomie where a Prophet is promised them, to be ment of Christ: & thereupon riseth this common demaund in the Gospell, Art thou the Prophet? And wheras they say in their Talmud, that the Messias

The Prophesyings of Iesus.

Deuter. 8. and 18.

shall iudge of things by their only smell; it cannot bee soundly vnderstood of any thing els, than of an excellent gift of Prophesying. To let passe a thousand particular Prophesies, and a thousand texts whereby we perceyue that Iesus read things in the hypocritish hearts of the Pharisies, and sawe things in the hearts of his Disciples, which they themselues neither sawe nor perceiued: who will not wonder at these which wee see so peremptorilie come to passe, namely, Ye shalbe brought before the Princes and Magistrates of the earth; men shall thinke they doe seruice vnto God, when they murder you for my names sake; that the glad tydings of his kingdome should bee preached through the whole world, notwithstanding all impediments; That Hierusalem should bee destroyed; That all things should bee wasted and vnhalowed there; That of the same Temple which they reuerenced so much, one stone should not be left standing vpon another; And that the tyme wherein these things should bee done was then so neere hand, that euen those which led him to death, had cause to bewayle themselues and their Childré? For what I pray you could those poore Fishermen thinke, when he spake to them of being led before Kings; and (which more is) when he told them that they should driue Nations like flockes of Shéepe afore them at the hearing of the Gospell? What likelihod was there hereof in his owne person or in theirs, considering the lowlinesse of his life, and the reprochfulnesse of his death? And as touching the destruction of Hierusalem which befell about a fortie yéeres after; sith we reade expresly in their owne Historyes, that the Emperour Tytus offered them peace, sought the preseruation of their Temple, graunted them the free vse of their Religion, and during his seege did seeke as it were by intreatance to them being beseeged, that he might saue and preserue them; and yet notwithstanding (as Iosephus reporteth) they would needes perish whether he would or no, and wilfully cast themselues into the same extremities whereof Iesus had forewarned them: who can say that he was ignorant of the vnchaungeable determination of God, notwithstanding that to the sight of Man, the matter was as likely to haue falne out otherwise as euer any was, specially considering that the enemies themselues, on whom the whole case seemed to depend, laboured by al meanes to turne the destruction away from the beseeged?

Now, albeit that as well Prophesying as Myracles, haue eyther

ther of them their peculiar and vncommunicable markes of Gods spirit and finger, whereby to discerne the one from the other: Yet certesse, doctrine is the touchstone of them both. For, if there rise vp a Prophet (sayth the Law) and giue thee a signe or myracle, and therevppon he come and counsell thee to turne aside to straunge Gods: thou shalt not hearken vnto him. Therfore let vs see what doctrine Iesus matched with his signes and miracles. Let vs reade the Gospell from the one ende to the other, and wee shall see nothing there but to loue God with all our heart, and our neighbour as our selfe. Also he came not to abolish the Lawe, but to fulfill it; nor to destroye the Temple, but to purge it. The Pharisies had extended the Lawe but to the outward man; he condemneth their hypocrisie, and bringeth it backe againe to the inward man. They sayd, hate your enemies: but he sayd, if ye loue none but your friends, what are ye better than the Publicanes? They sayd, Thou shalt not commit adulterie; thou shalt not kill: But he sayd, If thou looke vpō a woman to lust after her, thou hast broken the Lawe: and if thou say to thy brother, Racha; thou hast alreadie killed him. To bee short, a neighbour by their interpretation, was but in Iericho or neere thereabouts: but he told them that a neighbour was in Samaria, in Idumea, & in all the corners of the world. Also if a case concerne God, he taught men to forsake Gods, Preferments, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and all that euer is, for loue of his seruice. As for Saluation and Welfare, he taught men to hoord vp treasure in Heauen, and to shake off the world in this life, that they may be clothed with glorie in another. What is there in all this, I say not which turneth a man away, but which setteth him not in the right way, and which tendeth not in effect to the glorie of the true God, to the doing of our duetie towards our neighbours, and to euery mans owne saluation and welfare? By the way, this doctrine is not a declaiming, nor an exercise of Philosophers, who (as Seneca affirmeth) pretended flaues by their tytles, and conteyned poyson and venome in their boxes: but it is expressed in his life, and read in his Disciples, whom neither Iewe nor Gentyle haue euer blamed, but for their simplicitie and innocencie: Insomuch that Philo the Iewe made a booke expressly thereof for a wonder. For whereas Celsus the Epicure obiecteth, that Iesus chose Publicanes and men of wicked conuersation to be his Disciples: euen therein peculiarly hath he shewed the effectualnes of his doctrine in the curing of mens soules, as a Phisition doth in

The Doctrine of Iesus.

Deutron: 13.

Philo concerning the Contemplatiue life.

healing those that are sorest sicke and furthest past hope of recouerie in a Citie. To be short, at his word the Nations that worshipped Deuilles, Men, Planets, Stockes and Stones, turned to the only true God. The Deuils that had abused them, hid themselues away, and their Oracles lost their voyces, as shalbe sayd hereafter. But as for the lawe of God and the holy Scriptures, (I meane euen those (ye Iewes) which you your selues beléeue & reuerence;) they come to be read, imbraced, and expounded through all ỳ world and in all Languages. If this doctrine then bee of the Deuill; by what marke shall we know the doctrine of God? And if to giue authoritie to the Byble ouer all the world, be the destruction thereof; what shal we call the stablishing thereof? And if Iesus haue by his doctrine stablished the seruice of the true God, authorised the Law of Moyses, and rooted vp the seruice of the Deuill by the bottome: how can it be sayd that the Deuill hath eyther inspyred him, or assisted him in his myracles and Prophesyings, both for the kingdome of God, and against the Deuils owne Tyrannie?

An obiection. Yea (say you) but he professed himselfe to be the Sonne of God. So much the rather (say I) ought you to imbrace him, seeing that by the record of your auncetors, the Messias ought so to be. And in reporting himselfe to be so, if you reade your owne Doctors well, ye shal finde that he turneth you not away to diuers Gods, nor yet to straunge Gods. For according to your owne Scriptures and Traditions, these three, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, are but one God. I would knowe but this one thing of you; whether you take him for a true Prophet, or for a false Prophet; for the seruant of God, or for the seruant of the Deuill. You haue sayd heretofore that he vsed the power of the name of God in his myracles, whereby ye haue graunted me very much: and I also haue proued vnto you, that such particuler and speciall Prophesies as these, cannot procéede but from God himselfe. But what a seruant is he to the Deuill, which ouerthroweth his maister? How is hee not an ouerthrower of him, which saueth vs? How is he a false accuser of vs, which iustifieth vs? How is he a deadly enemie, which setteth vs againe in life? For what els hath the doctrine of Iesus done throughout the whole world, but destroyed the Altars of the Deuils, beaten downe their Temples, broken their Images in peeces, abolished their gamings, their feastes, their Sacrifices, and moreouer withdrawne the rest of men from Murder, Whoredome, Theft, & all other abhominations wherein they were plunged,

Looke the 6. Chapter heretofore.

ged, and from the vaine seruices whereabouts they occupied them selues, and wherewith they decepued their owne Consciences? If ye say he was the seruant of GOD; the very Turkes confesse as much. Therefore procéede yet further, and graunt that sith he is the Prophet and seruant of God, he is to be beléeued. For God the Creator being altogether good and wise, would not lende him his spirit to deceiue vs. And if we ought to beléeue him, we ought also to heare him: and if wee heare him, he telleth vs that he is Christ the Anoynted, that he is the trueth, that he is the way, that he came from God his father, and that the father and he are but one. And in déede, one while to shewe that he was sent of his father, he prayeth vnto him: and another while to shewe that he is equall with him, he commaundeth absolutely and of himselfe. Surely therfore we may well say, that this Prophet Iesus being assisted by Gods spirit, both in his Prophesyings, and in his Myracles, and in his Doctrine; and beeing borne of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and at the tyme appoynted afore hand by the Prophets; is Christ the Lords anoynted, GOD and Man, euen such as he was declared and behighted vs in the holy Scriptures, as I haue shewed alreadie.

But lo here the stumblingblock of the Pharisies and the Iewes. What likelyhood is there (say they) that our Christ by whom wee looke that Israell should be so renowmed, should be so base and abiect a person? May moreouer, if he be both God and Man (as you Christians say he is) what can bee imagined more against all reason, than that he should bee buffeted, whipped, crucified, accounted among théeues, and in the end reprochfully killed, as your Iesus was? Soothly, to folke that haue imagined and reckoned vppon a Monarchie of the whole world, and behighted themselues places among the chiefe in the same; it must néedes bee a great corsie and greefe to bee defeated of that hope. But had they well chewed and digested this text of Zacharie: Behold, thy King commeth vnto thee, righteous, Sauiourlike, and lowlie, ryding vpon an Asse, euen the Colt of an Asse: which text their Rabbines expound of the Messias, and wee reade it to haue bene fulfilled in Iesus at his comming into Hierusalem: they would not thinke it so straunge that in the same person also should be performed this saying of the same Prophet in another place, I will powre out the spirit of grace and mercie vpon the house of Dauid, and vpon the inhabiters of Hierusalem; and they shall looke vppon me whom they haue pearced: which text likewise the Rabbines expound of

The stumbling blocke of the Iewes.

Zacharie. 9. & 12.

the Messias, as well as the other. Now I haue shewed heretofore, that the Messias should reconcile vs vnto God, by the satisfaction and amends which he should make vnto him for vs: and also how agreeable the sayd amends was both to Gods Iustice and mercie, which cannot bee contrarie one to another, and also to the order of dealing that is among men. For inasmuch as man would néedes through his pride become equal with God, and by his disobedience bee as God: it was méete that his Suretie should be abaced euen beneath man, and yéeld perfect obedience, euen to the most reprochfull death that could bee. Againe, to turne man againe and to restreyne him from sinne, nothing could bee more effectuall, than to make him knowe the horriblenesse of his sinne, by the greatnesse of the penaltie and satisfaction thereof: neither could any thing bee more forcible to allure him to the loue of God and of his neighbor, than to see God redéeme him from wretched thraldome by ꝑ death of his owne Sonne God and Man; and the same his own Sonne crucified and dying for the raunsome, not of his brethren, but of his enemies whom he voutsafeth to admit to be his brethren. But forasmuch as the Iewes beléeue the Scriptures, they will not refuse them in this poynt, and therefore let vs examine them here together.

As touching Christs Lowelynesse in abacing himself, I haue treated thereof heretofore, and all the whole scripture teacheth it vs sufficiently. At one word, in the place where it is sayd. The Scepter shal not bee taken from Iuda; it is added by and by, Tying his Assecolt to the vyne, and the foale of his sheeasse to the hedge. Upon which text Rabbi Hadarsan sayeth thus; when Chryst commeth to Hierusalem, he shal gird his Asse with a girt, and enter into the citie very poorely and lowelely, euen after the same maner that is spoken of in the nynth of Zachary. But to auoyd often repetitions, let vs beare in mynd what hath bin sayd afore, that it may leade vs the more gently to the passion of Christ, which is our only welfare and their vtter stumblingblocke. We haue in the Lawe a great nomber of Sacraments and Sacrifices, as well solemne at set feasts as continuall and ordinarie, and among them, the Easterlambe, the Sacrifice of the red Heifar, the sending of the Scapegote into the Wildernesse, and such other lyke: of all the which it is sayd, that their blud washeth and clenseth away the sinne of the congregation, and that the sprinkling thereof turneth away the Angell of destruction from their houses.

Gen. 49. R. Moyses Hadarsan vppon the xlix. of Genesis.

The passion of Iesus foretold in the Scriptures.

Now

Now forasmuch as this was done with so greate solemnitie, expressly commaunded to be obserued, and conueyed ouer from age to age and from father to sonne: I aske them vpon their consciences, whether they bee signes and figures of a sacrifice too come which should cleuse away sinne; or whether those sacrifices themselues had that vertue. If they say the Sacrifices had that force in themselues: what vertue is there in the blud of a Lamb or of a Hekfar, ageinst Sinne? And wherefore sayeth God so often vnto vs, I wil none of your sacrifices, I will none of the blud of your Bulles and Goates, al such things are but smoke and lothlynes in my sight? And at such tyme as they were prisoners at Babylon, or scattered abroade in the world, where they might not by their lawe offer any Sacrifice; was there then no forgiuenesse of their sinnes? Yes surely: and therefore they were signes and figures of Christ as then to come, who was to dye for our sinnes: which signes do now cease and haue ceassed now these many hundred yeres through the whole world, euer since the comming of him that was betokened by them, namely of the Lamb of whome it is said in Esay: He was led to the slaughter as a Lamb and he hild his peace without opening his mouth, as a sheepe before the Shearer: which text the Rabbines also do interpret to be ment of the Messias. And as concerning the red Heckefar, the Cabalists do make a Tace of it, & ask why in the booke of Nombers, the death of Marie is ioyned immediatly to the Lawe of the red Cow: and thereout of they will needs drawe the death of Christ to come. And in very deede Jesus the true Easterlambe was crucified on the very day of the Passouer, as witnesseth Rabbi Vla in the Talmud. Also as Esay had said of the Lamb Christ, He is slayne for the sinne of the People: so Iohn Baptist saieth of Jesus, Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sinnes of the world. Agein, as they were forbidden to breake any boane of the Easterlambe; so were Christs leggs left vnbroken, when the leggs of the theeues that were crucified with him were broken. To be short, as the red Cow accompanyed with all the people, was conueyed out of the Hoste and burned without the Campe; so also was Jesus led out of the Citie accompanyed by the people, and crucified without the Citie. But let vs reade the Historie of the lyfe and death of Jesus whole togither out of Esay. There was neither fauor (sayth he) nor beawty in him, neither sawe we any fayrenesse in him that was to bee desired. He was despysed and thrust out from among men, a

Esay. 53.

Nomb. 19.

In the treatyse Sanhedrin, Chap. Nigmar Hadin.

Esay. 53.

man full of infirmities & inured to sorrow by reason whereof we accounted him so vile, that we hid our faces from him. Yet in very deede he bare our infirmities, and was loden with our sorrowes: but we thought him to be wounded and stryken of God, whereas he was wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The punishment of our peace was layd vppon him, and by his strypes are we healed. Al of vs went astray lyke sheepe, and turned aside euery man after his owne way: and the Lord hath cast vppon him the iniquities of vs all. Being misintreated and smitten, hee opened not his mouth. As a Lamb was he led to be slayne, & yet hild his peace as a Sheepe before the shearer. He was lifted vp from prison and iudgement, and yet who is he that can recken vp his generation? He was plucked vp from the liuing vppon the earth, and couered with woundes for the sinne of my people. His graue was giuen him with the wicked, & with the Riche in his death, Although hee neuer committed vnryghtuousenes, nor any gwile was found in his mouth; yet was it the Lords will to breake him with sorrow; that when he had giuen his lyfe in sacrifice for sinne, he myght see a longlasting seede. Which deuyce of the Lord shall prosper in his hand, and with the labour and trauel of his Soule shall he get greate Riches. My ryghtuous seruant (sayeth the Lord) shall with the knowledge of him make many men ryghtuous, and take their sinnes vppon himself. I will giue him a portion among the greate ones, and he shal deuide the spoyle with the mighty ones; bycause he yelded his Soule vnto death, and did muster himself among the transgressers, and tooke vppon him the sinnes of many, and prayed for the offenders. Who seeth not in this text, both the apprehension and the sorrowes and the wounds, and the death of Iesus? Yea and his meekenesse, Lowelynes, and innocencie? His apprehension, turning to our deliuerance; his sorrowes, to our iope; his wounds, to our healthy; his death, to our lyfe; his ryghtuousenes to our inryghtuousing; and his punishment, to our obteynement of grace? And when we reade, He was abhorred of men, and we made none account of him; do we not see men spitting in his face? Also when we reade these woyds, We tooke him to be woūded of God; do we not here the Iewes saying to him, If thou be Christ the chosen of God, saue thy self? Agayne when he is outrageously delt withall and yet he openeth not his mouth, do we not note his inno-

cent

rent holding of his peace? Finally, whereas he was nombered among the transgressors, and yet prayed for them, notwithstanding that he bare the sinnes of other men: what is it els but the crucifying of Jesus betweene the two theeues, and the very speech of the repentant theefe which sayd, As for vs, wee receiue worthely according to our deedes; but as for this man, what euill hath he done? Yea & the very prayer which Jesus made vpon the Crosse, saying, Lord forgiue them, for they knowe not what they do? Now, that the sayd text was vnderstood of Christ by the old Rabbines; the Iewes cannot denye. For Ionathas the Chaldee Paraphrast the Sonne of Vziel, who liued about that tyme, expounded it of Christ by name. And whereas it is sayd, In very deede hee bare our infirmities; Ionathas translateth it, He shalbe heard at Gods hand for our faults, and for the loue of him our sinnes shalbe forgiuen. And vppon these words, Wee hid our faces away from him: He sayth thus; as though the countenance of the Godhead had bin withdrawen from him, becausse he seemed so to our sight, and wee considered not what hee was in deede. Whereuppon Rabbi Vla sayth thus in the Talmud: Let him come, but let not me see him: and his so saying was for the extreme paynes which hee knewe that Christ should indure. And therefore they feyne that he sits bynding vp of his sores at Romegate. Also in a certeyne place where they inquire of the name of Christ, they say hee shall bee called Whight, as one couered with sores of Leprosie; and they ad, according to this saying of Esay: In very deede he bare our infirmities and tooke our sinnes vpon him. And we tooke him as a Leaper, and as one wounded and cast downe of God. Neuertheless, that the Iewes (notwithstanding the euidentnesse of this Prophesie) should not for all that beleeue; the Prophet himselfe doth prophesie in the same Chapter. For afore he enter into the matter of Christes passion and death, he maketh this preface, saying: Who hath beleeued at the hearing of vs? or to whom hath the Lords arme bene discouered? And on the contrary part hee sayth to the Gentyles: Many men shall woonder for the loue of him, and Kings shall shut their mouthes before him. They that haue not bene tolde of him shall see him, and they that haue not heard of him shall thinke aduisedly on him. Vppon this so cleere a text, let vs heare the inuentions of persons that haue imbatteled themselues against their own Saluation. To turne this text from Jesus, Rabbi Selomoh

R. Moyses Hadarsan. Gen. 24.

Treatise Sanhedrin. Chap. Helec. Midrasch. Ruth. Rabbi Ioses in the booke Siphrei. R. Iacob & R. Hamina. Chap. Helec.

Esay. 53.

Esay. 52.

and

The fond shiftes of the Iewes,

and Dauid Kimhi (afore whom the sayde wilfulnesse of opinion was not among the Iewes) haue turned away frō al the writers of former tyme, whom (notwithstanding) they confesse to haue vnderstood it of Christ; and they passe not what they say, so they may stand vpon denyall. This text (say they) is not meant of Christ, but of the Iewish people afflicted by the Chaldees & the Romaines. And this serueth well to shewe what odds is betweene the iudgemēt of Reason and of Affection. For I presume so much vppon their vnderstanding, that if they had bene borne in the tyme of Ionathas the sonne of Vziel, or at leastwise at any tyme afore the comming of Iesus; they would haue bene vtterly of another mynd. Then if the Prophet speake of the afflicted children of Israell when he saith, He was despised of men, and we hid our faces from him: Of whom I beseech them is that sayd which followeth without change of person, namely; In very deede he bare our infirmities, and wee tooke him to haue bene wounded of God? That he was despised, is ment (say they) of the people of Israell. Then, that he bare our infirmities, must nedes (say I) be ment of the people of Israell too. And what can bee more fond, than to say that the people of Israell bare the infirmities of the people of Israell? specially sith it is sayd immediatly, And by his stripes are we healed: which saying putteth an apparant difference betweene the Phisition and the Patient, betweene the Sufferer and him that is eased by his suffering? Againe, what People or what Nation was euer benefited by the sufferings of the Israelites? To what purpose serueth this outcry of the Prophet, Who hath beleeued our word, if he haue no further meaning than that the Children of Israell bare their owne paynes? All of vs (sayth the Prophet forthwith) haue gone astray like Sheepe. Who bee these Sheepe that haue gone astray, but the Israelites, and among them the Prophet himselfe? And vpon him (saith he) hath the Lord cast the sinnes of vs all. If hee cast them vppon Israell, what cause of wonder is there in not beleeuing it? For who doubteth but that euery man is worthie to beare the blame of his owne fault? But will any man gaynsay the Prophet himself, who expoundeth his owne meaning so plainly afterward? He was plucked vp out of the land of the liuing (saith he) and couered with wounds for the sinnes of my people. For who seeth not here a manifest countermatching betweene the people that are healed, and the partie that suffereth for the healing of them? betweene Israell whose sores are brought to a

scarre,

scarre, and the partie that beareth away his sores? The Prophet addeth, There was no vnrightuousnesse in him, neither was any guyle found in his mouth. Surely there is pride in men, yea and euen in these men; and yet I can hardly beleeue, but that they would be ashamed to chalenge the verifying of this text vpon themselues. And as for the people of Israell that were afflicted by the Chaldees; the Rabbines affirme that their first Temple was destroyed for their Idolatrie, Superfluitie, and sheading of giltlesse blud. And concerning the second Temple which was destroyed by the Romaines, they say the cause thereof was the peoples couetousnesse, their hating of their neighbours without cause, and their selling of the rightuous person. And whereas they reply, That the people of Israel suffered so much affliction at one season, as sufficed to discharge their successors that liued afterward in another season: surely besides that it is contrary both to the Justice and to ỹ mercie of God; that glose cannot be verified of any one lyne of the sayd text: but it appeareth by experience, that the afflictions which the people of Israell indured at the hands of the Chaldees, did not discharge them of Antiochus; nor the afflictions layd vpon them by Antiochus, defend the Jewish Church against the Romaines; nor the extreme outrages of the Romaines satisfie for the sinnes of that people, but that they bee more scattered, and more brought in bondage, as well of moe sorts of maisters as of moe sorts of slauerie at this day, than euer they were afore. Loe how one false and fond proposition procureth many fonder solutions.

But let vs here further, how this text is expounded by other of the Prophetes. Seuentie weekes (sayth Daniell) are set downe for the ending of disobedience, & for the Sealing vp of sinne, and for the cleansing away of iniquitie and the bringing of rightuousnes for euer. As how? For vnto the anoynted Prince (saith he) shalbe seauen weekes and threescore & two weekes; after which tyme the Anoynted shalbe slayne, and nothing shalbe left vnto him, and the Prince of a People to come shall destroy the Citie. &c. Here ye see how Christ must dye, & namely for sinne, according to this saying of Esay, He hath giuen his lyfe for sinne. And (as I haue shewed already) Jesus was put to death euen the very same tyme. As touching the Circumstances of his death, They perced my feete and my hands (sayth Dauid) and parted my garments among them, and cast lots for my coate. We reade not that Dauid was serued so, but rather Jesus who was

Daniel. 9. vers. 14. and 16.

Psalm. 22. vers. 17.

was crucified (howbeit that that kind of punishment was not vsed among the Iewes, but among the Romaines) and lottes were cast for his Coate: and the Euangelistes alledged this Text to the same purpose, as who would say, it was so vnderstood in their tyme. And whereas in stead of *Caru*, that is to say, they pearced, the Iewes will néedes reade *Caari*, that is to say, As a Lyon: their Massoreths, (who haue made a Register of all the Letters of the Scriptures) doe witnesse that in all good Copies it is written *Caru* they pearced. Also the threescore and twelue Interpreters haue translated into Greeke, ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου, &c. they pearced my handes, &c. And the old Chaldee translater, hath ioyned both those readings in one, thus They haue pearced and thrust through my feete and my hands as a Lyon. They that vnderstand the Traditions of the Indians & Ethiopians, doo witnesse the like: accordingly also as the Iewes themselues do know by their owne readings, and are warned by their Mazaroths, that that sence is vnperfect. For as for the Chaldee Paraphrase of R. Ioseph the blind, because he was about a three hundred and fortie peres after Iesus, we admit him not for a Iudge: and besides that, he is dubble blinded with a blind mode which he bewrayeth euery where against vs.

Zachary.12. Also the Prophet Zacharie sayth, I will powre out the spirit of grace and mercy vpon the house of Dauid & vpon the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they shall looke vnto me whome they perced. He that powreth out this spirit is God; Hee that is perced is man; and both the one and the other together is Christ God and Man. And they themselues expound this text in the same sence concerning the Messias, that our Euangelists alledge it of Iesus that was striken into the side with a Speare; which surely had bene a fondnesse in them, (considering how feawe texts they alledge (if they had not bene commonly vnderstode to concerne the Messias. And it is all one with this which some of the Rabbines do say in ꝑ Talmud, namely That Christ should be distressed as a woman that laboureth of Child, according as Ieremy sayth, that hee had great anguishes to suffer, but that he should indure them willingly too deliuer men from sinne. And Rabbi Hadarsan saith that Satan should be an aduersarie to him and his Disciples; and therefore he applyeth vnto him a part of the thirde chapter of the lamentations of Ieremie. Also in the booke of Ruth, where it is written, Eate thy bread and temper it with vineger:

Bereschith Rabba vpon. Gen.cap.42. The booke Succa: chapt. Hahehil. Iohn.19.vers. 37. The treat: Sanhedrin. Cap.Helec. Ieremy.30. Rabbi Hadarsan vpō Ge.1. Echa rabeth. Chap.3. Midrasch Ruth Cap.2. vers.14.

This

This bread (sayth the Commentarie) is the bread of the Anointed King or Messias, who shalbe broken for mens sinnes, and indure great torments as it is written in Esay. And the Saint Rabbi saith, that Christ should deliuer mens Soules from hell by his death. Howbeit yet further, whereas it is sayd in Esay, we bee healed by his death: the auncient Cabalistes vnderstand it of Christ, and say that the Angels (who were the teachers of our forefathers, as Raziel of Adam, Metatron of Moyses & so forth) had taught them that the cleansing away of sinne should be doone vpon wood. And Rabbi Simeon Ben Iohai the first among them, writeth thus; Wo woorth the Murtherers of Israell, for they shall kill Christ. God will send his sonne clothed in mans flesh to wash them, and they will kill him. Also Rabbi Iuda sayth, That after a long breathing tyme, God will deliuer his name of twelue letters to Ieremie in writing after this maner, *Iehouah elohim emeth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is trueth; and that hee will wype out the first Letter of the last worde, so as there shall remayne *Iehouah elohim meth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is dead. And peraduentnre it is therevpon, that Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayde, That Israell was not heard in the world, for want of knowing this name; that is to say, for want of praying vnto God by ỹ Mediator Christ who died for vs. To be short, Philo the Iewe, a very renowmed Author, handling this question, namely when the banished Israelites and Iewes should returne home; saith it should be at the death of a Highpriest. Howbeit finding himselfe graueled at this, that some liue longer than othersome; Surely I beleeue (sayth he) that this Highpriest shall not be a Man, but the Word (the which hee playseth in infinite places) exempt from al sinne both willing and vnwilling, who to his father hath God; and to his moother, the wisedom that is without beginning and without end. Whereby it appéareth that he had heard of Christ a Highpriest, whom it behoued to be God the Sonne of God, that he might sanctifie, and likewise man that he might dye.

Esay. 53.
Cabalistes.
R. Simeon ben Iohai Mirandulan in his Conclusions.
R. Iuda in his book of Hope.
Midrach Tehlim.
Philo the Iew in his booke of the banished.
Looke afore in the 6. Chapter.

As touching the starting hole which the newe Rabbines seeke, in that (contrarie to the whole course, both of their owne auncient writers and of the Scripture) in sted of one Christ God and Man, they make two Christes, the one the Sonne of Dauid, the other the Sonne of Ioseph, saying that this latter (to whome they apply all the foresayd Texts) shalbe slayne in battell, and afterward rayse

Obiection.

R. Moyses vpō the Iudges.

sed againe by the Prayers of other: Surely let vs tell them as R. Moyses doth, That none other than only the sonne of Dauid, shall come with authoritie of Christ; howbeit that there are two commings of Christ, the one in lowlynes as Zacharie sayth, Poore, Lowely, and Sauiourlyke; and the other in maiestie out of the Clowdes of the ayre, as is described in Daniel: the one to Redéeme, the other to iudge, as they thēselues say vpon these words of Ecclesiastes, What it is that hath bene? The same that shalbe: wherevpon they inferre, The last Redeemer is reuealed, and he that is hidden shall come yet once againe. To be short, here yée sée, how in the end the stumblingblocke is turned into glorie. For as Christ dyed innocently, so shall he also ryse agayne and reygne for euer. Yea he shall ryse againe: for it is written in the Psalme, Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption, which saying cānot be ment of Dauid; for he is dead and rotten in his graue, yea and he shalbe raysed againe within the third day, for it is written, He will quicken vs after two dayes, and in the third day will he rayse vs vp ageine. Also he shall go vp into Heauen, to sit at the right hand of God; for it is written, The Lord hath sayd to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand. And all these Texts are so expounded by Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan, by R. Hacadosch, by R. Ionathan the Sonne of Vziell and others: and they be all accomplished in Iesus. For their owne writer Iosephus sayth, In the tyme of Tyberius there was one Iesus, a wise man (at leastwise if he was to be called a man) who was a worker of great miracles, and a teacher of such as loue the trueth, and had a greate trayne as well of Iewes as of Gentyles. Neuerthelesse, being accused vnto Pilate by the cheefe of the Iewes, he was crucified. But yet for all that, those which had loued him from the beginning, ceassed not to continue still. For he shewed himself alyue vnto thē a three dayes after his death, as the Prophetes had foretold of him both this and diuers other things. And euen vnto this day doe those continue still which after his name are called Christians. Certesse then let vs conclude as this Iewe doth in the selfesame place, and in his owne words, This Iesus was in very deede the Christ. For as for the goodly tale, That Christes Disciples stole him out of his Graue, and that for feare they did cast hym downe in a Gardyne where he was found afterward: the fondnesse and fabulousenesse thereof appéereth in this, that whereas because hee had sayd in his lyfetyme. Destroy this Temple,

Zachary. 9. ver. 4.

Daniel. 7.

Midrasch Coheleth Cap. 1. vers. 9.

Talmud, treatyse Sanhedrin Cap. Helec.

Psal. 16.

Ose the. 6.

Psalm. 110.

The booke Mechiltha.

R. Moyses Hadarsan, vppon Genesis. Cap. 22. and 40.

R. Isaac vppon Genesis.

The booke of Collections.

Iosephus in his Antiquitie Lib. 18. cap. 4.

Temple, and in three dayes I will rayſe it vp ageine; And alſo, There ſhall none other ſigne be giuen vnto you but the ſigne of the Prophet Ionas, and ſo forth; thereupon the Iewes cauſed Pylate to ſet a ſure gard about the Sepulchre: Yet notwithſtanding, Pylate writing afterward to the Emperour Claudius, aduertiſed him of the reſurrection of Jeſus, ſo as the greater and ſurer the gard was that Pylate did ſet, the mo and the ſtronger were the witneſſes to proue the Iewes lyars in that behalfe. Alſo the high Prieſtes beeing ſo inraged againſt Jeſus as they were, would not haue ſticked to haue hanged vp the ſayd ſound Carkeſſe openly in the Marketplace, whereby they might haue aboliſhed all the reputation of Jeſus out of hand. Ageine on the other ſide, the Apoſtles were men ſo afrayd of death, ſo weakehearted, ſo feeble in faith, and ſo vtterly without credit; that there is not any lykelihod that they durſt take the matter in hand. Nay (which more is) what benefite could they haue had by his dead Carkeſſe? what ſhould it haue boted them to haue forgone their Children, their Wyues, yea and themſelues too for ſuch a one? Should they not rather haue had cauſe to haue bene offended at his cowſinage, and thereupon bene the readier to haue condemned the remembraunce of him themſelues, and to haue turned all men away from him? Contrariwiſe, they preach nothing but his reſurrection; for that are they contented to dye; for that doe they teache other men to dye; alonly by that doe they hope too liue and dye moſt bleſſedly; and of all the whole nōber of them, there was not ſo much as one that could be brought to ſay otherwiſe: nay rather which could bee made to conceale it, and not to ſpeake of it, though they were let alone, yea or for any promiſe or threatning that the greateſt perſonages in the worlde could make vnto them. Surely therefore, if euer any deede were true, we muſt needes ſay that this is it.

Finally Daniell ſayth; After that the Anoynted is ſlaine, The Prince of a people to come, (that is to ſay, the Emperour of Rome) ſhall deſtroye the Citie and the Sanctuarie, and his end ſhalbe in deſtruction, and vnto the end of the warre be deſolations ordeyned. But he ſhall ſtabliſh his couenant with many in one weeke, and in halfe a weeke ſhall he cauſe the Sacrificing and Offering to ceaſſe. And to the ſame effect Jeſus himſelfe ſayth, Weepe for your ſelues and for your Children, and let them which are in Iewrie flee into the Mountaines. Abhomination ſhall abide in the holy place, and of the Temple one ſtone

Daniel. 9. Math. 24. verſ. 15.

The deſtruction of Hieruſalem.

stone shall not be left vpon another. And yet neuertheleſſe, this Goſpell (ſayth he) ſhall be preached ouer all the world for a witneſſe to al Nations. Who can ſay that this was not accomplished within a while after the death of Jeſus? And who ſeeth not yet ſtill the remnants of this deſolation vpon Hieruſalem, and vpon all that people? Yea and moreouer, that this their vtter ruine and ouerthrowe, is not to bee fathered vpon any other thing, than vpon their putting of Jeſus to death? Jeſus was apprehended in Mount Oliuet; and from Mount Oliuet was Hieruſalem beſeeged. He was crucified on the day of the Paſſouer; and on that day was the Citie entered into. Hee was whipped in the Romaine Emperours Pauilion by Pylat; and in the Emperours Pauilion were the Iewes whipped by the Romaines for their pleaſure. He was deliuered by them into the hands of the Gentyles; and they themſelues were ſcattered abroade into the whole world, to bee a ſkorning ſtocke to all Nations. Of theſe things and many other like doe the Rabbines complaine in their Hiſtories, and the more they ſpeake of them, the more doe they confeſſe Gods Judgement vpon themſelues. For what els are all theſe things, but the execution of this their owne ſentence giuen vpon themſelues, his blud be vpon vs & vpon our Children? Inſomuch that (as Ioſephus reporteth) when Tytus ſawe the ſayd extremities, he lifted vp his eyes to heauen and ſayd, Lord thou knoweſt that my hands are cleere from all this blud that is ſhed. And afterward when vpon the taking of the Citie, he had conſidered the force and ſtrength of the place and the people; he ſayd, In very deede God hath fought on our ſide in the taking of this Citie, for otherwiſe what power could euer haue wõne it? Alſo the Tẽple was burnt doune, though he did what he could to haue ſaued it, becauſe (ſayth Ioſephus) the vneſchewable day of the deſtruction thereof was come. Likewiſe the Citie was raſed, caſt vp vppon heapes, and made leuell with the ground, as if neuer man had dwelt there; and ten hundred thouſand men were put to the ſword within it; which thing wee reade not to haue bene done to any other Citie taken by the Romaines. To bee ſhort, the ſignes that went afore, and the voyce that gaue warning from heauen, & the opening of the Temple of it own accord, ſeemed to be forefeelings of Gods wrath that was to light vpon them. Again, the Fountayne of Silo which was dryed vp afore, ſwelled vp to giue water to the Romaine Hoſte. Inſomuch that their owne Hiſtorywriter, beholding ſo many re-

Ioſephus in his Antiq. lib. 20. Cap. 6. 8. In the Iewiſh Warres. lib. 5. Cap. 8. and lib. 6. Cap. 25. 27. 28. 47.

Philo againſt Flaccus. The Talmud concerning the deſtruction of Hieruſalem.

Ioſephus, in the Warres of the Iewes lib. 7. cap. 9. 12. 14. 16.

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words of Gods wrath, was in maner cõstreyned to come somewhat nye the cause thereof, which he affirmeth to be, that the Highpriest Ananus had vniustly and hastily caused Iames the brother of Iesus to be stoned to death, and certeine others with him, to the great griefe of good men, and of such as loued the Lawe. To the which purpose also may this saying of the notablest of their Rabbines be applyed, That the second Temple was destroyed for their selling of the Righteous, and for hating him without cause; according to this saying of Iesus concerning them, They haue hated me without cause. Iohn. 16.

And whereas some Iewes at this day doe say, that they bee punished because some of them receiued this Iesus for the Christ: there is no likelyhood of trueth in it. For considering that Gods maner is, to saue a whole Citie for some ten good mens sakes, if they be found in it: he would much rather haue saued his own people for so many mens sakes, being the chiefe and representing the state of the Realme of Iewrie, which did put their hands to the accusing of Iesus; and for so great a multitudes sake, which cryed out, Away with him, away with him, crucifie him. And if God confirmed the Priesthood vnto Phinees, for his zealousnesse in punishing a simple Israelite: what thinke you your selues to haue deserued, for crucifying (as you beare your selues on hand) an enemie of God, one that named himselfe Christ the Lords Anoynted, yea and which sayd he was very God himselfe? Yet notwithstanding in the middes of all these calamities, the Citie and Temple of this Iesus were builded vp, first in Iewrie it selfe, and afterward in the whole world; and according to Daniels Prophesie, the Couenant of Saluation was stablished among all Nations by the preaching of his Apostles; and the Sacrifices of the Iewes were then put downe, and neuer anywhere reuyued againe since that tyme. And within a while after, the very idolatries of the Gentyles, which had possessed the whole world, were likewise dashed also, as wee shall see hereafter. Whereof Rabbi Hadarsan writing vpon Daniell seemeth to haue giuen some incling, in that he sayth, Halfe a weeke, that is to say, three yeeres and a half, shall make an end of Sacrificing. And so doth R. Iohanan in that he sayth, Three yeeres and a half hath the presence of the Lord cryed out vpon Mount Oliuet, saying, seeke God while he may be found, and call vpõ him while he is nere hand. And vpon the Psalmes it is sayd, That by the space of three yeeres and a halfe, GOD R. Hadarsan vpon Daniel. Midrasch Thehilim.

would teache his Church in his owne persone. Now it is manifestly knowen, that Iesus preached betweene three and fower yeres about Hierusalem, and that his preaching was pursewed and continued afterward by his Apostles.

Sothen, we haue in the Prophets a Christ the sonne of God, which was to be borne of a Uirgin, in the end of the threescore and and ten weekes mention in Daniel, at Bethleem in Iewrie; whom being foregone by an Elias, it behoued to preache the kingdome of God, to dye a reprocheful death to mans Saluation, and to rise agayne with glorie; shortly wherevpon should follow the destruction of Hierusalem and of the Temple. And at the very selfesame tyme, we haue in our Gospels & in the stories of the Iewes themselues, one Iesus the sonne of God, borne of the Uirgin Marie, at Bethleem in Iewrie, who being foregone by Iohn the Baptist, preached the kingdome of Heauen both in woord and deede, was crucified at Hierusalem, beleeued on by the Gentiles, and reuenged by the ouerthrowe and destruction of the Temple. And all these circumstances and markes are so peculiar vnto him, that they can by no meanes agree to any other. Wherefore let vs conclude, that this Iesus is the very same Christ that was promised from time to time in the Scriptures, and exhibited in his dew time according to our Gospell. For that is the thing which wee had to proue in these last two Chapters.

The xxxj. Chapter.

An answere to the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, why they should not receiue him for the Christ or Messias.

Obiection, that he must haue bin knowen.

NOw let vs examine the obiections of the Iewes, and see what they can say against the Testimonie of all the Prophetes, which agreeth fitly to Iesus, and can agree to none but him. First, If Iesus (say they) were the Christ; who should haue knowen and receiued him, rather than the great Synagogue which was at that time? This obiection is very old; for

for in the Gospell the Pharisies say, Doe any of the Pharisies or chiefe Rulers beleeue in him, saue onely this rascall people which know not the Lawe, who be accursed? Here I might alledge Simeon surnamed the rightuous, a Disciple of Hillels, who had serued fortie yeres in the Sanctuarie, how hée acknowledged Iesus for the Sauiour of Israell and the light of the Gentiles; in the which Simeon the Iewes themselues confesse that Spirit of God to haue sayled, which was wont to inspire the greate Synagogue, and inspired him still during all his lyfe. Also I could alledge Iohn the Baptist, whom they called the great Rabbi Iohanan, who acknowledging Iesus to be the sonne of God, sent his Disciples vnto him: And likwise Gamaliel, whom in the Acts of the Apostles we reade to haue sayd, If this Doctrine be of God, it will continew; if not, it will perish; and in Clement, to haue bene a Disciple of the Apostles; and in their owne bookes, to haue bene the Disciple of the sayd Simeon: And finally S. Paule himselfe, a disciple of the sayd Gamaliel, sothly a very great man, and of great fauour and authoritie among them, of whom they cannot in any wyse mistrust. To bee short, Iosephus reporteth that this Iesus was followed among ỳ Iewes, of all such as loued ỳ trueth, and that as many as loued the Lawe, did greatly blame Ananus the highpriest, for causing the disciples of Iesus to be put to death. Also R. Nehumia the sonne of Hacana hauing recounted the miracles of (Iesus, within a litle of whose tyme he was) sayth expressly, I am one of those which haue beleeued in him, and haue bene baptized, and haue walked in the right way. Likewise the S. Rabbi seemeth to haue hild of Iesus; and if he did not, then is it yet more wonderfull than if he had knowen him, considering ỳ he séemeth to describe this Iesus by the selfsame circumstances ỳ the very Christ is described by him. But without any stãding vpõ that point, I say further to them, That whereas the Synagogue receiued not Iesus for the Messias, their so doing is a token that he was the very Messias in deede; and that their receiuing of Barcozba for the Messias, was a sure proofe that Barcozba was not the Messias. For it is expressly sayd by the Prophetes, that when the Messias came vnto them, they should be so blynde as not too knowe him, and so vnthankeful as to despise him. The stone (sayth Dauid) which the builders refused, is become the chiefe corner stone, and that is a maruelous thing in our eyes. And this saying doth Iesus interpret concerning the kingdome of Heauen,

Iohn. 7. ver. 48.

Euke. 2.

Act. 5. 38.

Talmud. treatyse Pirkei auoth.

R. Nehumia.

There were two Rabbies of the name of Hacadosch, both called Saincts: the one liuing vnder Antiochus, and the other vnder the Emperour Antonine.

Psal. 11. ver. 22. Esay. 28. ver. 16 Math. 21. vers. 42.

which should bee taken from the Iewes for their refusing thereof. Also this text is applyed to the Messias by R. Ionathan, yea and by R. Selomoh also (as great an enemy to Christ as he is) who writing vpon Micheas sayth that Christ (by expresse name) should bee borne in Bethleem; and which way so euer they turne themselues, they can gather none other sence of that place. Herevppon commeth it that the yong babes crye out in the Gospel, Hosanna which commeth in the name of the Lord; which is ꝑ verse that followeth next after this place of Esay, Go tel this people, Heare and vnderstand not, Looke and see not. Harden the heart of this people, stop their eares, and close their eyes, least they see with their eyes, & heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heartes, and turne again, and I heale them. How long? Euen all their Citties be desolate without inhabitants (sayth the Lorde) and the houses without any man in them, and the land be a wilderneſſe. Yet shall a Tythe remayne and turne again, and be made bare as a Turpentine tree & an Oke, whose sap neuertheless shall continue in them. And if ye desire the interpretatiõ hereof, behold, it is readie at hand in the same Prophet. For going about to describe with what humilitie and simplicitie Christ should come to suffer for vs, (whom these great Rabbines looked for to haue come in triumph to content their pryde and ambition) Who hath beleeued our preaching (sayth he) or to whõ is the Lords arme discouered? That is to say, of so great a nomber of Iewes which looke for the Messias, how feawe shall there be that will beleeue him, when they see him come after such fashion as I am to describe him vnto them? But surely (sayth he) Those to whom he had neuer bene declared shall see him, and those that neuer heard of him shal cõsider him. This text (as I haue declared often heretofore) is expounded by the Iewes themselues concerning the Messias, Also Zacharie saith, I wil powre out the spirit of grace and mercie vpon the house of Dauid, aud vpon the inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they shall looke vnto mee whom they haue pearced. This Hierusalem (say I) and this house of Dauid wherevpon GOD will powre out his grace and mercie, are the very same which shal pearce his Anoynted and crucifie him. after the same maner that they martyred Esay, Ieremie, and Zacharie, and tormented all the rest of the Prophetes, according wherevnto our Lorde Iesus sayde vnto them, It is not meete that any Prophet should dye elswhere than at Hierusalem.

Micheas. 5. vers. 2.

Esay. 6. vers. 53.

lem. Now they must nedes graunt, that if they were to kill hym, they were not to know him: for who durst be so presumptuous as to lay his hande wittingly vpon the Lords Anoynted? And those words also doe they expound to concerne the Messias. To be short, Moyses sayth; The straunger ỳ is among thee shalbe thy head, and thou shalt be his tayle; he shalbe aduaunced aboue thee, and thou shalt be his vnderling. And Esay sayth, Because of the sinne of Iuda, I wil seeke out those which haue not sought for mee, and I wilbe found of them which haue not enquired for me. I wil giue a better place in my Temple to the Geldedmen & Strangers, than to the Sonnes and daughters of Israel. And it is an ordinary matter among the Prophets, to vse such speeches as this, Those which are my people, shall no more be my people: & thei which were not my people shalbe my people, & such other. And seldom do they speake any word of ỳ calling of ỳ Gentiles, but they match it immediatly wt the casting off of ỳ Iewes for their refusing of Christ, like as ye cānot well make mention of the graffing of a tree wt a strāge Impe or sien, but ye must also speake of the cutting off of the boughes to make place for it. To this same effect do R. Samai and R. Selomoh say, It is sayd in Ieremy, I wil take one out of a Cittie, and two out of a Trybe, and make them to enter into Sion, because (adde they) that as of sixe-hundred thousand Israelites, onely two (that is to wit, Iosua & Caleb) entered into Chanaan; so shall it be also in the dayes of the Messias. And the sonnes of Rabbi Hija affirme, That the Messias shalbe a stone to stumble at vnto the two houses of Israel, and a Snare to the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they deliuer it for a great Secret. Also R. Iohanan and R. Iacob, say that the Gentiles shalbe put in place of the Iewes that haue refused the Lord, as the Horse is put in the place of an Oxe that halteth. And whereas I haue said that Gods spirit should be withdrawen from the Synagogue for their iniquities sake. Rabbi Iudas sayth, that when the Sonne of Dauid commeth, there shalbe feawe wyse men in Israel, and the wisdome of the Scribes shall stinke, and the Scholes of Diuinitie shalbe become Brothelhouses: which accordeth with this saying of our Lorde Iesus, Of a house of prayer ye haue made my house a den of theeues. And R. Nehoray sayth that mens countenances shal at that tyme be past shame. And R. Nehemias writeth, that wickednes shalbe multiplyed without measure, and there shall be nothing but vnto-

Deut. 28.

Ieremy. 3. vers. 14.

Talmud. Treatyse Sanhedrin. Cap. Helec.

Talmud. Trea: Sanhedrin, Ch. Dinei Mammoneth. R. Iohanan & P. Iacob. chap. Helec.

Talmud. Sanhedrin. Helec.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vppon the 74 Psalme.

wardnes & Heresie; insomuch that (as sayth R. Natronai.) They shall say that the miracles which the Messias shall woorke, are done by Magicke and by vncleane Spirites. To be short, Ieremy saith, The Shepherds are become beastes, and haue not sought the Lord. And in another place, They haue made my sheepe to go astray, & turned them away to the mountaines. And the Rabbines to confirme the matter, say thus: If our predecessors were the Children of men, we be the children of Asses; and surely (sayth R. Menahem,) the sheeAsse of R. Pinehas is wyser then we. But to come backe ageine to the Prophesie of Esay, The Oxe (sayth he) knoweth his owner, and the Asse knoweth his maisters Crib, but my people knowe not mee, they haue no vnderstanding. And in very deede whosoeuer doubteth yet still what spirit gouerned the Teachers of the Iewes from this time forth; let him reade but onely their Talmud, which is such a booke, that God (say they) studyeth in it euery first fower howers of the day: And when Hierusalem was destroyed, hee left himselfe three cubits space wheron to sit and reade in the Talmud, which yet notwithstanding was not then made. Besides this, they make God (in that booke) to bewayle the miseries of Israel, to bee angrie at the Comb of a Cocke, to lye, and to commit sinne and so forth; so that if a man might haue looked into the consciences of those Rabbines, I beleeue hee should haue seene that they made not so good account of GOD as of themselues. As for the Scriptures, they expound not one text of them among a hundred to the purpose, no nor scarsly without blasphemie, sauing where they followe or alledge the Rabbines of old time. The residew are either topes, or aldwiues tales, or horrible blasphemies, or things either too fond for Children or to wicked for men, and such as euen the Diuell himself would be ashamed of. To be short, I can not tell how they that wrate that booke could bee Iewes; or howe the reading of it now should not make them all become Christians.

Ieremy. 10. ver. 11. and 30. ver. 6.

Esay. 1. An obiection concerning the baceneſſe of Iesus.

Yet they reply still and say: What lykelyhod is there that this Iesus was the Messias, comming so attyred as he did? Or were not we (at least wyse) woorthie to be excused for not knowing him, comming disguysed after that manner? May, I demaund of you, after what other sort he could or should come, considering that hee came to humble himself, and to be crucified for vs? You looked to haue had him princelyke, and he was forepromised poore: a Warryour, and it was told you he should be beaten and wounded: with

a great

a greate traine, and he is described alone vppon an Asse: with a companie of wpues, and there was no mo spoken of but only one: with trumphing and feasting, and yee were informed aforehand that his bread should be steeped in vineger, and his Cup be full of gall and bitternesse. You imagin vnder him, eyther the Peace of Salomon, or the Conquests of greate Alexander: peace to manure Iewrie at your ease, and Warre to reape the riches of the Gentyles. But he came to appease Gods wrath, and to vanquish the Diuell; and thencefoorth to make Iewes and Gentyles equall. Of these two commings, which is most meete, both for Gods glorie, and for his owne? Admit he had the Empyre of Cyrus and Alexander; admit he had all the power and riches of all the Kingdomes that euer were in the world; what were all this but a witnesse of his want, and an abatement of his glorie? As for example; Moyses led Sixhundred thousand fyghting men out of Egipt, and with the stroke of his rod he passed the red Sea and drowned the Egiptians therein. Now in whether had Gods glorie more appeared, and the calling of Moyses bin better warranted! by his winning of a battell against the Egiptians with so greate a nomber of men, or by ouerthrowing them with one stroke of a rod? In reducing the King to reason by force of armes, or in making him to seeke mercy by an hoste of fleas and lyce? Let vs come now to Christ. He was to subdewe the world vnder his obedience. Whether was it more to his glorie and more correspondent to his Godhead, to haue done it by inuesting himself in an Empyre, or by ridding himself of all worldly meanes, by force of armes, or by his only word? By conquering men with shewe of pompe, or by winning them with suffering reproche at their hand? By trumphing ouer them, or by being crucified by them? By being alyue, or euen by being dead? By killing his enemyes, or by yeelding vnto them? By ouerthrowing his foes; or by sending his seruants to suffer whatsoeuer they would do vnto them? For who seeth not, that in the victories of Princes, their men bee partakers with them of their glorie? And that in battells betweene men, the Horse and the speare haue their part? And that oftentimes the harnesse and the very shadowe of the Crests of their helmets (as yee would say) do step in for a share? Surely therefore, wee may well say, that Jesus could not haue shewed his Godhead better, than in comming like an abiect & miserable man; nor his strength better, than in comming in feblenesse; nor his myght, than in infirmitie; nor his glory, than in despisednes;

nor his eternitie, than in dying; nor his ryling ageine, than in being buryed; nor his whole presence, than in going his way hence; nor finally his quickening life, than in conquering the world by the death of his Diciples. For had he come otherwise, man had had the glory thereof: the stronglyer he had come, the lesse had bin his victorie; and the more pomp he had pretended outwardly, the lesse had he alwayes uttered his Godhead, and the more excusable had both the Iewes and Gentyles bin in not receyuing him. To be short, wil ye see that he was the same sonne of God, which was present with God at the creating of the world: God created the world without matter or stuffe whereof, and without help, by his only word: And Jesus being destitute of all help and meane, hath conquered the world with his only word, even by his owne death, which seemeth to haue bene a cleare dispatch of him: What greater maiestie or greatnesse can we imagine than this?

An obiection that the signes promised by the Prophets are not come to passe.

Yea but (say they) where bee the signes promised by the Prophets: and specially the euerlasting peace which Christ was to bring vnto the world, which should turne Swords into Mattocks and Speares into Coulters? To this we may answer, that Jesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, at which tyme the Histories tell vs, that the Temple of Ianus at Rome was shut vp, and all the world was at peace throughout, as who would say that by that meane God meant to open a free way to the preaching of his Gospell. But let them first of all marke here their owne contrarietie of speech, in that they require of vs here a generall peace, and in other places speake of battelles against Gog and Magog, and of the bathing of themselues in the blud of the Gentyles, insomuch as they say that their second Messias the Sonne of Ioseph, shalbe slayne in battell. Nay, as he is a spirituall King, so bee his warres and peace spirituall also. Esay calleth him a man of warre: but of his warres he sayth, They shall turne their swordes into Coulters. On the contrary part he calleth him ỹ Prince of peace: but of such peace wherof it is sayd; The chastisemẽt of our peace was layd vpon him, and by his stripes are we healed: that is to wit, he was wounded for our misdeedes and torne for our iniquities. To be short, Micheas sayth, He himselfe shalbe the peace. Neuertheless, to the intent ye should not thinke he meaneth of pour manuring of pour grounds & of pour dressing of pour Vineyards; yet shall not the Assyrian (sayth he) cease to come into our Land, and to march in our Palaces. And therefore doth Ieremie

Esay. 2.

Esay. 9. & 53.

Micheas. 5. vers. 5.

mie well say, He shall breake the yoke from thy necke, & burst asunder thy bonds: howbeit (as he expoundeth himselfe in another place,) in such sort as thou shalt not serue straunge Gods any more: that is to say, he will both winne vs victorie and be our victorie himself against the Deuil, and also both purchace vs peace and be our peace vnto God, according to this which he sayth another where: The Euerlasting will be our rightuousnesse. And in trueth, in the booke of Sabbath where these texts are examined, Rabbi Eliezer sayth plainly, That warres shall not ceasse at the first comming of the Messias, but only at his second comming, that is to wit, when he commeth in glorie to iudge the world. Ieremy. 30. & 35. Talmud in the treatyse Sabbath.

Of the same stampe are the obiections that followe. It is written (say they) that Mount Oliuet shall bee split asunder in the middes, and the one halfe fall towards the East and the other half towards the West: which thing we see not yet come to passe. Well, they cannot denye but that this text speaketh plainly of the destruction of Hierusalem: and if they will needes followe the letter, they shall see in their owne Histories, that when the Romanes beseeged the Citie, they made their trenches on that side. Againe, it is sayd, That the Lords hil shalbe aduaunced aboue al hilles; and thereuppon they dreame that Hierusalem shalbe hoysted vp three leagues into the ayre. But these people which otherwhiles delight so much in Allegories, ought to vnderstand these, euen by the text it selfe. For (sayth the Prophet) folke shall say let vs goe vp to Syon, and God will there teach vs his waies: The Lawe shall come out of Syon, and the word of the Lord from Hierusalem. And I pray you when came they better out, than when the Apostles of Jesus did spread them abroade from Hierusalem thorowe the whole world? And therefore Rabbi Selomoh saith vpon those texts, that the Lord should at that tyme be magnified in Hierusalem, by a greater signe, than he was in Sinai, Carmel, & Thabor. And Rabbi Abraham the sonne of Ezra sayth, that this Aduaunced hill is the Messias, who shalbe highly aduaunced among the Gentyles. Also it is sayd in Esay; The Woolfe shall feed with the Lambe: and in Malachie, The Angell of the Lord shal make the waies playne: which things (say they) wee see not yet performed, nor many other such like. But yet doth Rabbi Moyses Ben Maimon their great teacher of Rightuousnesse say; Let it neuer come in thy head, that in the tyme of Christ the course of the world shall any whit bee chaunged: but when thou readest in Zachary. 14. vers. 4. R. Iohanan in the treat: Baua Bathra. Midrasch, Psalm. 86. Zachary. 4. Esay. 2. and Micheas. 4. R. Selomoh & R. Abraham ben Ezra vpon Esay. 2. and Micheas. 4. Esay. 11. Malachy. 3. Rabbi Moyse Ben Maimon vppon Deut. in the Lawes concerning Kings and Warres.

Esay

Ieremy.5. Esay, that the Woolfe shal dwell with the Lamb, call to mynd how Ieremie sayth, A Woolfe of the wilderneſſe hath waſted them, and a Leopard watcheth at their Cities, to snatch vp them that come out. For the meaning thereof is, that both Iewes and Gentiles shalbe cõuerted to the true doctrine, and not hurt one another, but feede both together at one Crib, according to this saying of Esay in the very same place, The Woolfe shall eate Hay with the Oxe. And after that maner (sayth he) must we expound all such maner of speeches, which belong to the tyme of Christ: for they be parabolicall and figuratiue. Of the same sort also is the exposition of Rabbi Dauid Kimhi, howbeit that ordinarily he followed the letter, & the translation of Ionathan himselfe. And as touching the Angell or Ambassador that should leuell the waies mentioned in the text of Malachie: The meaning thereof (sayth Ramban) is that a great Prince shall bee sent afore the Messias come, to prepare the harts of the Israelites to the battell. But Malachie expounded himselfe more fitly in these wordes: He shall turne the hearts of the fathers to their Children: that is to say, he shall exhort Israell to repentance.

An obiection that Idolatry should ceasse. Esay.2. Zach.13. Sophony.3. The Obiections that insewe hereafter haue a little more weight in them. It is written, I will destroy all the Idolles of the earth. Also, I will hungerstarue all the Gods of the Gentyles. And againe, They shall all serue mee with one shoulder. Would God that the abuses which are crept into the Christian Church against Christes ordinance, were not so great a Stumblingblocke to the Iewes. Neuertheleſſe, let them consider the great nomber of Gods worshipped by the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes and Romaines, at what tyme euery Countrey, euery Citie, euery Household, and euery person had his peculiar God and his Idols by himselfe: and they shall finde that within a little while after ỹ Apostles had preached the doctrine of Jesus to the world, they were all gone, and not so much as any rememberance of them had now remayned, but that in publishing the glorie of God, wee had also declared their ouerthrowe. Let them reade the Historyes of the Heathen and aske of them what is become of their Oracles, I meane the Deuilles which hild them in with their Lyes and Dreames, and would not bee pacified but with the Sacrificing of men, yea and euen of their owne Children: and of all those wickednesses, which had taken rote all the world throughout, can they now shew any print at all?

Euen

Euen in the tyme of Tyberius began men to aske these questions, namely what was the cause that Oracles spake not any more; that Deuils wrought not as they had done aforetymes; And that their Priestes wanted liuing: And the Heathen themselues were driuen to answer, that since the tyme that Jesus had dyed, and his Disciples had preached abroade, Arte Magicke and the Deuils had lost their power. So sodeine, so vniuersall, and so wonderfull to our very enemies was the chaunge in that tyme; and of so great force was the onely name of Jesus in the mouth of those poore men, against Kings and Emperours, against their Kingdomes and Empyres, and against the vpholders and worshippers both of the Deuilles and of their Idols.

An Obiection against the Alteration of Religion made by Christ.

For briefnesse sake I omit this Obiection following and such other; as that all Nations haue not followed Jesus. For the Prophets haue tolde vs, that but a remnant shall bee saued: and Jesus himselfe sayth that Many be called, and fewe chosen. And it fulfileth that the voyce of the Gospell hath bene heard ouer all the world, and that the gate of the Church is set open to all Nations. Againe, to come to an issewe, they knowe that the word *Col* [that is to say All] betokeneth not that all men without exception shall followe him, but that all Nations without difference shall bee his people. Againe, the seede of Christ (say they) should be euerlasting: but we see not the seede of Jesus to bee so. They say very well, in that by the word Seede, they meane Christs Disciples; and in their owne language they terme them Sonnes or Children: & thankes be to the Lord, there are Disciples of his still, euerywhere through the whole world.

But the principall Obiection remayneth yet behind, and that is this: If Jesus be the Sonne of God, (say they) why chaungeth he the Lawe of God his father deliuered by Moyses, beeing (as hath bene sayd alreadie) both holy and inuiolable, which who so doth, how can hee bee receiued for the Messias? Surely in this poynt where they charge Jesus with the changing and abolishing of the Law; we be flat contrarie to them; affirming that he did not change it or abolish it, but more plainly expounded it and fulfilled it. May say they, Circumcision was expressely commaunded by God vnto Abraham, and afterward to Moyses: and why then hath Jesus abolished it? In deede that is the thing which doth alwaies deceiue them; namely, that they take the signe for the thing signified, and the shadowe for the substance and trueth of the promises. But wee

say

say that Circumcision was a signe or seale of the Couenant, and not the Couenant it selfe, and the best of the Iewes denye it not themselues. And yet Moyses sayth: When the Lord shall haue cast thee out to the vttermost partes of the earth, yet will he bring thee home againe into the land which thy fathers possessed, and hee will circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy Children, that thou mayst loue the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy Soule, and that thou mayst liue. And in another place he sayth: Circumcise the foresk in of your hearts, and harden not your neckes any more. And whē the Prophets rebuke vs, they call vs not simply vncircumcised, but vncircumcised of heart or of lippes. The which ought to aduertise you that the signe is fleshly, but the thing signified (that is to wit, the Couenant) is spirituall; and that it would behoue you to enter into the Pacte of the Lawe, and not to byte about the barke of it. To bee short, the Cabale it selfe giueth vs to vnderstand, that Christ shall cure the venome of the Serpent, make a new Couenant, and take away the necessitie of Circumcision. As touching Sacrifices, I haue declared alreadie heretofore that they were signes. It is sayd that they shall cleanse away the sinnes of the Congregation. How may that be, if we go no further than to the blud of a Lamb, or to the sprinckling of the ashes of a Cowe? And therefore Dauid sayth: Thou desirest not Sacrifice for sinne, and therefore will I not giue thee any. And God himselfe sayth: I blame thee not for that thou hast giuen me no burntofferings. Also in Esay: Who required these things of you? As for these Sacrifices, these new Moones, these Sabbats, and these solemne Feastes, they lothe me, they burden me, and I cannot wel away with them. Moreouer Micheas sayth: If thou gauest thousands of thy Sheepe, and Riuers of Oyle, yea & thyne eldest sonne, euen the sonne of thyne own bodie begotten, for thy sinne: all this is nothing before the Lord. Nay, (sayth Esay) the offering of an Oxe is as the murthering of a man, and the offering vp of a Sheepe is as the snetching of a Dog, and the burning of Incense is as the blessing of an Idoll. All which sayings doe vs to vnderstand, that the Sacrifices were not the very things themselues, but onely signes of things, that is to wit, partly of the lustes and affections which wee feele in our hearts, and partly of the Saluation which wee loke for by the Messias; and that if wee passe no further than the bare Sacrifices, thei be vtterly vnprofitable. But Dauid saith;

Deut. 30. and 10.

Ieremy. 4.

The Cabale by the report of Picus Earle of Mirandula.

Psalm. 49. and 50.

Esay. 1. and 58. and 66.

Micheas. 6.

The

The Sacrifice of the Lord, is a broken and lowly heart. And Esay sayth, Wash your selues, scoure away the naughtinesse of your hearts, doe right to the fatherlesse and the widowe. Also Micheas sayth, Deale vprightly, & shewe mercie. These bee the Sacrifices which God requireth at euery of our hands, and which were betokened in the particuler Sacrifices, by the Bowels, Kidneyes, Liuer, and such other parts, which were wont to be burned vpon the Altar. And as touching the generall Sacrifices and such as were more solemne, they betokened that vniuersall Sacrifice for the sinne of Mankynd which God had ordeyned euerlastingly, that is to wit, the death of the Messias. For that those Sacrifices should haue an end, namely, the signe by the presence of the thing signified, the figure by the presence of the substance, and the shadowe by the presence of the bodie, wee perceiue by these wordes of Daniell; From the tyme that the continuall Sacrifice is taken away, there shall bee a thousand two hundred fowerscore and ten daies. Daniel. 12. verse. 11. And that it should be done by the death of Christ, it appeareth by this which he had sayd afore, After threescore & two weekes Christ shalbe killed, and in halfe a weeke he shall cause the Sacrifice and Offering to ceasse; and for the outreaching of abhominations, there shalbe desolation vnto the end. Daniel. 9. And wheras Malachie hauing remoued Sacrifices very sharply, saith; From the Sunnerysing to the Sunnegoingdowne, my name shalbe great among the Gentyles, and Incense and pure Oblations shall be offered euerywhere in my name: it cannot bee vnderstood of the Sacrifices ordeyned by the Iewish Law, but rather of the abolishing of them, and of all other signes, by the Messias. For if the Gentyles must Sacrifice vnto him according to the law, then must they come to Hierusalem to the Temple there. And if it be so: what Court will bee large enough to hold the Sacrifices? What shall al Hierusalem be but a very Slaughterhouse and Butcherie? May moreouer, the Prophet sayth that they shall offer euerywhere, which thing bewrayeth an euident chaunge: and a pure or cleane Oblation, which putteth a difference betwéene their Offerings, and the bloodie Sacrifices of the Lawe. And after that the Prophet hath sayd, My name shall bee great among the Gentyles: Hee addeth immediatly; But yee haue vnhalowed it. Which is as much to say, as that ꝑ Gentyles shalbe these Priests euery man in his owne place, and they shall not neede to come to you Iewes for the matter. To bee short, as touching the Sacrifices, Malachy. 1.

Midrasch. Nombers.13. Mark.2.

fices, some of the Rabbines say, They shall all ceasse, sauing the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing. And as touching the Sabbath; He that bringeth the Commaundement from God, (say they) may also breake it: whereunto our Lord Jesus agreeing, sayth, The Sonne of Man is Lord of the Sabboth. And as touching the difference betweene Beastes cleane and vncleane, All Beastes (say they) which are counted vncleane in this age, shall bee counted cleane by the vertue of God in the age to come,

R Hadarsan vpon Gen.42. and 49.

that is to wit vnder the Messias, as they were to the Children of Noe. And thereof they ad this reason, That Gods inioyning thereof for a tyme, was but to trye who they were that would obey his word. The same doth Rabbi Hadarsan affirme, saying; There is not a more expresse Lawe, than that which concerneth the monethly disease of women; and yet shall that ceasse in the reigne of him: [that is to say, of the Messias.] And it is not for them to alledge here, that concerning the Circumcision, the Sabboth, the feast of Easter, and such others, it is sayd that they shalbe

Leuit.8. and 15. Deut.15.

legnolam: that is to say by their interpretation, for euer. For wee haue learned of them, that the word *legnolam*, signifieth not for euer, but a long tyme; and a tyme of long continuance without intermission or breaking of, rather than a continuance of tyme without end. And in that sence doe we reade it sayd of Samuel; He shall abide in the presence of the Lord *legnolam* for euer: Upō which place the Commentarie sayth, It is an age of the Leuites or a Leuiticall age, that is to say, the continuance of fiftie yeres. Likewise, of the Seruant whose eare his maister boared through, it is

Midrasch.

sayd; He shalbe thy Seruant *legnolam* for euer: in which place the Commentarie sayth, Vntill the yeere of Iubil. And therfore their

R. Dauid Kimhi in his booke of Rootes. Prouerb.22.

great Grammarian Rabbi Kimhi sayth, that *legnolam* signifieth a long tyme, according to this saying in the Prouerbes, The olde bound or buttel that hath continued of long tyme; where he vseth the word *legnolam*. The words whereby the Hebrewes vse commonly to betoken a tyme without end, are these, *gnad netsach*, and *selah*, and *legnolam vagned.*

But that God ment by the sending of his sonne Christ to make a new Couenant with his people, as farre differing from the first

Ieremy 31. verse. 31.22.27.

Couenant as the thing figured differeth from the figure, let vs here Ieremy in his one and thirtith Chapter. Behold, the day shal come (saieth the Lord) that I will make a new Couenant with the House of Israel, and the House of Dauid; not according to the

the Couenant that I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hand & led them out of the land of Egipt, which Couenant they haue disanulled though I was married vnto them: but the Couenant that I wil make with them after those dayes (sayth the Lord) is this; I will plant my Lawe within them and wryte it in their harts, and I wilbe their G O D and they shalbe my people. Euery man shalnot teache his neybour any more, nor euery man his brother, saying, Knowe the Lord; for they shall knowe me from the greatest to the least. And I will forgiue their vnryghtuousenes, and their Sinne will I remember no more. And that this was ment of the comming of the Messias, it appeareth playne. For he had sayd afore, The Lord wil create a new thing vppon the Earth; a woman shall compasse a man about. Also that by the House of Israel he ment all such as should bee grafted into that house by the comming of Christ, it appeareth in this, that hauing spoken of the peopliug of Israel, he said afore, I will sowe the house of Israel and the house of Iuda with the seede of Man; and after that maner do the Rabbines themselues alledge it. And therefore doth Ionathan say vppon Esay, Ye shall drawe waters of gladnesse out of the welsprings of Saluation, that is to say, you shall receyue new doctrine of gladnesse by the chosen ones of the Rightuouse, that is to wit, of Christ; of whom the Prophet had sayd in the Chapter going last afore, God is my safety, I wilbe bold and not be afrayd. And the Commentarie vppon the booke of the Preacher sayeth, The lawe that men learne in this age, is nothing in respect of the lawe of the Messias; nor the miracles that are past, in comparison of his miracles. And in the booke of Blessings it is sayd, the things that were done in Egipt are but *tappilath* that is to say, an Accident or Bywoorke; but the things that shalbe done in the tyme of the Messias, shalbe *gnikkar* that is to say, the substance thereof. Yea and Rabbi Iohanan in the Talmud sayeth, Wherein soeuer a Prophet biddeth thee transgresse the Lawe, obey him, saning in Idolatry. For al the rest are things that may be chaunged by a Prophet according to occasion and tyme.

Mechilta vpon Exod. 12. Esay. 12.

Midrasch Coheleth Chap. 11. 1.

In the treatyse Boracoth. Talmud of Hierusalem Chapter Meemathai Korin. Talmud, treatyse Sanhedrin.

Yet they reply and say, is God then chaungeable, to giue a lawe that shalbe chaunged after that fashion? No, say we. For what chaungeablenesse is it to promise and performe, to say and to do, to represent and to bring to passe, to begin and to finish? May contrarywise, what greater constancie can there be, than to bring to passe

A reply of the Iewes.

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in their tymes, and according to their circumstances, the things which he had promised to his people: He had said, Circumcyse me all your male Children. This was a signe. And he sayd also, He shall Circumcyse your harts and the harts of your posteritie; and that is the verie true signification of the signe. Now Jesus himself was circumcysed, and that was bycause he was borne vnder the Lawe. But yet hath he circumcysed our harts by regenerating vs, which is as much to say as he performed the Lawe. And why should it bee thought straunge that Circumcision is not retayned now that the Gentyles are called. Verely bycause there is not now any peculiar people, nor consequently any peculiar marke to bee coueted of any one People or Linage, as a seuerall marke of couenant betweene God and them. Also God hath sayd, Take a Cowe for a Sinne offering, And ageine, Take euery of you a Lambe. But he hath sayd lykewise, The sacrifice that I require is a broken and sorowfull hart. The sacrifice that I prepare for you is my Christ, who shalbe led as a Lambe to be slayne for you, and vpon him shall your sinnes be layd. Therefore the Moother of Jesus caried her Sacrifice to the Temple, for her purification; but she caried her Sonne with her also according to this scripture. Euery manchild that first openeth the womb, shalbe holy vnto the Lord; because he was borne vnder the Lawe. But he was crucified for our sinnes, wherein he accomplished the onely Sacrifice that had bene betokened by so many Sacrifices in the Lawe, and therefore he made an ende of all sacrificing and offering of oblations, as one that came to fulfill the Ceremonies of the Lawe, and to set vs free and discharge vs of them.

On the contrarie part, how delt he with the Lawes which were no signes but matters of substance in deede? It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. And Jesus hath sayd, Thou shalt loue God with all thy hart, and he hath giuen vs an example thereof in himself. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image sayth the Lawe: and Christ hath ouerthrowen all the Idols of the Heathen. The Lawe sayth, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vaine: yea (saith Jesus) and thou shalt not sweare by any maner of thing, no not euen by thine owne head. The Lawe sayes, Thou shalt keepe holy ỳ Sabboth day: Howbeit not to restreine thee from going aboue two myles that day, as the Phariſies taught; but to apply thy selfe all that day throughout, to the mynding of the Lawe of thy God, and to the

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seruing of thy Neighbour in his neede. And to the Commaundements of the second table he saith, Thou shalt honour thy Father and thy Moother; howbeit from thy heart, and not for fashions sake, and thou shalt doo the lyke to all thy Superiours. Thou shalt not kill: yea, and if thou hate, not thy neighbour onely, but also euen thyne enemy; thou art a manslear already. Thou shalt not steale: and if a man will haue thy Cote from thee, thou shalt let him haue thy Cloke too. Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: not only in word either false or hurtfull, but also ydle. Thou shalt not commit aduoutry: No, for if thou doe but loke vpon a woman with a lust vnto her, thou hast committed adultrie already. Moreouer, so little leaue hast thou to couet any mans goods, that to succor him thou must dispossesse thy selfe, and sell all that euer thou hast. Finally, Thy God is only one God, and no moe: but thy neighbour is euery man whom thou meetest, of what Countrie, state, condicion, or calling soeuer he or thou be. To bee short, worshippest thou God? doe it with the knees of thy heart. Doest thou fast? When thou doest it, annoint thy face. Doest thou almes? Let not thy left hand knowe it; giue of thy nede, and not of thine abundance. I demaund now whether the exhibiting of the substance and body of the Lawe, in sted of the counterfet or Portrapture thereof, and the requiring of the mynd in sted of the flesh; be an abolishing or defacing of the Lawe? whether the stablishing thereof, bee the disanulling thereof? The clearing and inlightening thereof, be the quenching thereof? or the fulfilling therof in himselfe, and the spreading thereof ouer all Nations of the Earth, bee the breaking thereof? Nay moreouer, the Lawe (say the Cabalistes) was giuen to man for the sinne of the Serpent; that is to say (according to our doctrine) not for vs to accomplish, for wee cannot atteine thereto; but to shew vnto vs how farre the infection of that venome hath caried vs away, from that duetie which God and nature it selfe require of vs. Which end of the Lawe is greatly inlightened vnto vs by the comming of our Lord Jesus, in that he teacheth vs that the Lawe is not satisfied with an outward and pharisaicall obedience, that is to wit, (to speake fitly) by hipocrisie; but by the vncorrupt obedience of the Heart, yea euen much more by an vnfeyned acknowledgement of our disobedience, than by the greatest profession of obedience that a man can shewe.

If they vrge yet further, why then was not this lesson of yours giuen vs at the beginning? I answere, that euen from the begin-

ning forthon, Moyſes and the Prophetes gaue it you, in willing you to circumcise your hearts, to offer vp the sacrifice of prayse and obedience, to abstaine from vnhalowing the Saboth day with vnrighteousnes, and such otherthings. And in speaking to you of the land of Canaan, they haue told you lowd inough by all their doings, that it behoued you to haue a further reache of mynd, namely to the things which (as Esay saith) neither eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor heart of man conceiued. The seruice then which God required of you is spirituall, and the reward which we ought to loke for, is spirituall also. But you, lyke Children as ye be, thought not but (as the most part of you do still at this day) vpon the body and the world; whereas GOD spake to you concerning your Soules and the welfare of them, which lyeth in him. Euen so the Schoolemaister promiseth his yong Scholer a Marchpaine or some other banketing stuffe to make him to learne; not that vertue shall not like the Child much better, and be a greater reward to him when he hath attayned vnto it; but because that if he should talke to him of vertue or of honour at that tyme, he can no skill of any of them both; and he would bee the negligenter to his lesson, and the more vnable to conceiue a greater thing. And truely ye would haue sayd vnto Moyses; Let not God speake vnto vs, but to thee; and yet was he fayne to couer his face, because ye could not abide it. To the same purpose doth Esay say, that ye were fayne to haue line after line, and precept after precept, and lisping Prophets to dallie with you like newe weaned children, that they might make you to vnderstand. Also S. Paule sayth in the same sence, that ye were trained vp like babes vnder the discipline and tutorship of the law. To bee short, all Mankind (after the maner of one only man) hath his birth, his Childhood, and his youth, and his spirituall nourishment proportionable to euery age, as well as euery of vs hath by himselfe. Nature ought to be a Lawe vnto vs. And verely GOD ment to make vs to feele how sore it is corrupted in vs; and because that in those first ages wee did transgresse it and breake it so many and so sundrie waies, like yong Scholers, which (to speake rightly) cannot write one right letter without a sample: therefore God gaue vs the Law written; and there remayned at leastwise so much conscience in vs all, as that none of vs could say but it was most iust. Neuertheless, it was Gods will that wee should trye our strength for a tyme in the doing thereof; whereby we perceyued in the end, that wee could not atteyne thereto, like as the Child that

Deu. 30. & 10. Esay. 56. and 5 8.

vndertaketh

indeuereth to followe the Copie of a good Skriuener, and cannot atteyne to the fashioning of one letter aright, further forth than his maister guideth his hand. At length came Gods grace brought by Jesus Christ, when our accusation (I meane the accusation of all Mankynd and specially of the Church) was made and concluded both by Nature and by the Lawe the Interpreter of Nature, and that so apparantly, as none of vs can denye but that he deserueth very great punishment, nor any of vs say that he deserueth any reward at the hand of the euerlasting God, whose reward being proportionable (if I may so terme it) to the giuer, cannot be but euerlasting. So then, Nature hath made man readie to receiue ꝑ Lawe; the Lawe hath made him readie to imbrace grace: and God (as semed conuenient to his wise prouidence) hath in this last age of the world, caused his grace to be brought and preached vnto vs by his Gospell, euen vnto vs which were as folke standing on the Scaffold readie to bee executed: to the intent that such as perish should acknowledge his Justice, & such as are saued should acknowledge his onely grace in Jesus God and Man, the onely Sauiour and Redeemer of Mankynd. Amen.

The xxxij. Chapter.

That Iesus Christ was and is GOD, the Sonne of GOD, against the Heathen.

NOw then, wee haue Jesus Christ such a one as hee was promised vnto vs in the Scriptures, namely God and Man, the Mediatour of mans saluation, (as sayth S. Paule) manifested in the flesh, crucified by the Iewes, preached to the Gentyles, beleeued on in the world, and taken vp into glorie. And forasmuch as I haue already proued the trewnesse and diuineneſſe of the Scriptures, and that according to them the Mediatour was to be such a one as Jesus was: here I might make an end of this worke: for the cõclusion followeth of it self. The Scrip- 2. Tim. 3.

tures are of God; In them we haue found Iesus to be the Messias, the Mediator, and the Redéemer of Mankynd; therefore it followeth that we ought to receiue him for such a one, and to imbrace his doctrine with all our heart. Howbeit to take all cause of doubt from the Heathen, let vs shewe them yet further, that Iesus is God the sonne of God, without the testimonie of the Scriptures. For it may be, that although they will not beleeue Iesus to be very God by meanes of our Scriptures, yet they will beléeue our Scriptures to be of GOD in very deede, when they shall sée that Iesus is God, whose comming hath bene declared so plainly and so long aforehand in our Scriptures. But to begin withall, let vs call to mynd this saying of Porphyrius, That Gods prouidence hath not left mankind without an vniuersall cleansing, and that the same cannot be done but by one of the beginnings, that is to wit, by one of the three Persones or Inbeeings of Gods essence. And likewise these poynts which I haue proued already, namely, That man is created to liue for euer: That by his corruption hée is falne from Gods fauour into his displeasure, and consequently excluded from that blessednes: That to bring him in fauour ageine, a Mediator must step in, who must be man, that he may sustéine the death which mankind hath deserued; and God, that he may triumphe ouer death, and decke vs with his desert. And such a one doe we say the same Iesus is which was crucified by the Iewes, and beleeued on among the Gentyles of olde tyme: And God of his grace graunt in our tyme, to inlighten all those to whom he hath not as yet giuen grace to beléeue.

Prophesies among the Gentyles. Nomb. 22. and 23. Origen in his 13. Homily vpon Genesis. Chrisostom in his second Homily vpon the viii. of Mathew. Iob. 19. 25. The Oracles of the Sibylls. Lactantius. lib. 4. Cap. 6.

Surely as the Mediator came for the Gentyles as well as for the Iewes, that is to say for all men: so it should seeme that the Gentiles had some incling thereof reuealed to them from GOD, that they might prepare themselues to receiue him. In the Scripture we reade of a Prophet named Balaam, who prophesied plainly enough of Christ. And some auncient writers say that his Prophesie, and the prophesie of one other named Seth, were kept in the East partes of the world. And Iob who was an Edomite, sayth, I am sure that my Redeemer liueth, and shall stand vp last vpon the earth. Also the Sibils, and specially Sibill of Erithra who is so famous aboue the rest, (at leastwise if the bookes which wee haue vnder their names be theirs) doe tell vs that he should be the sonne of God, be borne of a Virgin, be named Iesus, worke miracles, be crucified by the Iewes, be raysed ageine to glory, come in

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the ende to iudge both the quicke and the dead, and so forth; and that, (which is a greater matter) in such termes, and with such particularities, as it seemeth to be ỹ very Gospel turned into verse, as though God had meant to vtter his misteries more manifestly by them to the Gentiles, than he had done to the Iewes, bycause the Gentyles had not bene inured to ỹ heauenly doctrine any long time aforehand, and namely to the hope of the Redeemer. And as for them which thinke those bookes to haue bene counterfetted in those Sibils names, surely they may more easely say it than proue it; but I passe not greatly for that. For (as Suetonius Tranquillus reporteth) the Emperour Augustus made them to bee locked vp in two Cofers of gold, at the fote of the Image of Apollo on mount Palatine in Rome, where it was hard for men to haue falsifyed them. And in the tyme of Origen, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Iustine the Martir, which was not long after the preaching of the Apostles; those bookes were abrode in the world, as appeareth by the discourses of Celsus the Epicure, who sayth in deede that they were counterfet, but hee proueth it not. Also the Emperour Constantine in a certeine Oration of his, witnesseth that hee had seen and read them, and referred the Gentiles of his time to them. Well it cannot be denied but that there was at leastwise some such like thing. For Cicero in his bookes of Diuination writeth these words, Let vs obserue the bookes of Sibyll. We must name vs some King, if we will liue in safetie. And yet all men knowe how hatefull a thing the name of King was, both to all the Romaines and to Cicero him selfe. Also he maketh mention of Sibils Acrosticke, that is to say, of certeyne verses of hirs whose first letters made the name of that King, of which sort wee haue some in the eighth booke of the Sibyls; wherevpon he concludeth, that they had a sound and wel setled mynd. Moreouer, the Emperour Constantine affirmeth, that Cicero had translated the booke Sibyll of Erithra, & that Antonie would haue had it abolished. In these bookes it was sayd, ỹ as sone as the Romanes had set the King of Ægipt againe in his State, by and by should bee borne the King of the whole worlde. And therefore Cicero writing to Lentulus who sewed to haue that charge; doth mention that Oracle vnto hym: and the Romaines made a dout whether they might restore the King of Ægipt or no, by reason of that matter, whereof the Sibyls doe make some speeche in their second booke. Neuertheless when the Romaines had well canuased the case, Gabinus conueyed

Suetonius in the lyfe of Augustus. cap. 31.

Cicero in his first booke of Diuination.

Cicero in his first Epistle to Lentulus lib. 1. epist. In the second booke of their Oracles.

home Ptolomie King of Ægipt into his Kingdome, and at the same time was Jesus Christ borne. Virgill who by the fauour of Augustus had accesse to those bookes, made an Eglog (which is but a translation of certeine of the Uerses of those Sibyls) concerning the happie state which Sibyll behighted by Jesus Christ the sonne of God; sauing that Virgil not loking deepely into the matter, applyed it wholy to one Salonine, in fauour of Augustus who he meant to flatter: After which maner the Romanes wrested this famous foresaying of Syria, to the Emperour Vespasian, That out of Iewrie should come the Souereine of the whole world. But wee reade that one Secundian a notable man in the tyme of the Emperor Decian, and one Verian a Painter, and one Marcelline an Orator, became Christians vpon the onely reading and conferring of those Oracles. And therefore the first writers among the Christians, as Iustine, Origen, Clement, & such others, doe sommon the Heathen to the bookes of the Sibyls, because they would not with their good willes haue beleeued ours; and also to a former prophesie of one Histaspes, which spake plainly of the comming of the sonne of God into the world, and of the conspiring of all kingdomes ageinst him and his. And therefore all those bookes were forbidden by the Heathen Emperours, vpon peyne of death. But God of his wonderfull prouidence had prouided for the Saluation of the Gentyles, by scattering the Jewish nations with their books and prophesies, into all the fower quarters of the World; howbeit that we reade not of any other Linage or Nation to haue bene so scattered without losing their tytles, their bookes, their name, and the very knowledge of their original; which prerogatiue the Iewes had, to the intent they should bee Preachers of the comming of the Mediator, and witnesses of the antiquitie, trueth, and vncorruptnes of the Prophesies, ageinst the effect whereof neuertheless they set themselues with all their power. For what better witnesses I pray you could the Gentyles haue; than the Jewes themselues: namely in that they being the putters of Jesus and of his disciples to death, were ready notwithstanding to dye for the trueth & soundnesse of the bookes wherein he was foreshewed, foretold, and forepromised vnto them at all tymes: Furthermore, that this King promised by the Prophetes and the Sibyls, should deliuer the Law of good lyfe to the whole world, Cicero seemeth to haue had some vnderstanding (howsoeuer he came by it) or els I cānot tell wherto I should apply this goodly sentence of his in his third booke of

Virgil. Eglog 4

Vincent. lib. 31. cap. 50.

Iustine in his Apologie.
Origen against Celsus.
Clement in Strom.

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his Commonweale. Soothly the very Lawe in deede (sayth he) is right reason, shed into all men, constant, euerlasting, which calleth all men to their duetie by commaunding, and frayeth them from fraud by forbidding; which yet notwithstanding neither biddeth nor forbiddeth, in vayne to the good, nor by bidding or forbidding moueth the bad. From this lawe may nothing be taken, to it may nothing be put, neither may it be wholy abrogated. Neither Senate nor Pope can discharge vs of this Lawe, neither needeth there any interpreter or expounder thereof to make it playne. There shall not bee one Lawe at Rome, and another at Athens; one tooday, and another toomorrowe: But one selfesame Lawe being both euerlasting and vnchaungeable, shall conteyne all Nations and at all tymes; and there shall be but one common mayster and commaunder of all, euen God. He is the deuiser, the discusser, and the giuer of this Lawe; which who will not obey, shall flee from himselfe as if he disdeined to be a man; which dooing of his must needes be a sore punishment vnto him, though hee were sure to scape all other punishments. Who seeth not here, that this Heathen man espyed, that all Lawes of man are but vanitie, and that he looked that God himselfe should come openly into the sight of the world, to giue a good lawe to Mankind? Now, Iesus hath manifestly giuen this Lawe, causing it to be published by his Apostles, and their voyce sounded to the vttermost bounds of the earth. And for proofe hereof, what is more conuenient and mete for man in the iudgement of conscience, than to loue God with all his heart and all his Soule; and his neighbour as himself? which yet notwithstanding doth more surmount our abilitie to performe, and more bewray our corruption, and more condemne whatsoeuer is in vs of our owne, than doth the Lawe it selfe vniuersally in all mankind. On the contrarie part, what find we in all the writings of the Heathen, but a Hireling vertue, and a teaching to cloke vice, that is to say Hipocrisie? But as this Lawe is verily of God, so let vs see whether the bringer thereof bee God. And I beseech all worldly wise men, not to hearken vnto mee by halues, nor so looke vpon things at a glaunce, (for I come not to daly with them:) but to yeeld mée both their eares, and to loke wistly, & to bend all their wits aduisedly: for the nearer they loke vnto ỹ matter, & the more deliberatly they consider of it; the sooner will they yeeld to our doctrine, as to the vndoubted trueth, yea & as to very nature it self.

Cicero in his third booke of his Common-weale. in Lactantius lib. 6. cap. 8.

The proceeding of the Kingdom of Iesus beyond nature and against Nature.

Iesus therefore is borne in the little Countrie of Iewrie subdewed by the Romaines, of poore parents, in a sorie Village, destitute of friends and of all worldly helpes, and yet was he to be Emperour of the whole world, to giue the Law to the whole world. Let vs see the proceeding of this Emperour & of his Empyre. Amend (sayth he) and beleeue the Gospell: for the kingdome of Heauen is at hand. If we consider the maiestie of the Romaine Empyre, the eloquence and learning of the great Clerks, and the pride of the Sophists and Orators of that tyme; what greater fondnesse could there be to all seeming, than to talke after that maner? Who would not haue thought folly both in Christ and in his Apostles for their preaching so? But what addeth he? Whosoeuer wil come into this kingdome, let him forsake goodes, father, moother, wife, children, yea and himselfe too. And let him take vp his Crosse and followe me. Let him thinke himself happie that he may suffer a thousand miseries for me, and that in the end he may dye for my names sake. What maner of priuiledges are these I beseech you, to drawe people into that kingdome? What a hope is it for them that serue him? What are these promises of his, but threatnings? and his perswasiõs, but dissuasions? What say we to a friend whom we turne from some other man, but thus; eschewe that mans companie, for ye shall haue nothing with him but trauell and trouble? And what worse could the veriest enemies of his doctrine say, than he himselfe sayd? Also what a saying of his was this to S. Paule a man of reputation among the Pharisies, and greatly imployed afore in following ꝑ world? I wil shew thee how great things thou hast to indure for my names sake? And yet notwithstanding, what a sodeyne chaunge insewed, from apprehending and imprisoning, to bee apprehended and imprisoned? from being a Judge, to be whipped and scourged? from stoning of others to death, to offer himselfe from Citie to Citie to bee stoned for the name of Iesus?

Plutark in the sayings of the Kings of old tyme.

Let vs heare on the contrarie part the voyce of a worldly Conquerour. Whosoeuer will followe me (sayth Cyrus to the Lacedemonians) if he be a footman, I will make him a Horseman: if he bee a Horseman, I will giue him a Charyot: if he haue a Manor, I will giue him a Towne: if he haue a Towne, I wil giue him a Citie: if he haue a Citie, I will giue him a Countrie: and as for Gold, he shall haue it by weight, and not by tale. What odds is there betweene the speeches of these two Monarkes, and much

much more betweene their Conquests? And therefore what comparison can there bee betwixt the Conquerours themselues? This Cyrus as great an Emperour as he was, could not haue the Lacedemonians to serue him for all his great offers. But Iesus being poore, abiect, and vnregarded, did by his rigorous threats, euen after his own suffering of reprochfull death and his manacing of the like to his followers, drawe all people and Nations vnto him, and not only Souldyers, but also Emperours; nor only Cities, but also whole Empyres. Cyrus dyed in conquering; and Iesus conquered by dying. The death of Cyrus decayed his owne kingdome, as a bodie without a soule: But the death of Iesus inlarged his kingdome euen ouer the Empyres. And how could that haue bene, but that the death of Iesus was the life of all Empyres and all Kingdomes? Who seeth not then, in the mightinesse of the one, a humaine weakenesse; and in the weakenesse of the other, a diuine mightinesse? Wee wonder at the Conquests of Alexander. And why? Because that beeing but a meane King of Macedonie, he passed into Asia, and conquered it with fortie thousand men and no moe. Had he carryed a hundred thousand with him, we would haue had the lesse estimation of his deedes. But how much greater account would we haue made of him, if he had done it with halfe his number? And had he done it with the tenth man, O how we would haue wondered! And if wee made a God of him for conquering so; what diuine honor would we think sufficiēt for him now? At least-wise who would not haue thought him, if not a God, yet (at the least) assisted with the power and might of GOD? But had these Souldiers ouercome their enemies by being beatē at their hands; had they conquered by causing themselues to bee killed; had they brought Kingdomes in obedience by submitting themselues to their Gibbets: had it not bene a cryme to haue left them vnworshipped for Gods? For if betweene the able man and the vnable man, the skilfull and the vnskilfull, the difference bee that the vnskilfull can doe nothing vnlesse he haue very well and abundantly wherewith: but the skilfull can worke much vpon little, and by his cunning ouercome the awknesse of his stuffe: What is the difference betweene the skilfullest man and God, but that the man can of a little make somewhat, whereas God can of nothing and without helpe of any thing make great things, yea and euen one contrary of another and by another? Which is as much to say, as that he is of infinite power, able to fill vp the infinite distance that is betweene

twéne contraries, and specially betwéne nothing and something. Now, let vs see what Iesus hath done; and let vs bring with vs the same eyes and the same reason, which wee did to the iudging and discerning of the Historie of Alexander. First, our Lord Iesus was borne destitute of al worldly helps. From ten to tenthousand, and from tenthousand to ten millions, men doe atteyne: but who can atteyne from nothing, to so huge a thing? He was accompanyed by a fewe ignorant Fishermen of grosse wit. And yet is it no small matter ỳ he could cause them to giue ouer their Trade to follow him. But what Instruments were they to make Preachers to the whole world, being rather cleane contrary to such a purpose? And to incourage them, he sayes vnto them: Blessed are ye when ye indure all maner of aduersities for my names sake. This had bene enough to haue driuen them away, and yet they followe him. At length, he sendeth them of Ambassage to al Nations; And what was their message? He that taketh not vp his Crosse and followeth me, is not worthie of me. What is he that would at this day take such a charge vpon him, no though he were well rewarded for his labour? They shall whippe you in their Synagog sayth he. Who would vndertake to deale in such a case? Specially vppon such a perswasion as this, Hee that will saue his life shall lose it? In the ende, he dyeth. And how? Crucified betwéne two Théeues. Those fewe followers of his are at their wits end. He leaueth neither Children nor kinsfolke behinde him to vpholde his fillie kingdome. The kingdome of Heauen that he had talked of, seemeth to bee buryed in the earth. What worldly kingdome had not perished in this plight? How long did the throne of Alexander reigne, notwithstanding that it was vphild with the hope of some Children, with the policie of great Captaynes, with the force of victorious Armies, and with the very terrour of his name? In the meane while, those fillie Shéepe of Christ came together, and wét and preached to Hierusalem, and afterward to all the world. And what preached they? That Iesus had bene crucified, and that it behoued them to beléeue in him. If he was a man; what was more vayne? If he was a God; what was more absurd? Yet notwithstanding, if they may haue audience, they teach men to suffer for him: if they be shut out, they will rather dye than forbeare to speake of him: and if they bee accused for it, they preach their cryme before their Iudges. Malefactors are tormented to make them tell their fault, and these are tormented to make them to conceale it. Those

hold

hold their peace, to saue themselues from death; and these dye for speaking. Their persecutors crye out, what a miserie is this, that we cannot ouercome an old man, or a woman: what a shame is it for vs, to be more wearie of tormenting them, than they bee of the torments: Yet notwithstanding, in lesse than fortie yéeres ỳ world is filled full of this doctrine, and the Countries are conquered to Jesus Christ by those fewe Disciples preaching his bloudshed and sheading their owne, from Hierusalem to Spayne, yea and from Hierusalem to the Indyes. And loke by what meanes this kingdome is founded, by the same also is it stablished, and from tyme to tyme increased and maintepned. What man (if he knowe how farre man can extend) can attribute these things vnto man: Hée is God (sayth a wise man) which doth that which no creature can do: And who euer did such things either afore Jesus or after him: Also Aristotle sayth, that of nothing can nothing bee made: that in deede is a rule in nature. But what els are these doings of Christ, but a making not only of some thing, but also of ỳ greatest things, of nothing: And who can violate or ouercome the lawe of nature, but only he that created nature: Now God spake the word, and it was done: this surpasseth nature. But when Jesus sayth, He that doth not take vp his Crosse and followe me, is not worthie of me: to our fleshly vnderstanding it is as much as if he should say, Flee from me, and yet men followe him, and seeke him. The word (say I) which were enough to driue vs away, draweth vs vnto him: by dissuading, he perswadeth vs: in turning vs away, he turneth vs to him: in throwing vs downe, he setteth vs vp: and in killing vs, he maketh vs euerlasting. Who can drawe one contrarie out of another, as, the effects of water out of fire, and the effects of fire out of water; but he that made both fire and water: And who can drawe perswasion out of dissuading; and conuerting out of diuerting; but he that made both the heart of the man that hearkeneth, and the speech of the partie that speaketh? And what is the conquering of the liuing by the dying of himselfe and his; but as ye would say a working of an effect by taking away the cause: What is this subduing of the world by disarming, tying, and deliuering of himselfe; but a taking of a way contrarie to his businesse, and a chosing of instruments most cõtrarie to his working: And he that doth a thing by instruments contrarie thereunto, nay rather by such instruments as are directly hurtfull to it and can no way further it, doth he not shew that he could do it by his only word, without

out other helpe? But let vs see yet more. It is against nature to make something of nothing: Here the Philosophers must stope. It is against nature to make a thing by speaking the contrarie: Here the Orators are put to silence. What wilt thou say then, if besides all this, there bee an extreme resistance in the thing it selfe: if thou be a Phisition, in the Complexion: if thou bee a Capteyne, in the Conquest: if thou be an Orator, in the willes of men? Alexander did great things with fewe men. I graunt. But if men had made head against him as they might haue done, in what case had he bin. Let vs see contrarywise what resistance men made both generally and particularly to shut Jesus out of ỹ dores. If ye speake of force; he could scarsly preach without perill of death. His Apostles could not open their lippes, but thei were by and by whipped, stoned, racked, crucified or burned. The cruellest Emperours, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and such others, wrought vpon them the chiefe dedes of their cruelties. If any of those Emperours chaunced to bee more mield, O what Justice vsed he! Forsoth, If they bee not sedicious, (say they) let them not be sought. But come they once in Question, wherefore soeuer it be, let them not escape. I would fayne learne what sect of Philosophers in all Greece, would not haue ceassed at the least commaundement of a Magistrate. And of what trueth doe we finde any monuments of Conquests ouer all the world; but of the trueth of Jesus Christ? If ye haue an eye to policie, those that followed him were excluded from all promotions and offices: And what a hell is that to a man of an ambicious nature? Their Children were prohibited to goe to Schole: and what was that but a cutting vp of the tree by ỹ rote, if it had not growen by grace from Heauen? Also certeyne counterfet Dialogs, forged concerning Pylate and Christ, full of wicked lyes and blasphemies, were inioyned to bee read in Scholes, and to be conned of Children by hart, to steyne the name of Jesus, and to make it odious and lothsome to all men for euer. And what more pernicious policie could the Deuill himselfe haue deuised?

The Iewes worse than all others, (to whom notwithstanding he was promised) were false Traytors to him; and whereas they should haue preached him, they vtmost eagerly accuse him; insomuche that there scarsly came any of his Disciples into any towne, but that they made Hew and crye vppon him to murder him. Nay (which more is) in euery seuerall persone there was an inward incounter, and an extreame resistance against this word. Yea? [sayd

men

men within themselues] shall I beleeue in Iesus? An abiect man? A crucified God? Shal I beleeue his Disciples, the offscourings of the World, and the outcasts of the Iewes? Shall I beleeue in him for a two or three dayes, to leaue behind me a wretched wyfe, a reprochefull remembrance of myself, and the report of a foole to my posteritie? If the Emperours made so cruell warre against this doctrine both by sword and by their Lawes; we may well coniecture what Warre euery man mayntayned against it in himself. And if we haue knowen what persecution is, let vs here bethink vs of the battells betweene the flesh and the spirit; and of the lyuely and sharpe arguments which a man in that case maketh against himself. Notwithstanding all this, in the end whole Nations yeelded themselues to the word of those men, and euen Empyres worshipped Iesus Christ crucified. If weakenesse wrought this; why did not force get the vpper hand? If folly; why did not wisdome tryumph ouer them? If manhod; why did not multitude preuayle? No surely, it was Iesus the sonne of God, who repayred the world by his spirit as God had created it at the first by his word. Cicero could not woonder ynough at Romulus, for that (sayeth he) in a time which was not rude, he had compassed so much as to be called a God. And certesse I maruell at Cicero, that he shewed himself so grosse in that behalf. For if he were called a God, who euer beleeued him to be so? And what was Rome at that tyme, and a long tyme after, but a rout of ignorant and silly Shepherds? But thereby wee may deeme, what iudgment hee would haue giuen vpon Iesus. Romulus was called a God; but the Senate beleeued it not. The Senate did put the people in feare, and by that meanes made them to say it. But all the whole Empyre of Rome could not feare one Disciple from professing of Iesus. What resemblance then is there betweene them two? The same may be sayd of Alexander as greate an Emperour as he was, when he made men too woorship him as God. For euen then did his army fall to mutinies, he lost his estimation, he disteyned his victories, & his owne howseholdseruants were contented to be beaten rather than they would kneele downe to worship him. And afor Caligula, Domitian, Heliogabalus, and others, they were Laughed to skorne as long as they liued; and they were not so soone dead, but their Godheads were dragged in the myre lyke doggs, and men voutsafed them not so much as a Tumb to be buryed in. But what say yee to Iesus, who being despysed all his lyfetyme, was worshipped as God

after

after his death? Whose Godhead his Disciples preache euen vpon the racke, and whom the very Emperours Tiberius, and Antoninus, and Alexander honored in their harts and worshipped as God in their priuichambers? And in what time? Surely in the Learnedest tyme that euer was, and in the full florishing state of knowledge in all arts, skills, and sciences: when Rhetoryk, Logicke, and all Philosophie were at their pryde; and at such time as Magik and all maner of curious sciences had their full scope and were at their hyghest pitch. If he be worshipped for his wisdome; what a nomber of graue Senators were there at that time? If for Learning and Doctrine; what a nomber of learned men? If for Riches and parentage; how would those greate men haue yeelded to such an ofcast? If for his giltlesse death, why not others also, of so many which preached him and followed him? And why was not Gabinius worshipped so to, being a Citisen of Rome, a man of honour, and vniustly crucified, in whose behalf Cicero vttered all the goodly eloquence that he had? Nay surely, they sawe such a chaunge in the World, so sodeine, so greate, and so vniuersall; that they could not impute it to any other thing, than to the power and operation of him that ruleth the world, whose myghty power they perceyued in Jesus.

Records of the wonderfull proceeding of Christes Kingdome.

That this so suddein turning of Nations to worshyp a man; of Emperours to reuerence reproche, and of wise men to haue folly (as sayeth S. Paule) in admiration, is verie true: I will take none other witnesses than themselues. We reade in Suetonius and Tacitus, that the name of Christ was knowen in Rome, and throughout all Italy: For they persecuted the Christians a fresh contrarie to the custome of the Romanes; insomuch that Nero made them to be put to the slaughter, as if they had bin the authors of the burning of Rome, which he himself had caused to be set on fire. And we reade that in the same time, the Senate made certeyne decrees, whereby many thousands of Christians, infected with the Jewish superstition, (for so did they terme them bycause they had their originall from the Iewes) were banished into dyuers Iles. Which thing the Senate would not haue done, (considering their ordinary maner of proceeding in cases of Religion) if the hastie increase of that spirituall kingdome had not put them in feare. And within a whyle after, we see how all the Emperours were amazed at this flocking of people togither vnto thē, for counsel how to extinguish that doctrine; and how fires were kindled against them on all sides;

Sueton. in Nero.
Tacitus lib. 5.

and

and yet how Nations neuertheleſſe were ſhaken at the voice of the Apoſtles, and the verie Courts of Princes with their Legions of Souldyers, were made to inclyne vnto Chriſt. Sufficient witneſſes whereof be the Lawes of that age; wherein it was inacted that the Swoordgirdle of a Souldyer ſhould not bee woone of any Chriſtian: that they ſhould not beare any office or haue any charge in the Court, and ſuch other. And Vlpian the Lawyer did himſelf write fower bookes againſt the chriſtians. And truely we reade that a greate many gaue ouer their charges, rather than thei would forſake the Chriſten fayth. Moreouer in the tyme of Marcus Aurelius, there was a Legion that was called the Legion of Malta, which was altogither of Chriſtians; of which Legion hee witneſſeth in a certeine Epiſtle of his, that being vpon a time brought to vtter diſtreſſe by the Marcomanes, this Legion obtayned by prayer beth Thunder from Heauen againſt the enemie, and Rayne wherewith to refreſh the whole army, whereupon that Legion was afterward called the Thunderer. And therefore ſaieth Tertullian in his Apologie, If as many of vs as be Chriſtians ſhould get vs away into ſome corner of the world; ye would woonder to ſee how feaw people ye ſhould haue remayning to you, & ye ſhould be fayne to ſeeke other Cities to commaund; or rather you to flee away out of hand and too hyde yourſelues; for yee ſhould haue mo enemyes than Citizens left ye. We haue filled now whole Cities, Ilands and Caſtles; Counſelles, Palaces, and Courtes; Trybes, Legions, and Armyes. What warre were we not able inough to vndertake, if we liſted? And what is it that we might not bring to paſſe, dying ſo manfully and ſo willingly as wee do? Nay, the Lawe of our warre teacheth vs to dye, and not to kill. Now what kingdome euer had ſo greate increaſe, in ſo ſhort tyme? But (which is a greater matter) what a thing is it to vanquiſh by yeelding, to be furthered by retyring, and to conquer by dying? We reade of the Emperour Tiberius, that vppon a letter written to him from Pilate reporting the miracles of Jeſus, his guiltleſſe death, and his ryſing again from the dead; he preferred a bill to the Senate with his aſſent vnto it, to haue had them proclayme Jeſus to bee God; and that the Senate refuſed it, becauſe they themſelues were not the authors thereof; but that Tyberius abode ſtill in his opinion. And thereupon Tertullian ſayth, Goe looke vpon your Regiſters and the Acts of your Senate: Alſo Veſpaſian the ſcourge of the Iewes, forbare the Chriſtians: and Traiane

Xiphilus in the lyfe of M: Aurelius.

The Epiſtle of M. Aurelius in the Apologie of Iuſtine.

Tertulian in his Apologie.

Egeſippus in his Auacephaleoſis.

Euſeb. Tertullian in his Apol.

Plinie in his Epistles. Iulius Capitolimus in Adrian and Alexander. Antonine the Emperour in an Epistle of his to the cities of Asia. Dion in the life of the Emperour Alexander. * The deuice was this, Do not to another that which thou wouldest not haue done to thyselfe.

Traiane moderated the persecution, vpon the report of their innocencie made vnto him by Plinie. Marcus Aurelius hauing felt the helpe of their prayers did the like. Likewise did Antonine, but to another end: namely, because that (as he himselfe writeth in an epistle of his) persecution did stablish the Church of the Christians. To bee short, Alexander the sonne of Mammea, did in his Chappell worship Iesus surnamed Christ, of whom also he toke his * Poesie, and therefore the Antiochians called him the Archpriest of Syria. And it is reported that for Christs sake, the Emperour Adrian builded many Temples without Images. Finally, the good Emperours of Rome, Vespasian, Adrian, Traiane, Antonine the meeke and such others, had Christ in estimation and allowed of the Christians. But how farre? Surely as to acknowledge in their hearts that they were good and honest men, and that Iesus had more in him than was of Man. But yet for all this, If they be accused, (say these good Emperours) let them bee punished; if not, let them not be sought. This is a good proofe and allowance of their innocencie: but surely it is but a slender release for them. Contrarywise, the wicked Emperours Nero, Domitian, Valerian, Commodus, Maximine, Decius, and such others, condemned them, and by their condemning of them did iustifie them. For what did they euer allowe, but euill? But what maner of condemning is this? Kill all, burne all, yea whole Cities, haue no respect of sex, of age, or of qualitie. Scarcely had the Christians any breathingtime, but a new counterbuffe came vpon thē againe; they were no sooner from the torture, but they must to it againe. And yet God did so rule all things by his prouidence, to the intent the whole glorie in this misterie should redound to himself, that the mield dealing of the good Emperours did in deede iustifie ỹ trueth, but yet durst they not aduaunce or further it: whereas on the contrary part, the malice of the other sort condemned it and persecuted it to the vttermost, but yet could they not destroye it. To be short, in fewe yeares there passed ten horrible persecutions vppon that poore Church; and yet in the end the Emperours themselues submitted themselues to the Crosse of Christ, and their Empyres sought their welfare there. Therefore we may alwaies come back to this poynt, That he, yea only he which first created the world of nothing, when there was not yet any thing to withstand him; is able to recouer the world from Sathan and to subdue it to himself, without the helpe of any thing, euen by instruments repugnant to him,

him, and in despight of the whole world bending itself against him.

But what will ye say if he subdue, not onely men, but also their Gods? not only the world, but also the Soueraynes of the world; I meane the Diuels which at that time held the world vnder their tyrannie? Let vs reade the Histories of the Greekes & Romanes that were afore the comming of Christ; and what shall wee find in them, but the Oracles and Oracles of Diuels? What els haue Varro, Cicero, Titus Liuius and such others among the Romanes; or Herodotus, Diodorus, Pausanias and the residewe among the Greekes? On the contrarie part we see, that euen euer since Christ was borne and preached (the world hath chaunged his hewe. Iesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, and see here what Apollo answereth vnto him.

The abolishing of the False Gods & of their Oracles.

Suidas in the lyfe of Augustus. Nicephorus. lib. 1. Cap. 17.

An Hebrew Child which daunteth with his powre
The blessed Gods, doth straightly mee commaund
To get mee hence to Hell this present howre;
Therefore of mee no Counsell now demaund.

Whereupon Augustus erected an Altar in the Capitoll, with this inscription vppon it; The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God.

And Cicero sayth that the Oracles whose answers he had so diligently registred in his bookes, did ceasse in his tyme: And Iuuenall reporteth the same of the Oracle of Delphos by name, howbeit that he beareth vs on hand, that Kings did put them to silence, who in deede were most inquisitiue to haue them speake. Likewise Strabo sayth that the Priestes of Delphos were brought to beggerie by it. But Lucane giues this generall report of all the Gods of the Romanes.

Iuuenal. Satyr. 3.

The Gods by whom this Empyre stoode, abandon euerychone
Their Temples, Shrynes, and Sacrifice, and leaue vs now alone.

Also Celsus the Epicure sayth, that the Oracles of Claros, Delphos, and Dodon were stricken dumbe. And Iulian the Renegate writing against the Christians, confesseth and witnesseth the same of the Oracles of Ægipt. Yea and Porphirius himselfe (for I alledge none heere but the deadly enemyes of Christ) rehearseth these verses of Apollo.

Alas ye Trenets, moorne with mee; Apollo now is gone,
Gone quite & cleane; the heauenly light compelles me to be gone.
Ioue was, Ioue is, and Ioue shalbe; O Ioue, now welaway;
The light of all myne Oracles doth fayle mee now for ay.

And vnto ỹ Priest ỹ asked him the last Oracle, he answered thus.

Vnhappy Preest, inquire no more of mee
The outtermost and last, concerning the
Deuine Begetter, or the onely deere
Beloued Sonne of that most mightie King.
Nor of his Spirit which vpholdeth all
Both Mountaines, Earth, Brookes, Seas, Hell, Aire, & Fyre
Now wo is mee: For sore ageinst my will,
That spirit driues mee from this house of myne;
So that this Chappell where I propheſie,
Shall out of hand be left quyte desolate.

Eusebius in his booke of Preparation to the Gospell.

Also being inforced by charmes and Coniurations, he sayd againe as it were for a solemne Farewell;

The Pythonesse shall neuer now her voyce hencefoorth recouer.
Long tract of tyme hath withered her: The souereine power a-
Hath lokt her vnder silence fast, so as she can no more (bone her
Now vtter any propheſie; which greeueth her full sore.
But you according to your woont, such sacrifices still
To Phœbus offer, as are meete for men to God to kill.

Plutark.

To be short, Plutarke hath made a booke of purpose, intytled why Oracles haue ceassed. But in the end he commeth to this poynt, That the spirites which had the managing of those Oracles, are mortall, and that by their deathes their Oracles ceassed, whereas notwithstanding he commonly vpholdeth that all spirites are immortall; but in déede he should haue sayd that they were shut vp as in a Jayle. Herevpon he rehearseth at length a notable story of one Epitherses, who sayling néere the Vrchinyles, heard (and al those that were in the Ship with him) a certeine voyce comming from one of those Iles, which bade them declare that the great Pan was dead, And he telleth that after this voyce followed an vnspeakle sighing, and lamentations without nomber. Which storie (sayth he) was reported to Tiberius then Emperour; who beeing desirous to knowe the trueth of the matter, enquired very earnestly the opinions of all the Philosophers, What that great Pan should be. Now let vs marke that this was done in ỹ reigne of Tiberius, vnder whome Christ was crucified, and that this Pan was one of the chéef Idols of the Heathen, as appéereth by this his Oracle in the bookes of Borphiryus.

The Goldenhorned Pan which serues the grizly Bacchus, stalks
Among the Moūtaines clad with woods, & keepes his wonted walks.

In

In déede Apollo answered vnto Diocletian, that The Righteous made him dumb; and the Priest told Diocletian, that by the Righteous he meant the Christians. Whereupon Diocletian fell to persecuting them. Also the same Apollo told Iulian (who would néedes waken him vp ageine by Coniurations) that hee could say nothing till he had first remoued the bones of Babylas a Martyr of Christs away, which were an impediment to him; which is as much to say, as he could not open his mouth, but to pronounce the sentence of condemnation against himselfe. And therefore, It is no maruell (sayth Porphyrius) though our Cities bee smitten with the plague, seeing that Esculapius & the rest of the Gods are put so farre from them. For since the tyme that Iesus hath bene worshigped, we haue taken no benefite by any of all our Gods. Then let this great Philosopher tell me, whether Iesus be a Man, and they Gods or no? What maner of Gods are those, which shrinke away at the presence of a Man? and what a man is he, that maketh Goddes to hide their heads? May further, what a man is he whose Disciple commaundeth their Maisters, & whose seruant commaundeth their Gods? Will ye see how it is the name of Iesus whereat they tremble, and which they shun? Loe here the tryall whereto the Christians submit themselues before the Gentyles. Let a man (saith Tertullian) that is possessed in deed with a Deuill, bee brought before your Iudgment seate; and at the commaundement of the meanest Christian, the Spirit shall speake, and confesse himselfe to be an vncleane Spirit. Let one of those folke be brought whom you thinke to be inspyred of a God; be it the same God that promiseth you rayne, or beeit Esculapius that playeth the Phisition among you. If hee dare lye before a Christian, or if hee confesse not himselfe to bee a Deuill; take the Christian to bee presumptuous, and let him dye for it out of hand. Now, none will speake his owne shame, but rather that which may sound to his honour. Surely they will not tell ye that Iesus is a deceiuer, or of the cómon stamp of men, or that he was stolne out of his graue, as hath bin reported vnto you: but that he is the power, the wisedome, and the word of God; that he sitteth in heauen, and that he shall come to iudge vs; and on the contrary part, that themselues bee Deuilles, damned for their naughtinesse, and wayting for his dreadfull doome; and that is because that being afrayd of Christ in God, and of God in Christ, they yeeld to God and

Porphyrius against the Christians.

Tertullian in his Apologie.

Christ, and to the seruants of God and Christ. If Tertullians saying be true, what els is this, but that Jesus commandeth them as slaues, yea euen by his seruants? Or if it be false, how easie had it bene for the Heathen to haue giuen him the foyle, by putting the matter in proof? And why did they not put ỳ Christians to shame, in the open face of the world? May (sayth Lactantius) when they offered sacrifice to their Goddes, the presence of a Christian would haue dashed their misteries: and thereupon came vp this speech which we reade in Lucian: If there be any Christian here, let him get him hence. And whē they asked any question of their Gods, their speech fayled them: and it was as easie for a Christian to driue Apollo out of his Priest or Pythonesse, as to driue a Deuill out of one that was possessed. And Iulian himselfe (as Zosimus dareth not denye) found by proofe in his Magical workes, how weake his Gods were, and how strong Christ is. Moreouer, some curious Princes haue by their Magicians caused Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcane, Mercurie, Apollo, and Saturne himself, that is to say, the Deuilles that decked themselues with their names) to appeare: which thing they could neuer cause Christ to do, with all their Coniurations that they had: and that is because all those Gods of theirs were Deuilles, ouer whom good men haue power by commaunding them in the name of GOD, and euill men by pleasing them. But as for Jesus Christ the very sonne of God, he stoopeth not to any creature, but is serued by Angelles and good men as by his Seruants, and by Deuils and wicked men as by his Slaues.

Lucian in his Alexander.

Also at the same tyme that Jesus came, there was scarsly any Countrie in the world, where these Deuilles had not men offered ordinarily vnto them in Sacrifice, as we vnderstand by Porphyrius himselfe, and as I haue declared heretofore. But in the reigne of Tyberius, they were forbidden in Affricke, and the Priests that Sacrificed them were hanged vp in their hallowed Groues. And vnder the Emperour Adrian all Sacrifices and all Idolles were abolished almost euerywhere. And therfore sayth S. Austin to the people of Medaure; See how your Temples are partly decayed for want of reparation, and partly shut vp, and partly altered to another vse. To worship your Idols, you haue put the Christians to death; & the Christians by their dying haue cast your Idols downe to the ground. And in another place he cryeth out; where be your Gods, where be your Prophets, where be your Oracles, your Bowelgazings and your Sacrifices? And we reade

S. Austin in an Epistle to the people of Medaure.

not

not of any that reproued him of vntrueth; notwithstanding that many (and among them one Zosimus) beweyleth ꝑ decay of them; and yet doth not any of them step forth for him, to shewe any remaynder of them. And whereas Iulian sayth, As our Oracles are ceassed, so also be your Prophets: Let him first shewe vpon what cause his Oracles are ceassed, which many haue sought and none yet found. As for ours, they had an eye to Christ, and aimed at him as their marke: and now that he is come, the office of the messenger ceasseth in the presence of the maister, and the representing of saluation by Sacrifices ceasseth, because the Saluation it selfe is come.

Miracles which could not proceede but from God

Iesus therefore hath ouercome both the world and the Prince of the world, by a force (in outward showe) cleane contrarie to all victorie, and by a way contrarie to the end that he intended; that is to wit by his word, which to the sight of the world is folly & feblenesse. Let vs see now how in his workes he passeth all the abilitie of al Creatures, according to this saying of his, The works which I doe, doe beare witnesse of me. And soothly it is a myracle that so many people haue beleeued at the preaching of the Apostles: but a farre more wonder that so fewe folke in these our daies should regard it, though Iesus Christ and his Apostles had neuer wrought other myracle than that, as I haue often sayd afore. But that they wrought very great myracles besides, I see fewe of the Heathen that dare denye it; and against the Iewes I haue sufficiently proued it alreadie. Wee haue a Letter of Pylats, wherein he witnesseth that Iesus gaue sight to the blynd, cleansed Leapers, healed them that were diseased with the Palsey, deliuered men from Deuilles, ouerruled the waters, raysed the dead, and rose againe himselfe after he had bene dead three daies. Also our Diuines of olde tyme say vnto the Heathen, Reade your owne Commentaries, and search your Registers, & you shal finde there the myracles of Iesus. And the Emperour Iulian speaking of him in skorne, sayth thus; What hath this Iesus done worthie of memorie or of any account in all his life; sauing that he cured a fewe blynd and lame men, and deliuered some from Deuils that possessed them, in the Villages of Bethsaida and Bethania? To be short, as well the Turkes as the Iewes confesse and commend his myracles; and the Emperours would neuer haue esteemed of him, if it had not bin for his myracles. Apollo himself in his Oracles called him σοφὸν τερατώδεσιν ἔργοις, that is to say, The wise in wonderfull

derfull workes. But let vs take Iulian at his word, and his confession will bee enough. Put the case that he had done no more but cured the blynd, and that he had cured no moe than one. Who is so blynd, that in this healing of the blynd, seeth not this singuler power of God? Is not the eyesight one of the excellentest substances in the world? And what is the restoring of sight, but the restoring of a substance? and what is the restoring thereof, but a newe creating therof, euen of nothing? And what can make a substance (how small soeuer it bee) of nothing, but an infinite power? The which who can haue, but the only one God? or who can be the instrument or disposer thereof, but only he that pleaseth God? To be briefe, is he not without the bounds of nature, which can create a substance? And whence hath he then that power, but from the maker of nature, at leastwise if he be not the maker himself? But our Lord Iesus wrought infinite myracles, as the Iewes that sawe them haue witnessed and doe witnesse still; and not only he, but also his Apostles; and not onely his Apostles, but also their Disciples. And in deede they haue contriued certeyne bookes vnder the name of Iesus, as dedicated by him to Peter and Paule, contreyning an Arte of working Myracles; by likelihood because they had seene them painted together, howbeit that Paule (as is well knowen) kept not cõpanie with Christ while hee liued in the flesh, but persecuted his Disciples a good while after. And S. Paule sayth expressly, that he himselfe came in signes and myracles: wherein if he lyed, it was an easie matter to disproue him. Againe, Christ wrought some such myracles, as Iulian being vnable to denye, falleth to rayling and reuyling him, calling him the greatest Magician that euer was in the world. And of Saint Peter, they report that by his Magick he made the Christian Religion durable for the space of three hundred three score and fiue yeres, and that he did it without the priuitie and consent of Iesus. Whence rise these great slaunders, but of the greatnesse of the workes of Christ and his Disciples? And if they had not done both great and manifest myracles; had not the shortest way bene to haue denyed them? But let vs consider of what spirit these contrarieties proceede. Iesus (say they) did dedicate a booke to Peter and Paule: and Paule was a persecuter at that time and long time after. Likewise, Peter (say they) stablished Religion without the priuitie and consent of Iesus: and how then had he learned it of him? To be short, if there bee any such bookes, why doe they not shewe them? If they be good, why should they hyde them? If they be

Austin concerning the true Religion.

bee euill, why eſteeme they him wiſe? Or if they bee effectuall, why doe they not put them in practiſe? As touching this poynt, I haue anſwered the Iewes alreadie. But let vs come to the matter againe. Magicke neuer flouriſhed more in Princes Courts, than in the tyme of the Apoſtles. Why did not ſome bodie ſtep forth to vanquiſh them or to conuict them? Denis and Origen were great Philoſophers; and Origen was the Diſciple of Ammonius, & fellowdiſciple to Plotin, that is ſo greatly allowed & ſo highly commended amõg them. Were theſe men ſuch as would ſuffer themſelues to bee led with illuſions; or attribute that to Gods ſpeciall working, which depended vppon nature? Specially Origen who had bene trapned vp in Platoes Philoſophie, and at that tyme profeſſed Magicke, as well the naturall by the conſent of diſpoſitions in things, as the deuiliſh which they call Theurgie by entering into fellowſhip and compact with Spirits? Iulian alſo, (who to confound the myracles of Jeſus, did what he could to reuiue Magicke by the help of Iamblichus and Maximus) did he euer cure a blind man, or make a lame man goe? Nay, what got he by it, but gaſtly feare, ſuch as ſerued not to heale mens diſeaſes, but to driue himſelfe out of his wits? As for thoſe which attribute the Myracles wrought by the Chriſtians, to a ſtrong and forcible imagination ſo vehemently fired and faſt ſet in the beleefe that Jeſus is God, that it doth things wonderfull to our mortall nature: therein they followe the opinion of Auicen, who attributeth vnto fantaſie or imagination, the operations that ſeeme to exceede nature. If it bee ſo, I would fayne haue theſe good Philoſophers tell mee, if of ſo many phantaſticall Arabians as haue bent their whole force to imagination all their liues long, they can name me one that hath wrought any myracle? And of them all, who ſhould rather haue done it, than the author of this imagination? Alſo ſay they, whether of theſe hath the greater force? an abilitie that is bred in vs, or a qualitie that doth but come into vs? fire as it is in it ſelfe, or as it is in a thing that it hath heated? Now, theſe Philoſophers worke (as they thinke) by imagination applyed to naturall things, which imagination is an abilitie bred in man by nature: But the Chriſtians (ſay they) worke by an imagination or perſwaſion that they haue concerning Chriſt, which imagination is not naturall, but commeth from without. Why then did not theſe Philoſophers worke myracles in naturall things, yea and more euident than the myracles of the Chriſtians.

In his ſixth booke of the nature of things.

The Prophesies of Iesus.

As touching Prophesying, which holdeth a verie hygh place among miracles; and is much lesse subiect to the wrangling of Sophisters; Phlegon the Emperour Adrians Freedman, confesseth in the thirteenth and fourteenth bookes of his Chronicles, (confounding neuertheleſſe S. Peter with Christ) that things to come were knowen to Iesus; and he witnesseth though with an ill will, that all the things which he had foretold were come to passe accordingly in euery poynt. And this kynd of miracles of his cannot be denyed, specially at this day. For in our Gospells wee reade his foretellings, and in the Histories of the Heathen we reade the fulfilling of them. What will ryse then of all this? Verily that Iesus hath conuerted the World by the bare Preaching of his Apostles, and by his owne only word; and that is, of nothing to make greate things. This word considered in itself, could not but turne men away from him: and that is a drawing of an effect out of his contrarie. The diuells hid themselues away at the voyce of his Seruants: and that is a power surmounting the power of man and Angell. He not only made the Creatures obedient to his becke, but also created new substances of many sorts and at many tymes: And this could not be but by a power that was diuine in deede.

Phlegon as he is alledged by Eusebius, Lactantius, & Origen.

But now omitting that such things depend vppon God alone; if the Lord Iesus had wrought by the Prince of the diuells, [as hee was slaunderously reported to haue done,] would he haue preached innocencie and holynesse of lyfe, reuerence towards God, charitie towards our neybour, yea and that both in word & deede? For who could euer fynd fault in his conuersation? And seeing that the Gods of the heathen were diuels (as I haue proued afore); would he haue ouerthrowen their Idolls, beaten downe their Altars, abolished their Sacrifises, shut vp their Temples, and stopped the mouthes of the diuells themselues? Or if they were Gods, as the heathen reported them to be; were they not goodly Gods, that would flee away for the diuell, and rank Traytors to the souereine God, that would forsake their places, and cast away their armour and weapon so cowardly? Or if (as the suttlest and cankeredest sort of them do say) the diuel thought himself more worshipped in Iesus and more serued by his alone against the glorie of God, than by all the seruices that had gone afore; (wherein notwithstanding I appeale to their owne consciences whether they speake as they thinke): would God (think you) haue giuen his spirit, and committed his power to the diuell or to the diuells instrument, too procure obedience and seruice

seruice to the diuell? Specially seeing that our Lord Jesus did such things as surmounted the nature power & reache of all creatures, and which could not bee done but by or from the Creator himself? May, seeing that God is altogither good, what a blasphemie were it? And seeing he is altogither wise, what an absurditie were it? And seeing he is our father, what a contrarietie were it? And seeing he doeth all things to his owne glorie, how should hee further his enemie, specially an enemy that laboreth by al meanes he can to bereue him of his glorie? Surely therefore the working of Jesus was from God and for Gods glorie; insomuch that neither he nor any of his Disciples, did euer speake vnto vs of any other thing; and therefore God himself reuenged his death, both vppon Herod that had persecuted him, and vppon the Iewes which had betrayed him (accordingly as hee had foretold them) and also vppon Pilate which had condemned him: and lykewise vppon the Neroes, domitians, Valerians, Maximies, Diocletians and such others as had persecuted his Disciples; the end of all whom cryeth and proclaymeth with open and loud voyce, Take warning at vs to deale iustly and to feare God. May further, this Jesus working manifestly by the power of God, telleth vs playnly that he was the sonne of GOD, that the father was in him and he in the father, and that both of them were one. Also he did oftentymes of his owne authoritie commaund nature as Lord thereof, and cause men too worship him as God, euen among the Iewes who abhorred nothing more than a straunge God. On the other side the Prophets of old tyme which Prophesied of him, wrought miracles also, howbeit by calling vppon the name of God; and lykewise the Apostles that preached him, howbeit in his name: and all they refused the honor that was offered them, and rent their garments when men honored them, acknowledging themselues alwaies to be but his seruants and instrumēts of his glorie. And had he not bin the sonne of God, surely in so saying he had not bin Gods seruant, but his enemie, and a rank rebell and Traytor and whatsoeuer worse is if any can bee worse, and consequently vnder the extreme wrath of the creator, as a persone puffed vp with passing pryde, which is the cause both of mans falling from his state, and of the diuells condemnation at Gods hand. Therefore let vs say that Jesus is the Sonne of God as he himself hath told vs, and that we ought to here him, to yeld vnto him, to followe him, and to worship him as God, I meane God and man, the only Mediator of mankynd, who oyed for our sinnes

and

and rose ageine to make vs ryghtuouse; to whom be glozy foz euer and euer. Amen.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

A Solution of the Obiections of the Heathen ageinst Iesus, the Sonne of God.

SVrely by those feawe things which the Heathen of old time eyther listed oz durst speake of Jesus, euen at such tyme as it was an offence not only too speake well, but also euen not too speake euill of him; we see well that he did put al the Philosophers to their Clergy; so as thei will not which way to turne them. In his lyfe they could find no blame; of his doctrine thei knew not what to say; and affoz his power, they could not denie it foz shame. All the shift they had, was but to say he was a greate man, full of godlynes and vertue, and wonderfull to all men: but that his Disciples did him wzong to call him God, seeing that neither he noz his Apostles had euer affirmed him so to be. But let those that dout hereof, reade S. Iohn, and they shall find in dyuers places, that no man hath told vs moze playnly that Jesus was God, than Jesus himself; God (say I) the euerlasting sonne of God, sent downe from Heauen, equall with the father, and all one with the father. Their so saying was to auoyd the foze of this argument of ours when we say, he could not do such things but from GOD; therefoze he was not an enemy to God. But he had euidently bin so, if he had conueyed Gods glozie to himself and called himself God not being so in deed; Therefoze it followeth that seeing he himself said he was God, he is so in deede; and that our wozshipping of him, is a wozshipping of the very true God. Herevpon it is that the Philosopher Longinian in an epistle of his to S. Austin sayeth, that he could not wel tel what to deeme of Jesus. And affoz Plotine, he impugneth not so much the Christians, as the Gnostiks and Manichies. And Porphyrius who fell away from Christ bycause hee had bin repzoued by the Churche, sayeth thus; It is a greate matter that the Godds themselues

The witnesse of the Infidels

S. Austin in his Epistles.

Porphyrius in bookes of the prayses of Philosophie.

should

should witnesse with Iesus, that he was a man of singular godlynes, and that for the same hee is rewarded with blessed immortalitie: But in this the Christians ouermoore themselues, that they call him God. And Apollo being asked of one how hee myght withdrawe his wife from Christianitie, answered; Thou mayst sooner fly in the ayre or wryte in water, than drawe her away from that. So strong was Christ in conuerting men too him, to haue nothing but aduersitie in this lyfe, and so far to weake were the Deuils to turne them away from him, though they promised them all maner of good. And here wee may not forget a subtile tricke of the Deuill, worthie to bee noted in many of his Oracles alledged by Porphyrius. For commonly in the wynding vp of them, he euer commended the Iewes, as worshippers of the only GOD, and for that they continued deadly enemies to Iesus Christ, against whose Godhead they made what resistance they could, howbeit altogether in vayne.

As touching the Turkes, Mahomet sayth, That Gods spirit was a helpe and a witnesse to Iesus the Sonne of Marie: That the Soule of God was giuen vnto him: That he is the messenger, the Spirit, and the word of GOD: That his doctrine is perfect: That it inlighteneth the old Testament: and that he came to confirme the same. But that he should be God, and specially the sonne of God, that he denyeth: and yet it is not possible that he should be either the Spirit or the Word of God, but he must also bee God, considering that in God there cannot be any thing imagined to be which is not GOD himselfe: and that in the same doctrine which Mahomet himselfe doth so greatly allowe, our Lord Iesus affirmeth himselfe to be God, and the Sonne of God. But let vs heare further of the Obiections which the Infidelles make, why they should not receiue Christ for God. Alcoran, Azoar, 1.4.11.13.

What so great thing (sayth Iulian) hath your Iesus done, that hee may bee compared with Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander? May surely may we say, and vpon better ground, what haue they all three done and put them together, that is comparable to the doings of an Apostle of Iesus? Socrates (sayth Iulian) was an Innocent: but yet an vdolater. A teacher and patterne of Morall vertue: but yet (as his owne Porphyrie reporteth) leacherous and a louer of women; and so cholericke in his anger, that he spared not to say any thing were it neuer so wrong. Yet dyed he for the trueth of the onely God: but he had serued false Gods all his life long, and euen Iulians obiections.

Porphyrius alledging Aristoxenus.

euen at his death he made vowes still vnto them. And let not Iulian boast here, that his doctrine continued after his death. For the Athenians acquitted him and honored him anon after: whereas open warre was maintained against the Apostles & their doctrine, by the space of three hundred yeares together. And yet in as great reputation as Socrates was after his death, his Disciple Plato durst scarce be so bold as to speake against the Gods. Such therefore were their examples of good behauiour, as these be. One Cymon was an honest man, but yet giuen to Incest. Aristides was an vncorrupt man, but a robber of the common treasure and ambitious. The Catoes were reformers of disorders in youths, but yet adulterers and murtherers themselues. But as for Iesus and his Apostles, what enemie of theirs was euer so past shame, as to carpe their conuersation? And if the forerehearsed men were so farre of from common honestie, euen by the record of them that had them in chiefe estimation: how much further of were they from being Gods, yea or from resembling them?

Lycurgus. In Lycurgus (to Iulians seeming) there was some singularitie. The people were so rude and headstrong that they put out one of his eyes as he was proclaymning his Lawes: and yet notwithstanding those Lawes bare sway in Lacedemon many hundred yeares after. But Iulian must remember also, that the Phrasians being next neighbours to Lycurgus and his confederates & companyons in armes, would not admit them; and that the Lacedemonians themselues corrected them while he was yet aliue: vpon the report whereof he dyed out of hand for pride, greef, & disdeyne. But what comparison is there betweene Sparta and the whole world? betweene dying for disdeyne to see his Lawes corrected, and dying willingly to correct the Lawes of all the world?

Alexander. What will he tell vs now of Alexander? He had a great Hoste and power of men: so much the more weaker was he of himselfe. Iesus was despised and full of infirmitie: so much the greater is his mightinesse and honor. Alexander vanquished the Persians in Battell: how much more commendable had it bene, if he had done it with a blast of his mouth? If he had liued, he would haue conquered the whole world: how much more honorable had it bene, if he had triumphed ouer the world by dying? Alexander increased his kingdome by oppressing; and Iesus by yeelding. Alexander by killing, and Iesus by dying. But Alexanders Empyre decayed by his death; whereas the kingdome of Iesus was both founded

and

and stablished by the death of himself and his. The difference therfore betwixt them is as great, as is betwixt him that dyeth and him that quickeneth; or betweene him that of all maketh a thing of nothing, and him which of nothing maketh all things. To bee short, if ye loke for vertue; A man that excelled in vertue, was in old tyme a wonder. The Philosophers themselues (sayth Cornelius Nepos) condemned themselues in their owne teachings. But after the tyme that Jesus was once preached, what a number of men, women, and euen children, in Towne and Countrie, yea and in Wildernesses, taught vertue to the world by their example? If ye require rightuousnesse; what were the first Christians but teachers of equitie, of uncorruptnesse, and of uprightnesse. Yea what enemie of theirs doe wee finde, that once openeth his mouth to accuse them? If ye seeke the despising of death; in deede they make a great a doe of one Zeno an Eleate, for spitting out his Tongue at a Tyrant, least he might confesse what the Tyrant demaunded: and likewise of one Leena a woman of Athens, that indured all maner of torments without uttering one word. If this be so great a matter; what a thing is it, that in one age, ye shal haue whole millions of all sexes, of all ages, of all states degrées and conditions, go willingly and ioyfully to death: insomuch that the Historiographer Arrianus, makes a generall rule of it, That all Christians made in effect no account of death: not to conceale any fault of theirs, as those others did, who had leuer to haue suffered torments than to haue dyed: but for professing the thing openly before all people, which they had learned of God, as folke that would haue thought themselues unworthie to liue, if they had hild their peace. To bee short, what Disciples, what Subiects, what Souldyers had Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander in all their life; that came any thing nigh this? these (I say) which were taught, ruled, and trayned up by Jesus euen after he was departed hence, and by his Apostles which were rude, ignorant, and weake as long as he was conuersant with them, yea and euen at the very tyme of his death?

Besides this notable alteration, I sayd also that at that tyme the serving of Idols ceassed in all places at once. Are they (thinke you) so voyd of wit as to say, that the ceassing thereof in so many places, in so notable maner, and in so great geyndriuings; happened by chaunce? And must it not be that those Gods were made in great hacke, which had perished by so sodeine chance? No say they: it came to passe by a Constellation (that is to say, I wote not what a meeting

The obiections of the Astrologie.

a meeting together) of the Starres in the Skye. Let vs examine this Astrologie a little. They suppose, (and it is a cõmon opinion) that according to the diuersitie of Images in the Skye, there are also diuers Religions and diuers Goddes in diuers Nations; and therefore they deuide the world into seauen Clymates, and vnto euery Clymate they allot a seuerall Planet to haue the rule of it. But how wil they answer to Bardesanes the Syrian, who (as they themselues cannot denye) was the wisest of all the Chaldees? Ye part the world (sayth he) into seauen Clymates, euery Clymate to bee gouerned by a Planet, and what a number of Nations are vnder euery Clymate? In euery Nation, what a number of Shyres? In euery Shyre what a sort of Townes? All which doe differ both in Lawes, in Gods, and in Religions; and that, not only according to the number of the twelue Signes, or of the sixe and thirtie faces only, but in infinite sorts. In India vnder one selfesame Clymat some eate mans flesh, and some eate no flesh at all: some worship Idols, and other some admit none at all. Againe, ths Magusians (carie them whether soeuer ye will) are giuen to Incest after the custome of their Moothercoũtry Persia from whence they descend: And the Iewes being dispersed ouer all the world, alter not their Religion nor their maner of life whersoeuer ye bestow them. To be short, a Nation departing out of one Clymate, carieth new Goddes and newe Lawes into another Clymate, and yet the Clymate neither troubleth nor hindereth the doing thereof. What vertue haue the Clymats or the Signes ouer Lawes and Religions: the differences whereof are made by Forrestes, Riuers and Mountaynes, which are the bounds of Iurisdictions; rather thã by them? And which they are brought into againe euen in despite of them, by men, by custome, and by conquest? And in good soth, whereof commeth it that in the Countries where Venus, Mercurie, and Saturne were worshipped in old time; the Gods are now abolished quite and cleane, & yet the Signes are still in the same places where they were afore? And whereof commeth it that the Iewish Lawe beeing banished and vtterly rooted out of their owne Countrie, continueth vnder all Clymates still? How happeneth it that the Religion of Mahomet is now, where the Christian Religion was in tyme past; and the Christian is now, where sometyme were the bloudy Altars of Saturne and Mars, and in some places many and contrarie Religions together?

Bardesanes the Syrian. Euseb. prepar. lib. 6. cap. 18.

For

For the saluing of this absurditie, they runne into another. Not the Clymates in very deede (say they) doe make the differences in Religion, but the great Cõiunctions of the Planets: and yet euen about this poynt they bee at great oddes among themselues. For some say that the great Conunctions of Iupiter and Saturne and none other, do dispose of Religion. Others say that properly Iupiter betokeneth Religion, and that after as he is accompanied, so bringeth he forth the diuersities of them; as for example, accompanyed with Saturne, the Iewish; with Mars, the Chaldee; with the Sunne, the Ægiptian; with Venus, the Mahometane; with Mercurie, the Christian; and with Luna, the Antichristian; and that there cannot be aboue fiue of them. If I should aske both of them a reason, or an experience of their saying, I doubt which of them would be most graueled. But because I will shewe my selfe more indifferent, I require first that they agree among themselues, to tell mee which is a great Coniunction, which is a meane one, and which is a small one: for as yet they varie vppon that poynt. And likewise whether the nineth house or the seuenth house is the house of Religion. Herewithall I would haue them to set me downe the beginnings of the great Coniunctions, that they might iump with the originall springings vp of Religions and with the chaunges of them: which thing they haue not hetherto done. Thirdly, if Religion depend vppon the Coniunction of the Planets; let them tell me whither vpõ the ceassing of those Coniunctions, the Religions shall not ceasse also, or at leastwise anon after, as light fayleth by the going away of the Sunne: and wherevppon it commeth then that the Christian, the Iewish, and the Heathen Religions haue continued so many hundred yeeres, seeing there was neuer any Astrologer that once dreamed that a Cõiunction should last so long? Fourthly, what greate Coniunction bred the doctrine of Iesus Christ, seeing there was neuer any chaunge in Religion, so great, so vniuersall, so speedie, nor so durable; and yet euen by their owne confession, there was not at that tyme nor neere about that tyme, any Coniunction either great or small that could be perceiued. To be short, if only Iupiter & Saturne be the authors of such chaunge; which of them maketh the difference in Religions? If Iupiter make the diuersities of them according as he is accompanyed, how happeneth it that there bee so many and so sundrie sorts of Religions; seeing it was sayd afore that there can bee no mo than fiue? Againe, what great Coniunction was there at the chaunge of Religion

Albumazar. Roger Bacon.

ligion made by Mahomet? Or at the change that was made afterward by the Arabians or Saracens in Affrick? And when of two Coūtries, yea and euen of two Cities ỹ haue but a Riuer betwixt them, the one sticketh stoutly and wilfully to the old Religion, and the other imbraceth the newe: what Coniunction may be the cause of such distinction?

But to come to particulars, I aske of them concerning the chaunge of Religion that was brought vp in the tyme of Jesus, whether they giue their iudgment thereof by the first vprysing and originall of Idolatrie, which was to kayle at that tyme as a Clew of yarne that is wound out too the end; or by the Orignall of the Christen Religion, which was to succeede and to smoulder the other, by the force and operation of some greate Coniunction then fresh and lusty to thrust it forth? Ageine as touching the originall beginning or first vprysing, be it of that Religion which came vp, or of that which went downe; whence do they take it? from the first publishing thereof, as they iudge of a Citie by the laying of the first stone, or from the birth of the founder or imployer thereof by lawe, as if a man should iudge of the prosperitie and luckynesse of a Citie or house by the natiuitie or birth of the Maister mason, or of the owner or founder that causeth it to be builded? But if Idolatrie was to decay at that tyme, by reason that the force of the Coniunction that caused it was then outworne; did all sorts of Idolatrie being so many in nomber, spring all of one selfsame Coniunction, and therefore must nedes al kayle not once? Who can tel when the force of a Coniunction shall vanish away, but he that knoweth the first instant of the beginning thereof? And where haue they euer marked or found out, eyther the very instant or any tyme neare the instant wherein Idolatrie was first borne, which being so diuersly shaped and of so sundry sorts, must nedes (by their owne opinion) depend vpon many great Coniunctions? Or where haue they cast the natiuitie of the first founder thereof, who certeinly must nedes bee mo than one? Or if they iudge it by the first vprysing of the Christian Religion; if it depend vppon a greate Coniunction, let them shewe vs one that tyme: or if it proceede from the natiuitie of the setter vp thereof by Lawe; let them tell vs where they haue red it. For they wilnot denye, but that the birthtyme of Jesus about the casting whereof so many Astrologers haue bewrayed their owne folly, is vncerteine and without ground. To be short, eyther the springing vp of Religion is as vpon some greate Coniunction,

and

and at that tyme there was none such too be marked; or els at the springing vp thereof by the preaching of Iesus, some greate Coniunction matching therewithall, did giue force vnto it; but none such was seene about that time neither: or finally both the vprysing and the force thereof depended vppon the birthtyme of Iesus; and that is more vncerteine and lesse knowen vnto vs than both the other. But that the birth of one man should ouerrule so many natures and so manie Nations, what Astrologie will permit; seeing that some one or other of euery Nation, myght be borne in the selfsame instant as well as he? And that such a natiuitie should ouerrule, not only the Nations, but also the Gods or rather diuells of the Nations, what theologie or what Astrologie will graunt; seeing that by the iudgment of the best Astrologers, the Starres inforce not the mynd of man, and much lesse the separated mynds (as they terme them,) that is to say Spirits; and that euen by their owne diuinitie, men ought to honor and obey the Gods? Finally, what order is this, that the Starres should haue dominion ouer a man, and by the same man trymph ouer all the Gods? But the vanitie of these contemplations or rather gasings, is playnly bewrayed by the effect thereof. For by their supposed Coniunctions they gaue their iudgment that the Christen Religion should not continue aboue three hundred and threescore yéres or thereabouts: and then did it manifest itself more and more to the ouerthrowe of all maner of vngodlynes and superstition. Albumazar extended it afterward to the thousand fourehundred and Sixtith yere; and yet, GOD be thanked, it lifteth itself vp ageine and shineth forth still more and more. On the other side, Abraham a Iew Prophesied that in the yére of our Lord a thousand fowerhundred threescore and fower, the Iewish Religion should get the vpper hand; the which was neuer more oppressed than at that tyme. This serueth to shewe that their iudicial Astrologie is so vayne and fond that although ye graunted them all their suppositions, (whereof in very déede they can make no proofe) yet thei would cõfute themselues by the course of the tymes, and also by their owne consents. Neuertheless I would not haue any man think, that my speaking hereof is bycause I haue not matter wherewith to aduauntage myself in their Astrologie: For I could alledge here, how they say that Iesus in his natiuitie, had for his ascendent, the signe of Virgo in hir first face, as they terme it, in which place of the Heauen, Albumazar the Arabian sayeth that the Indians and Egiptians haue marked a vir-

gin bearing two eares of Corne in hir hand, and a Child sucking on her breast, whom a certeine Nation (sayth he) call Jesus; and that the Starre which the Greekes and Latines in their languages cal an Eare of Corne, is called by the Arabians The signe of the foode that susteyneth, as if ye would say, The substantiall bread or foode: And that vpon the Starre which the wise men sawe in the East in the tyme of the Emperour Augustus; the Astrologers deliuer matter enough: But in these earnest matters, I am loth to alledge any thing which is not substantiall, or which I take not to be so.

The Obiectiõs of the Magicians.

After Astrologie, Magik biddeth vs battell. I sayd that Jesus in his miracles, surmounted the abilitie of all Creatures. Hereuppon they set against vs Simon the Sorcerer, Apollonius of Thyanie, Apuleus of Medaure, and such others: And sothly all these doo yeld vs so much the greater record of the miracles of Jesus, in that for to diminish the estimation of them, they haue had recourse to false miracles, and giuen credit to such as were workers of them.

Simon Magus

Simon therfore reported himself to be a GOD, to haue giuen the Lawe to Moyses vpon Mount Sinay, to haue appeared afterward in the persone of Christ, and finally too haue shed out the gifts of tongues vpon ỳ Apostles in the persone of the holy Ghost: wherein he confesseth afore hand the mysghtynesse of Christes name, and that he would haue men beleeue that he was Christ, and beautifie himself with his workes. To this end doth he apply the grounds of Magicke, whereby he maketh the people to wonder at him. Now, Jesus had bin crucified; but vnto this man the Romanes did set vp a standing Image vppon the Bridge of Tybris, with this tytle, To Simon the holy God. The Disciples of Jesus suffered, and taught men to suffer, and were extreamely persecuted of all Iudges. Contrariwise, he and his followers were much made of among the greatest personages. But he did yet more: for he taught his Disciples that Idolatrie is an indifferent thing, and that men should not neede to suffer for his Doctrine; and what could be more delyghtfull and more entycing than this geere? Yet notwithstanding, in the end both he and his Lady Selene were quyte shaken of at all mens hands, and all the cunning he had could not make him to take footing agein in the world, neither hath the remembrance of him had any continewance here, but to the glorie of the Lord Jesus, and to his owne shame. And what els doth this giue vs to vnderstand, but that it is in vaine for Princes to cherish a wicked

Iosephus in his 5. booke of the Iewish warres. cap. 1.

ked weede, when Heauen is bent ageinst it, and that they labour in vayne to plucke vp the good herb, which God intendeth to prosper?

They make greate braggs of one Apollonius of Thyanie. How feawe at leastwise among our learned men haue not heard of him? This man did call vp the Ghost of Achilles, that is to say, a diuell. What a nomber of Sorcerers can do as much as that? He aſketh him whether he had not a Tombe? Whether Polixena were killed for his sake or no? Whether the things which the Poets report of him be true? What good hap should come vnto the world; and what good fortune was to befall to the Necromancer himself? He tooke a Luckſigne at the ſight of a Lyoneſſe; and what a Superſtition was that? He wore Rings made by the conſtellations of Planets; and what a vanitie was that? When a Plague was begun, he gaue warning of it: and when it grewe strong, he ſtonke away. He fetched a yong wench to life againe; but yet his counterfet Euangeliſt Philoſtratus durſt not auowe that she was ſtarke dead. What is there in all theſe, that is eyther good or great? But now come wee to the poynt. Jeſus dyed for the ſaluation of the world; and Apollonius to driue a certeyne diſeaſe out of a Citie, caused a ſtraunger to be ſtoned to death as he paſſed by in the open Market ſted. The Diſciples of Jeſus were ſlayne in all Cities: and Apollonius had Images ſet vp vnto him, and was worſhipped in many Temples for a God. The ſayd Diſciples did in the end ouerthrow both the Temples, the Idols and his Images too: Contrarywiſe, Apollonius liued till he ſawe himſelfe bereft of all honor, and his Images conſumed into ſmoke; neither did the fame of him ouerliue him three daies; inſomuch that euen ꝑ booke which he had written of his conſultations with the Deuils in the den of Trophonius, rotted and periſhed together with the Ceremonies of the ſame Caue. What are the Myracles of this Apollonius, but proofes of the Godhead of Jeſus? For ſeeing that hauing attayned to the vttermoſt that man and nature could come vnto, he vaniſhed away ſo ſone euen of himſelfe; and Jeſus euen in deſpite of man, and of the world, and of nature, went through and gate the vpper hand of him and of all others; how could this haue come to paſſe, if the working of Jeſus had not bene by a higher power than the power of the world, of man, and of nature?

Apollonius of Thyanie.

Philoſtratus in the life of Apollonius.

Dion in Aelian.

Apuleius of Madaure hath ſhewed ſufficiently in his bookes, that he knewe al the trickes of Magicke: but what was he the better for them? He was of an honorable houſe; but did he euer atteine

Apuleius.

to the least degrée of dignitie? Some will say perchaunce, that he made no reckoning of it: what shall we say then to his pleading against the men of Choa (from whence neuertheless he had maried his wife) for that they would not receiue an Image of him? But the Emperour Vespasian (sayst thou) cured a blynd man at Alexandria; and those (sayth Tacitus) doe beare witnesse of it, which had no gayne by saying it. And why then beléeue ye not the myracles of Jesus, witnessed by so many men which are content to forgoe all that euer they haue, yea and their liues also, for saying it? And had Vespasian done so; who knoweth not the vainglorioustnes of the Romaines? O how well would it haue matched with this Oracle applyed vnto him by his flatterers: namely, That the Monarke of the whole world should come out of Iewrie: and also with this other, That to bee saued, it behoued them to haue a King? And as small a miracle as it was, what a countenance would it haue caried, being vphild by so many Legions, soothed by so many learned flatterers, mainteyned by the state of the Empyre, and confirmed by so many hangers on? For as for Antinous the Emperour Adrians Minion, whom the Emperour endowed with Temples and Sacrifices: to what purpose serued he, but to shewe that it was not in the power of the great Emperour of the world, to make folk beléeue a man to be a God, what payne or cost soeuer he put himselfe vnto?

Vespasian. Tacitus.lib.2o

Antinous.

Obiection.

Yea (say they) but to beléeue the myracles of Jesus, we would see myracles still. The tyme hath bene that they were seene, the tyme hath bene that they were beléeued, and tyme hath altered the course of them: what a number of things doe we beléeue which we see not? And what reason or what benefite should leade vs to the beléeuing of any other rather than of them? But we should bée the more assured of them. As much might the former ages haue sayd, and as much may the ages say that are to come; and so should it behoue myracles to bee wrought to all men and at all tymes. And were it once so, then should myracles bee no myracles, forsomuch as in trueth they haue not that name, but of the rare and seeldome sight of them. The Sunne giueth light daylie to the world: he maketh the day, the yéere, and the seasons of the yéere. Trées hauing borne flowers and fruite become bare, and afterward shoote out their buddes and flourish agayne. The Vyne turneth the moysture of the Earth into Wine: the graine of Corne, turneth it into eares of Corne: and the Pipen or kernell of an Apple, into an Appletrée.

And

And infinite men receyue shape and birth euery howre. Al these are very greate miracles, and God and none other is the doer of them; nature teacheth it thée, and thou cãst not denie it. But forasmuch as thou séest them euery day, thou regardest them not; and yet the least of them would make thée to wonder, if it were rare. To succour thyne infirmitie, the Sunne forgoeth his lyght, a drye sticke flourisheth, water is turned into wyne, and the dead are rayled to lyfe: and all this is too shewe vnto thée, that the same power which wrought in creating things at the beginning, worketh now still whẽsoeuer it listeth; and that if the effects lie, the cause of them is not dead. And if thou shouldest sée euery day some miracle in the Sunne, in Plants, and in man; surely in lesse than a hundred yeres miracles would be chaunged into nature with thee, and the helpes of thyne infirmitie would turne thee to vnbeleef; and to make the world beleeue agein, God should be faine to create a new world for the world. An example whereof may bee the people of Israell, who hauing their meate, their drinke, their trayning vp, and their gouernement altogither of miracle, did in lesse than forty yeres turne them al into nature; and lyke folke accustomed continewally to physick, which turne their medicines into nourishment of their bodies; they abused the flayes of their fayth, by turning them into occasions of distrust and vnbeleef. Now, God created nature, and hath giuen it a Lawe, which Lawe he will haue it to followe. Neuertheless, sometymes for our infirmities sake he interrupteth it, to the intent to make vs to knowe that he is Lord of nature. But if he should do it at our appoyntment, then should we be the Lords both of nature and of him; and if he should do it in all caces, we would make a rule of it; and we would make bookes and calculations of it no lesse than of the Eclipses of the Sunne or of the Mone, or rather than of the motions of the eyghth Sphere; and we would impute all those interruptions and chaunges, to the nature of nature itself. Therefore it is both more conuenient for his glorie and more behouffull to our saluation, that nature should still followe hir nature, and that miracles should continue miracles still; that is to say, that they should be rare, as necessarie helpes to the infirmities of our nature. I meane not of one man, or of one age, but of all mankynd, or at leastwise of al the Church togither, which is but as one comonweale and one man.

Mahomet.

Yet remayneth Mahomet, and he séemeth to be a iolly fellowe: for he made a great part of the world to beléeue in him. He was an

Arabian and toke wages of the Emperour Heraclius, to serue him in his warres anon after the declyning of the Empyre; and in a mutinie among the Arabian Souldyers, he was chosen by them to be their commaunder, as we se dyuers tymes in the bands of the Spanyards. Whether he were a good man or no, let the people of Mecha (who worshippe him at this day) iudge, which condemned him to death for his Robberies and murthers. And he himself in his Alcoran confesseth himself to bee a sinner, an Idolater, an adulterer, giuen to Lecherie, and subiect to women; and that in such words as I am ashamed to repeate. But he hath inlarged his Empyre by his successors, and layd his Lawe vppon many Nations. What maruell is that? For why? Auendge your selues (sayeth he) with all your harts; take as many wiues as ye be able to kepe; Spare not euen nature itself. What is he (though he were the rankest Harlot in the world) that myght not leuie men of that pyece, considering the corruption that is in mankynd? Hee reigned as a Lord say they; but yet by worldly meanes, yea and vtterly vnbeseeming a man. If ye enquyre of his Doctryne, (say they) it is holy, conformable to the old and new Testamēt, and admitted of God. But as good as yee make it, yet may yee not examin it nor dispute of it vpon peyne of death. And what man of iudgement would not haue some suspition of the persone (though he were very honest,) which should say, Behold ye be payed, and in good money; but yee may not looke vpon it by daylyght? If yee looke for his miracles; In deede God sent Moyses and Christ with miracles; but Mahomet comes with his naked sword to make men beleeue, and affor other miracle he works none. And therefore al his Alcoran is nothing els but kill the Infidells, reuendge your selues, he that kills most shall haue greatest share in paradise, and he that feyghteth lasily shalbe damned in hell. How farre is this geare of from suffering, and both from conquering and continewing by sufferance? What wickednesse myght not bee stablished by that way of his? Notwithstanding, to allure the Iewes he exalteth Moyses, and retepneth Circumcision: and to the intent he myght not estraunge the Christians, he sayeth that Christ is the Spirit, Word and Power of God, and that Mahomet is Christes seruant, sent to serue him, and Prophesied of by him afore. Ageine to please the Heretiks called Nestorians, he affirmeth that yet for all this, Christ is not very God, nor the Sonne of God, but that he hath in deede the Soule of God. Thus doe ignorance and violence in him incounter

Alcoran, Azoar 2.3.6.&c

one

one another, the one to choke the trueth, and the other to inforce the falsehod. What practyses, what wyles, what counterfayings, what inforcements, what armyes, what cruelties vseth he not too persuade men? And yet what hath he wonne by all this, but to be a Prophet without Prophesying, a Lawemaker without miracles, and (euen among his owne Bishops) a man without God or Religion? What man of discretion would reade his Alcoran twice, except it were for some greate gayne, or by manifest compulsion, considering the absurdities, topes, contrarieties, dreames, and frantik deuyces that are in it, besides the wicked things, wherof I wilnot speake? Farre of therefore is he from furnishing forth of a Martyr, that will dye eyther for the Preaching thereof, or for not recāting it. To be short, Mahomets miracle is, to waste and spoyle the world by warre; Christs is to bring the world in order by his suffring for it. Mahomet was assisted by a sort of Cutthrotes like himself; Christ was followed by infinite folk dying and suffering aduersitie for his sake. The workes of Mahomet were such as euery man can do; and doeth dayly: the workes of Christ are such as neuer any man did, nor durst vndertake to doo but he himself. Surely therefore we may wel conclude, without wearying the reader any longer about these vanities; That Mahomet was a man, and wrought but as man and by man, and therefore is to be examined as a man: and that Jesus Christ wrought by GOD and was (as he hath told vs) the sonne of God, and therefore let vs here him and beleeue him as God.

An obiection against Christes Incarnation.

At this word, behold, they step vp ageine and say; a man to be God? What an absurditie is that? How is it possible? May rather seeing it is conuenient and agreeable both to Gods glorie and to mans saluation, as I haue proued afore: why should it be impossible? God created mā by his wisdom, which wisdom is his sonne. Now, what is more meet than that he should repayre man by him ageine? Also it was a man that sinned, and in that man and by that mā did al his offspring sinne likewise. Now what is more rightfull, than to repayre him by man? Man rebelled ageinst his father: who could appeale this offence but God himself? And who could better pacifie the father, than his owne welbeloued Sonne? Man (say I) rebelled through extreame pryde, vppon desire to be equall with God. Now what thing is there which ought to humble man so much, as to see his Creator submit himselfe beneath man for the fault of man? Or which ought so much to make him to consider his

sinne and to be sory for it, as to consider the infinite greatnesse of his Raunsum, the exceeding greatnesse of his sinne, and of his punishment due for the same? And if thou vrge me still, with how is it possible? I answer it is possible, because God listeth it, and euen in mans vnderstanding it conteyneth no contrarietie to say it. Also it is possible; for we see it is so; and so many Proues cannot bee wyped away by a bare question. It seemeth possible enough to thee O Iulian when thou listest: for thou sayest that Esculapius the sonne of Iupiter toke humane flesh to come downe vnto the earth: and thyne owne Philosopher Amelius doth vnder hand approue, that Gods eternall word toke flesh and clothed himself with the nature of man, alledging the very words of S. Iohn for the matter. To be short, thou hatte a spirit vnited to thy body; thou canst not deny it, and yet thou seest it not. And if thou wert lesse than man, thou wouldest also deny it to be in man; and yet for al that, what fellowship is there betweene a body and a spirit? And what may seeme more against reason, than that a Spirit which occuppeth no place, should not only be lodged, but also imprisoned in a place? But hee which made both the one and the other of nothing, can do what he thinketh good with both of them. And seeing that to glorifie man, he vouchsafed to take him vp into heaue and to ioyne him vnto him, (Plotin saies so, and therefore thou wilt willingly here it and allow of it:) why should he be lesse able to come downe if he list, and to vnite and ioyne himself to man vpon earth, if he list to humble himself?

Why Iesus came at the same tyme that he did.

But why did God send his deare Sonne into the world rather in that tyme than in any other? Why sent hee him not sooner or later? These are questions for maysters to vse to their Seruants, and not for silly Creatures to vse vnto God, who by his only power made vs to be borne, and by his only grace hath begotten vs new ageine. But (as I haue sayd afore to the Iewes,) man liued for a tyme without the Lawe, to make him to learne that hee was not a lawe to himself: and a certeine tyme vnder the lawe, to make him find by proofe that he was not able to performe it, and afterward grace was offered vnto him, as vpon a scaffold where he sawe nothing but death: and so the knowing of nature corrupted made man the more able to receyue the Lawe; and the Lawe made him the more ready to imbrace Gods grace. Moreouer it is a wonderfull confirmation to vs, when we consider that from the beginning of the World vnto his comming, we haue alwayes had Prophets

from

from tyme to tyme, agréeing in one mynd and one voyce, as Heraulds and Trumpettors euerychone of them, to publish and proclayme the maiestie of this King, which was to come into ỳ world. For had he come anon after the Creation of the World, this confirmation of ours had bin greately abated, bycause they that were the first had bin surprysed by his comming vnlookedfor, and those that haue come after should haue bin in daunger to forget it or to make the lesse account of it, as though his comming had not belonged to them; whereas now all of vs are partakers both of ioye and of Gods admonitions; both afore the Lawe, for he was promised to them; and vnder the Lawe, for they lykewyse heard the Trumpetts, and also in the tyme that he came, for hee himself spake to them; and finally in our tyme, for his returne draweth nygh. Neuertheless, it was his will to come in the tyme when learning did moste flourish, and when the greatest Empyre was in the cheefest pryde, to the end that all worldly wisdome should acknowledge it self to be foolishnes, and all strength and power acknowledge itself to be weakneſſe before him.

Now, therefore let vs all conclude, as well Iewes as Gentyles, that Jesus Christ is the eternall sonne of God, the Redeemer, and the Mediator of mankynd. And let no question or obiection withhold vs from it. Iewes; for he is such a one as he was promised to them, borne in Bethelem of a virgin of the Trybe of Iuda, at such tyme as the kingdome was gone from the house of Iuda, humbled beneathe all, exalted aboue all, put to reproachefull death for our sinnes, and raised ageine with glorie to make vs righteouse. Gentyles; for he did workes which could not proceede but from God; he created things of nothing, drue one contrarie out of another, surmounted the nature of man, and ouercame the nature of Angells: his doing of which things (beeing not possible too bee done but by God,) declared him to be very God. And both togither; for all of vs desire eternal lyfe, al of vs knowe the corruption of our nature, all of vs perceyue what Gods Justice requyreth, all of vs find that we haue néede of his mercy, and all of vs sée that betwéene his Justice and his mercy, none can (by reason) step in to be the Mediator but G O D, and to be the Satisfier, but man, euen Jesus Christ, borne of the virgin, and the sonne of God. And seeing it hath pleased the father to giue vs his sonne, let vs imbrace him; and seeing he hath sent him to bring glad tydings to our Soules, let vs here him. Finally let vs hearken to the rule and doctrine which he hath

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left vs, that we may indeuer to liue vnto him in all godlynes, considering that he hath voutsafed of his vnspeakable Loue, to suffer here beneath, and to dye for vs.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

That the Gospell in very trueth conteyneth the doctrine of Iesus the Sonne of God.

NOw, as for our Lord Jesus Christ himselfe, (for I think I may now so call him without offence to the Iewes or scorne of the Gentyles) he hath not left vs any of his owne life or doctrine written by himselfe. For soothly had he writtē it himselfe, men would haue conceiued some suspition thereof. Againe, had he set downe those high things in a high style; the common sort would not haue vnderstood them: and had he vttered them in a simple stile, they would haue concluded (for so farre as they had vnderstood,) that it had bene but the worde of a Man, and not the word of God himselfe; as wee see it is a very common fondnesse in the world, to esteeme more of the bookes that are darke by reason of their ouerhigh style, than of those which stoope as low as they can to the capacitie of the readers, to instruct them. But his life and his doctrine be recorded by his Apostles and Disciples assisted by his spirit, from whom we haue the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, all which together we call the newe Couenant or the newe Testament. And whether this Testament ought to be of authoritie among vs or no; I reporte me to the iudgement of all the world. For the writers therof liued in the same tyme that ꝑ things were done, and sawe the doing of them. And although that at the tyme of their writing, they were farre asunder; yet agrée they both in the Historie and in the Doctrine; and looke what they wrate, the same did they preach and publish openly euerywhere, euen while those were aliue which could witnesse thereof, yea euen while their enemies liued which would haue bin very glad to haue taken them with

The sincerities of the writers of the Newe Testament.

with an vntrueth: and in the end they signed it with their blud, and sealed it with their death in all places of the earth: which thing we reade not to haue bene done for any other writing or Testament whatsoeuer, though it came from neuer so great a State or Monarke, how authenticall soeuer men laboured to make it. If wee looke vpō the authors, their writing is not to flatter some Prince, as some doe. For had Jesus bene but a man, what could haue bin gained by flattering him when he was crucified? Again, they were none such as made their gayne of writing. And such would Cornelius Tacitus haue men to beléeue. May rather, they gaue ouer the world, and gaue their owne liues for the things which they wrate. If ye haue an eye to the style, it is native, simple, playne, preaching Christes Godhead without concealing his infirmitie, and confessing his infirmitie without graunting away his Godhead. The weakenesse, the curiousnesse, and the ambitiousnesse of the Apostles, that is to wit of the writers themselues, are registred diligently there. Of bragging, of boasting, of vanitie, or of ỹ praise of Jesus himselfe, there is not one word. Peter stept aside, and denyed his Maister thrée tymes: and Mark his Disciple (who wrate the Gospell vnder him) hath set it downe in writing. Iohn and Iames the Sonnes of Zebedie desired to sit, the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of Jesus in his Kingdome; and who vrged them to tell such tales out of Schoole, which might seeme to abate their owne credite and authoritie? Also Jesus himselfe was wearie, and thirstie, and wept: these are infirmities of man: yet doe they preach him to be God and dye vppon it. Might thei not haue concealed these things without preiudice of ỹ truethes to our seeming, and euen with aduauncement thereof; at least wise if they had not written in the behalfe of the trueth it selfe, and that they had not bin sure that his mightinesse vttered it selfe in infirmitie. To bee short, they set downe the particularities of tyme, place, and person, day, Citie, and house. The more particularly that they declare things, the more easie was it to haue discouered their vntrueths, and to haue conuinced them. For they spake not in Iewrie of things done in the Indyes, but at the gates of Hierusalem, in Bethanie, in Bethsaida, and in Hierusalem it self, in such a streate, at such a gate, by such a pole and so forth. The witnesses were then aliue, the blynd saw, and the dead walked vp and downe among them. Had the Apostles lyed, how easie had it bene to haue disproued them? What weapons gaue they to their enemies to

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haue ouercome them selues withall: And yet for all this, how happened it that of so many Pharisies enraged ageinst them, which toke exception so precisely to the healing of a man vpon the Sabboth day, and to this saying of Christs misunderstoode, Destroy this Temple and in three dayes I wil rayse it vp agein; and of so many men which were ready both to do euill and to say euill; none of them all stoode vp to gainsay them? Where was the zeale of Gods house become at that time, than at the which there were neuer mo zelouse persones to be seene? At leastwise how happeneth it that in that houge heape of nyne or ten volumes of the Talmud, they bring not forth their exceptions and geynsayings, ne set vs downe some Countergospell? Seeing then that Hatred picketh out prookes and testimonies where none are; and yet notwithstanding, the extreme hatred of the Pharisies findeth none, no not euen in the tyme and place where the things were done, and when their owne authoritie was strongest and at the hyghest pitch: what may we conclude thereon, but the infallible trueth of the Historie of the Gospell?

Neuertheless, let vs yet satisfy vnbeléeuers, by proouing ꝑ things vnto them which they esteeme to be most vncredible in the Historie of our Lord Jesus Christ. When Jesus was borne in Bethelem, a Starre (sayth the Gospell) was marked by the wyse men in the East, the which they followed, and it guyded them to the place where Jesus was. Some perhappes will flatly deny this Starre to haue bin. (Let any man iudge, how little credit to himself and authoritie to Christ, the Euangelist could haue purchaced by beginning with a lye which all men could haue disproued, specially seeing he taketh the Scribes, and Pharisies themselues to witnesse therof. But we reade that the very same time, (Augustus hauing then the cheefe charge of the Games kept in the honor of his mother Venus) at Rome) there was seene a Blasingstarre or Comet (that is the name whiche they giue to all extraordinarie Starres) whereof the Preests of that Colledge gaue their iudgement, that for the singular markes which it had, it betokened not warre, plague, or famin, as other ordinarie Comets do; but the saluation of mankynd to be at hand. And vnto this Comet (bycause of the rareneſſe thereof) there was an Image set vp in the Citie, And that onely Comet (sayeth Plinie) is woorshipped ouer all the World. Whereunto relyeth this verse of Virgill in his fourth Eglog, made to flatter Augustus by applying vnto him the appe-

The Starre that led the Wise men.

Plinie lib. 2. cap. 25.

ring

king of that Starre; Behold how noble Cæsars Starre steppes foorth with stately pace. After which maner hee wresteth vnto Augustus, all the happinesse with Sibyll promised by the birth of the Redeemer. Also Cheremon a Stoik Philosopher, iudged the same Starre to betoken welfare and happynesse; and thereuppon perceyuing his Gods to be weakened, he traueled into Iewry with certeine Astrologers, to seeke the true God. And Chatcidius the Platonist sayth expressly, that the Chaldees had obserued that it betokened the Honorable comming of God downe vnto vs, to bring grace to mortall men. Here the Astrologers had matter whereupon to excercyse their Contemplations. For this Starre appeared in December, when the Sunne was in Sagittarius, in which signe (say they) both Iupiter, the Sunne, and Venus were met altogether; al which three (by their principles) betoken a most ryghtuous, a most myghtie, and a most mercifull King, but yet poore, by reason of the Sunne which was come in betwixt them. How should he be myghty, if poore? Frutefull also, because of Iupiter in the Angel of the ascendant; but yet baren and Childlesse by reason of the Moone which was in ỹ first face of Virgo. Of these their Contrarieties we myght, according too their art, gather some profit. But I will let these curiosities alone too such as delyght in them. But in very deede, this Starre appearing in December without rayes, and being healthfull, was not an ordinarie Comet, but a very Starre in deede. The lyke whereof we haue seene ourselues in the same season of the yere, in the yere of our Lord a thousand fine hundred threescore and twelue, the signification whereof God will reueale vnto vs when he sees tyme. Now had the former Starre bin one of the ordinarie Starres that are fixed in the firmament; what a miracle was it that it should leaue his place and charge, not to reigne ouer Iesus, but to serue him? And if it were newly then created; by whome could it be created, but by the Creator; and for whom, but for himself? And whereas Iulian the Renegate not being able to deny the trueth of the Historie, and the cunning of the Wise men by the gwyding thereof, would beare men on hand that it was the Starre named Asaph, which the Egiptians haue marked to be seene but once at euery fower hundred yeres: besides that we reade not of any lyke to haue bin seene in all the former ages; it hath not bin seene any more in these full fiftene hundred yeeres which are passed since that tyme. Now by this inquirie of the wise men, Herod was moued to kill all the Children about Bethelem,

Origē against Celsus.

Marsilius Ficinus in his treatise of the Starre that led the Wise men.

which

which were two yéeres old and vnder, meaning among them to haue killed the Child whom the Starre betokened: in doing wherof bycause a Sonne of his owne was killed with the rest; we reade in Macrobius, that the Emperour Augustus héering thereof gaue him this taunt, I had leuer be Herods Swyne than his Sonne.

Macrobius in his Saturnals.

Again, that Christ should be borne of a Virgin, they thinke it very straunge. I haue discussed this point already against the Iewes. GOD had foretold it: what could then let him to bring it to passe? For who can doubt of his power, when he is sure of his will? But this was so true, that Simon Magus to the intent he might not seeme inferior to Christ in any thing, Preached to his owne Disciples, that he himself was the sonne of a Virgin, which thing Iesus Christ neuer Preached of himself. And wee reade that the same day that Christ was borne, the Temple of Peace fell downe at Rome; at the laying of the foundation whereof, Apolo told the Romanes it should stand till a Virgin did beare a Child; whereupon they thought it should haue continewed for euer. And as touching Simeon, who hauing Iesus in his armes acknowledged him to be the Sauiour of the world, I haue declared what the Iewes say of him. And as for Iohn the Baptist our Lords foregoer, the Historie of his godly life and doctrine and of his death also, is set downe after the same maner in Iosephus, that it is in our Euangelists. If we consider Christes works, all the whole course of his life was nothing but myracles, the which I haue proued true long ago. And this only point, namely that they be described & set forth with so many circumstances, whereunto neuer any man hath yet presumed to take exceptions, doth sufficiently giue credite to the matter; and therefore let vs passe vnto his death.

Borne of a Virgin. Clement in his Recognitions. Petrus Comestor.

Iosephus lib. 18. cap. 7.

From the sixth hower (saith our Euangelist) vnto the nineth hower there was darkenesse ouer all the Land: that is to say, at high noone and euen in the chiefe of the day. If they doubt hereof, Phlegon Trallia the Emperour Adrians Frædman, the diligentest of all Chronaclers, noteth that in the fourth yéere of the two hundred and tenth Olympiade, there was the greatest Eclips of the Sunne that euer was seene, and therewithall a very straunge Earthquake. And that was the very 18. yéere of Tyberius, in the which yere Christ suffered his passion. And Eusebius sayth he had read the like in the Commentaries of the Gentyles. Also Lucian a Priest of Antioche cryed out to such as tormented him: Search your owne Chronicles, and you shall finde that in the tyme of Pylate

The Eclips. Mark. 27. vers 45. Mark. 15. verse 33. Phlegon Trallian in the 13. booke of his Chronicles. Origē against Celsus. Suidas.

Pylate the light fayled in the chiefe of the day, and the Sunne was put to flight as long as Christ was a suffering. And Tertullian in his Apology doth summon them to the same bookes. Now, that it was no naturall Eclips, it appeareth playne: For ỹ Sunne was then so farre of from Cõiunction with the Moone, that it was euen full against it, according to the [illegible] of the Passouer, which was to bee kept the 14. day of the [illegible]. And if they take exceptions to the Epistles of Dennis of [illegible]us, wherein he describeth the spectacle of this wonder at length; Apiculus the Astrologian a man of small Religion sayth, that at that tyme the Sunne was in the first degree of Aries, and the Moone was newly entered into Libra. Others say, that the Moone was in Virgo and the Sunne in Pisces, which commeth al to one in effect: and therfore that there could bee no naturall Eclips by reason of this opposition. To bee short, some say it was vniuersall ouer all the world; and then was it a speciall worke of God, for the order of Nature can doe no such thing in the world. Otherssome say it was peculiar to ỹ only Land of Iewrie; and then is Gods speciall working yet more manifest: for it is (as yée would say) a poynting at the cause of the Eclips with his finger; namely, the suffering of the Sauiour of the world. And as little also could that Eclips be by the order of Nature, as the other. For who but onely God could dim the light and light of the Sunne in such sorte without a Coniunction thereof with the Moone, that it should giue light to all places sauing onely Iewrie, as who would say, he sholed out Iewrie frõ al the rest of the world: And as touching the Earthquake that accompanyed it, the foresayd Phlegon speaketh thereof, ioyning it to the Eclips as our Euangelistes doe. And these cases are so rare and vnseene, not in some one age, but in the whole course of the world, that seeing they be reported to haue bene in one selfesame yéere, and both together; they cannot be vnderstood of any other than those which our Euangelists and Authors speake of. To be short, the Veyle or Curteine of the Temple did rend asunder. For the beléeuing or discrediting of this point, there néeded no more but to goe to the place and see whether it were so or no. And Iosephus speaking of the foretokens of the destruction of the Iewes, reporteth the like thing.

Tertullian in his Apologie.

The Earthquake.

Behold, Iesus is now dead: but the third day he ryseth againe, as he himselfe had told aforehand. If he had sayd as Mahomet sayd, about an eight hundred yéeres hence I will come see you againe; he had taken a good terme for tryall of his lye. But when he sayd

The Rysing agayne of Iesus from the dead.

sayd I will come againe within these three daies; his decept (if he had ment any) would soone haue bin discouered. Here they crye out and cannot admit the storie to bee true. And yet notwithstanding when they reade that one Erus an Armenian, that one Aristeus, or that one Thespesius rose againe to life; they thinke no euill of Plato, Herodotus, or Plutarke for reporting it. How vnindifferent are these people. [illegible] both beleeue and be beleeued of all men without witnesse and vnrequested; and yet no witnesse can suffice to make them beleeue their owne saluation? Women sawe Christ, men touched him, the vnbeleeuers felt him with their fingers; he did eate and drinke and was conuersant among them, diuers tymes and many daies: and yet all this they stoutly denye. But Pylate witnessed it; and the Apostles being earst astonished at it, did afterward preach it, publish it, & signe it with their blud. He whom the Chambermayd had made amazed, and who had denyed him three tymes in one howre when he was aliue; doth preach & publish him euen in Hierusalem, before the Magistrates, and before the Priestes; and no threates can make him holde his peace. If Christ rotted in his graue: what hope of benefite was to be had of his dead carkesse? May if he liued not in Peter; who vrged Peter to preach him? And if he spake not in him; who would haue beleeued him? Who (say I) would haue beleeued it, at least wise so farre as to preach and publish it, and to signe and seale it with their blud, vpon his report, and also after that he was gone? Verely, the very slaunderers themselues giue light vnto this trueth. For therevpon it is that the Iewes haue feyned, that his bodie was stolne away: for they found it not there: But Pylate prooueth them lyers expressly. And thereuppon also did some of the Gentyles surmise, that they had crucified a Ghoste or Spoyne in stead of him: which thing the Iewes vphold to bee very falle, who toke offence at his death, as which thei knew to be a matter of trueth, in respect wherof they call him still the Crucified. But hee liued then, and liueth still for euer and euer. And therefore as he had promised his Disciples afore his death, Sainct Luke sayth that he sent them the holy Ghost in firie Tongues within a few daies after his rising againe: wherby they receiued the gift of Tongues or Languages, yea and that in such wise, that the same gift came doune vpon many others by their laying of their hands vpō them. This is one of the things which they will not beleeue, as who would say it were not as easie for God to giue one man the vnderstanding of many Tongues, as

The cōming downe of the holy Ghost.

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it was to deuide one language into so many when he was displeased. But if it be a bragge, as they surmise: to what end was it? and what might haue bin more easely disproued? The Magistrate had them in his hand: why did he not examine them before the people? Hierusalem was as the Musteringplace of all the East: and where then might they haue bene disproued and made to recant it? Nay, the effect that followed vpon [illegible]. For the Apostles, beeing but Fishers, and Publicanes, and [illegible] beginning ignorant persons, men which ordinarily knew no more than their owne mother tongue, and that but grossely; did afterward write bookes, and trauell ouer the whole world, preaching in all places. Consider what lyking either the Iewes or the Gentyles would haue had of such folke, to haue made them their spokesmen to the people. And yet the Disciples did it so effectually, that in lesse than fortie yeeres, the whole world that was inhabited, was replenished with the name and doctrine of Iesus. How could that haue bin done, if they had not had an extraordinarie skill of the Languages? Sothly the Historie thereof was so true and so commonly knowne, that Simon Magus to countenance himselfe withall, reported himselfe to bee the same that came downe vpon the Apostles in fiery tungs, vnder pretence that by the helpe of the Deuill, he counterfetted after a sort the gift of tongues.

And as for some searchers and sifters of words, it is not for them to carpe at the Hebrewe phrases which they finde in our Euangelistes; seeing that in Horace or in Virgill they count Greeke phrases for an elegancie. For to the intent they may perceiue that it is done to expresse Christes matters the more pithily, and to represent them the more neerely: let them reade S. Paule, and there they shall finde so fayre a Greeke tongue, so full of pithie wordes, so full of excellent and chosen phrases, and so peculiar to the Greeke tongue it selfe, that the best learned doe confesse he had the very ground of it, and alledge him for an example of eloquence. Let vs come to the historie of him. This S. Paule a Disciple of Gamalielles, was sent with Commission to persecute the Christians. In his way (sayth Luke) a light shone about him, and being smitten to the ground, he heard this voyce, Saule, Saule, why persecutest thou me. To bee short, of a Iewe he became a Christian: and of a Persecuter, a Martir. And if thou beleeuest not S. Luke, S. Paule himselfe toucheth his owne historie in diuers places. What hath vnbeleefe to bring against this, saue onely peraduenture a bare de-

Acts. 9. & 22.

1. Cor. 15. 8.
2. Cor. 12. 2.

The Conuersiō of S. Paule.

myall, according to common custome? If Peter sawe it: he is but a Fisherman say they. If Paule heard it: he is an Orator. So then belike, if God offer thee his grace in an earthen vessell, thou misliketst of it: and if he offer it thee in a vessell of some valewe, thou suspectest it: eyther the one is begupled, or the other begupleth thee, sayest thou. What wilt thou haue God to doe to make thee to beleeue him? Examine this case well. Paule is in the way to growe great, he is in good report with the Magistrate & the Priestes, and sodeinly he chaungeth his Copie out of one extremitie into an other, to bee skorned, scourged, cudgeled, stoned, and put to death. But the cause that neither S. Luke nor S. Paule did tell thee the cause thereof. What mayst thou imagine, but that it was a very great and forcible cause, that was able to chaunge a mans heart so sodeynly and so straungely? Is it not daylie seene (wilt thou say) that men are some changed and vpon light causes? Yes, fooles are. But he debateth the matter, he vrgeth his arguments, and he driueth his conclusions to an ende. The best learned of his enemies finde fault with his misapplying (as they terme it) of his skill, and yet commend his writings. Yea, and he knoweth that vnto thee his preaching will seeme folly, and yet that (as much folly as it is) it is the very wisedome of God; and that by following it he shall haue nothing but aduersitie, and yet for all that, he doth not giue it ouer. How shall he be wise, that counteth himselfe a foole? or rather which of the wiser sort is not rauished at his sayings and doings? But if he be wise, learned, and weladuised as thou seest he is; what followeth but that his chaunge proceedeth of some cause? And seeing the chaunge was great; the cause must needes be great also: and seeing it was extreame and against nature; surely it must needes proceede of a supernaturall and souereine cause. Verely the reason that leadeth thee to this generall conclusion, ought to leade thee to the speciall also: that is to wit, that it was a very great and supernaturall cause that moued him: namely, the fame which Saint Luke rehearseth, and which he himselfe confirmeth in many places, for the which he esteemeth himselfe right happie to indure the miserie which he caused and procured vnto others, and in the end after a thousand hurts and a thousand deaths, he willingly spent his life.

The death of Herodes Agrippa. Acts. 12.

Also the death of Herod striken by the Angell for not giuing glorie vnto God, is reported vnto vs much more amply by Iosephus, than by S. Luke. Herod (sayth he) made shewes in Cæsarea,

rea, and the second day of the solemnitie, he came into the Theatre being full, clad in robe of cloath of Siluer, which by the stryking of the Sunnebeames vppon it, made it the more stately. Then began certeyne Clawbacks to call him God, and to pray him to bee gracious vnto them. But forasmuch as he did not refuse that flatterie, an Owle sitting vpon his head, and by and by he was take[illegible] so straunge torments, that within feawe daies after he d[illegible] acknowledging Gods iudgement vpon him, and preaching thereof to his flatterers. This Historie is set out more at large by Iosephus, which in effect is all one with that which is written by S. Luke, who sayeth that the people cryed out, It is the voyce of God, and not of a man: and that thervpon an Angell of God strake him, and he was eaten with wormes, and so dyed. These bee the things which they finde scarce credible in the historie of our Euangelistes: which yet notwithstanding are cõfirmed by the histories of the Iewes and Gentyles, who report the things with words full of admiration, which our Euangelistes set downe simply after their owne maner. And seeing that in these things, which exceede nature, they bee found true; what likelyhode is there that they should not also deliuer vs Christes doctrine truely, specially being (as I haue shewed afore) miraculously assisted with the power of his spirit according to his promisses, and moreouer hauing witnessed the sinceritie of their writings, by suffering so many torments, and in the end death? Seeing then that the new Testament conteyneth the trueth of the doctrine of Iesus, and proceeded from the spirit of Iesus, whom I haue shewed to be the Sonne of God; what remayneth for vs, but to imbrace the Scriptures as the worde of life and Soulehealth, and as the will of the Father declared vnto vs by his Sonne, and to liue thereafter, and to dye for the same; considering that by the same wee shall be raysed one day to glorie, and reigne with him for euer?

Iosephus in his antiquit: lib. 19. cap. 7.

But forasmuch as we make mention of rysing ageine from the dead; that is yet one scruple more that remayneth. What lykelyhod is there of that (say they,) seeing that our bodyes rotte, Wormes deuour vs, yea our bodyes do turne into wormes, and a nomber of other chaunges do passe ouer them? This is a continewall stumbling alwayes at one stone, namely to stand gasing at Gods power who can do all things, when ye should rather rest vpon his will. He will do it; for he hath knit the body and Soule togither,

An obiection againſt the rysing againe of the Dead.

to be parttakers of good and euill togither, and hee hath giuen one Lawe to them both togither, so as they must suffer togither and ioy togither, yea and suffer one for another and one by another in this lyfe: and what Iustice then were it to separate them in another lyfe? He will do it: for he made the whole [illegible]; who if he were but Soule alone, were no man [illegible] do it: for to the intent too saue man, his Sonne hat [illegible] of man vnto him. Now to saue the Soule, it ha[illegible] enough for him too haue taken but a Soule: but he that made the whole man, will also saue the whole man. To be short; he will do it; for he hath sayd it: and he will doo it; for he hath done it already. He hath sayd it by his Sonne, and he hath also done it in his Sonne, and his sonne adorneth vs with his victorie; and he will surely adorne vs with his glorie. Looke vpon the grayne that is cast into the ground; if it rotte not, it springeth not vp; if it spring not vp, it yeldeth no foyson. Agein, of one graine, come many Eares of Corne; of a kernell, a goodly Tree; of a thing of nothing (as yée would say) a perfect liuing Creature. Which of all these things resembleth the thing that commeth thereof, eyther in substance, or in shape, or in quantitie, or in qualitie? To be short, what straungenesse is there in this? Of a handfull of Earth God made thée, and all the Earth of nothing, and of a handfull will he make thée new ageine? This body of thine which in time past was not, is of his making; this body which one day shall ceasse to be, he wil one day make new agein. Verily this doctrine was common to all true Iewes, and among all the Teachers of the Lawe, who had gathered it out of the old Testament, (as we reade in Iosephus and in the Acts of the Apostles) for they agrée fully with S. Paule in that behalf. And in the Talmud there are infinite places thereof. Also the Alcorane (which is borrowed of their Rabbines) is full of this Doctrine. And as concerning the Heathen of old tyme, Zoroastres sayd, that one day there shal be a generall rysing ageine of all the dead. Theopompus a Disciple of Aristotles doth the lyke; and noman in old tyme (sayeth Aenæas of Gaza) did once geynsay them. The Stoiks hild opinion, that after a certeine tyme there should bée an vniuersall burning of the World, (which wée call Doomesday,) and that immediatly after, all things should be set in their perfect state ageine, as they were at the first: and it was the opinion of Crysippus in his booke of Prouidence translated by Lucane the Stoik, which new state Varro calleth Palingenesian, that is to say, a Regeneration, Rebegetting, or New birth. Platosaith expresly

Talmud. cap. Helec. treatise. Sanhedrin.

Aenæas Gaza concerning Immortalitie. Seneca in his 75. Epistle, and in his bookes of Questions. lib. 3. cap. 26. 27. 28. &c. Ouid in his Metamorphosis lib. 1.

expressly that mens Soules shall returne into their bodyes. The Astrologers following Albumazar, vphold that when ye Starres come home ageine euery one into his first place, all things shal bee sette ageine in their first originall state, both men, Beastes, Trees and all other Creati[illegible] which opinion euen Arethmetick alone sheweth to bee absurd in [illegible]gie, and the best learned men reiect it. Neuerthelesse it bewray[illegible] [illegible]ar[illegible]nes, which do attribute such power to the Starres, to deteat[illegible] maker of them thereof.

Lucane the Neuew of Seneca. lib. 1. Lucretius. lib. 5. Lactātius out of Chrysippus lib 7. cap. 22. Austin of the Citie of God. lib. 22. cap. 27.

As touching the iudgement which the Sonne of God shall giue after the sayd Resurection; although the same were not foretold by the Prophets of old time, and by so many verses of the Sibills, and finally by the mouth of Jesus and his Apostles: surely Gods giuing of his Lawe, not to the outward man but to the inward, nor to our deedes onely but also to our thoughts, sheweth sufficiently without other proofe, that there is another Judge than the Magistrats of this world to iudge vs, and another Judgment than their iudgement to be lookedfor, as whose iudgment here procéedeth but to the outward déede, and by proofes of witnesses, and therefore cannot in any wise pearce into the hart, to discerne what is within. Neither would our owne cōsciences sumon vs so often as they do, if we were not to appeare before other than men. For sith it is the Soule that cheefely receyueth the Commaundement and cheefely breaketh it: it is the Soule that must come to examination and tryall; which cannot be done in this world, wherein there is but a shadowe of Justice, and whose Lawes and Judges extend no further than the outter side. And therefore wee see that the auncient Rabines speake very often of this General Judgment, and (which more is) do attribute it to the Messias, saying; Feare not God for your Iudge; For your Iudge is your owne fellowcitizen, your owne kinsman, and your owne brother. All the auntient Gentyles haue spoken so of this Judgement, which they say shall bee giuen in another lyfe, in the féeld of truthe, whereuppon shall followe eyther endlesse lyfe or endlesse death as I haue shewed afore. Yea and it séemeth that by the leading of their auncient Oracles (which were a kynd of Cabale) they passed yet further. For they called their greate and souereine God by the name of Iupiter, and gaue the iudging of mens Soules to his Sonne Minos, the King and Lawegiuer, and not vnto Apollo, Mercurie or any other: as who should say, they ment that the Judge of the World should be the Sonne of God, and yet therewithall a ryghtuouse man, that

Haly vpon the first Apotetesme of Ptolomie. Nicolaus Oresmus concerning Proportions. The Acrostiks of Sibill. Lactantius. lib. 7.

Midrasch. Psalm. 118. Esay. 45. Psalm. 149. &c

is to say, the Mediator, God and man.

The Conclusion of the whole Booke.

I hope I haue now shewed the trueneſſe and ſubſtantialneſſe of the Chriſtian Religion, and the vanitie and wickedneſſe of all other Religions. Of the which Chriſtian Religion, the Primitiue Churche, for a Badge and comfort to the Chriſtians, hath made a Sume which we call the Creede of the Apoſtles. For we beleeue in God the Father Almyghtie Maker of Heauen and Earth, &c. To beleeue in him, is to truſt in him; to truſt in him, is to hope for all good things at his hand; but vayne were our hope, if it reached no further than to this preſent worlde. Now I haue declared heretofore that there is but only one God: that the ſame God created the worlde for man, and man for his owne glorie, and both of them of nothing: That he guydeth them by his Prouidence, the one according to nature, which is a ſteady and ſureſettled Lawe preſcribed by him to the Worlde; and the other according to wit and will, which he hath giuen him, ſo that which way ſo euer man take, he frameth him alwayes to his holy will, to ſuch end as he hath appoynted: That man is immortall and created to leade an endleſſe lyfe: that in that lyfe is the ſouereine welfare or good, which alonly can content mans will, and ſatiſfie his wit; and therefore that he muſt tend and indeuer thither with all his heart and bend all the powers of his wit to that end: And to be ſhort, that the meane for man to atteine thereunto, is to ſerue the true God with al his hart, with all his Soule, and with all his ſtrength; that is to ſay, to vow all his thoughts wordes and deedes to the glorie of God. But I ſayd alſo that man is falne from his Originall, through the pryde and diſobedience of the firſt man, whereuppon hath followed frowardnes in his will, and ignorance in his wit: Ignorance making him vnable to diſcerne his owne welfare, and frowardnes turning him away from it, yea euen when it is ſhewed him, and making him vnworthy to atteyne to it, and finally cauſing him to abuſe his abilities and powers to all euill, and ſo conſequently plunging him in the gulf of al miſerie, both according to his owne deſert, and according to the Juſtice of God; Whereuppon it inſueth that man is forlorne in himſelf, vnleſſe God recouer him by his mercy; blind, except God inlyghten him ageine; vtterly Lame to the doing of any good, and to the atteynement of any good, vntill Gods grace do releeue him. And therefore I ſayd, That he hath left vs a Religion for a guyde, A Religion that turneth vs from all Creatures, as which are but vanitie; and conuerteth vs to him the only Creator

Chapt. 1. 2. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.

Chapt. 14. and 15.

Chapt. 18. 19.

Chapt. 20.

Chapt. 16. 17. 20.

Chapt. 20.

of

of Heauen and Earth; and that the same is the Religion of the Israelytes; and that in al other places there was nothing but the seruice of Diuells, and Idolatrie. That the Religion of Israell had the képing and custodie of his word, his reuelations, and his promises, giuing vs his Law Rule to liue by, whereby it conuicteth vs of our naughtynes, & inuyteth vs to call to God for grace. That the old Testament is the Law of Moyses and the Prophets, which I haue proued to haue proceeded from God, and to haue bin inspyred by him: that in the end hauing condemned vs he offereth vs his grace, and hauing giuen iudgement vpon vs, he sendeth vs pardon, and steadeth vs of a Surety that is able to pay our depts: that this Surety is the Messias promised to the Iewes for the saluation of the whole world, the Mediator of mankynd, God and man, exhibited to the world in his due tyme, to bee the Sauyour of the Iewes and the lyght of the Gentyles, euen Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, in whom we beleeue according to this percell of the Créde, And in Iesus Christ his Sonne our Lord, conceyued by the Holy Ghoste, borne of the Virgin Mary, crucified, Dead, and rizen agein, and so foorth. Al which poynts we haue proued ageinst both Iewes & Gentyles; ageinst the Iewes, by the Scriptures; and ageinst the Gentyles by reason, which they themselues say they take for their guyde; and by their owne Records. Our Créde addeth, I beleeue in the Holy Ghoste. And I also haue shewed how there bee three Inbeings in one Essence or Being, acknowledged by the Iewes and auowed by the Gentyles, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste, which are termed by them, the One, the word, and the Loue, in the name of whom we be Baptysed. And finally we beleeue, that God by the desert of his sonne in the power of his holy Spirit, mayntayneth his Church spred ouer the whole world, knitteth vs in one Communion of fellowship togither, pardoneth our sinnes, and will one day rayse vs vp ageine, to make vs inioy euerlasting lyfe. To that end hath the Father created vs, the Sonne redeemed vs, & the holy Ghost inspired vs. And therefore let vs loke vp with sighes, and with sighes trauell vp towards the Kingdome whose King is the Trinitie, whose Lawe is Charitie, and whose measure is eternitie. And vnto him, who hath graunted me both to begin and to end this worke (whom I beséeche with all my heart to blesse it to his glorie, and to the saluation and welfare of those that are his) be honour, glorie and praise for euer and euer. Amen.

Chapt. 21. 22. 23.

Chapt. 24. 25. 26.

Chapt. 27. 28.

Chapt. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33.

Chapt. 5. & 6.

Chapt. 34.

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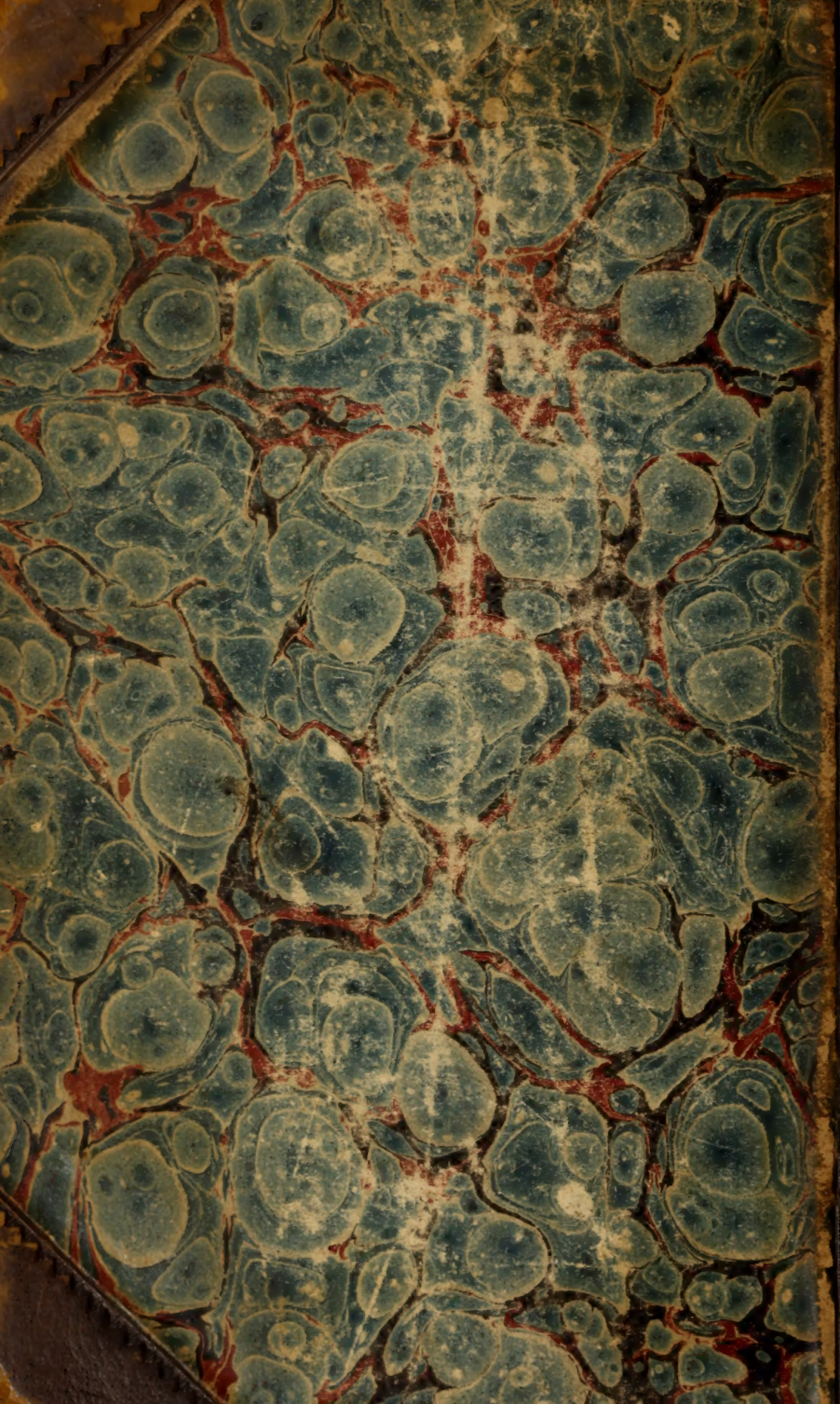
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